During the last months of the Second World War, the American Anthropological Association formed the Temporary Organizing Committee to prepare the association for anticipated academic and financial opportunities that appeared to be coming to the postwar world (Frantz 1974: 9). Two weeks after VE Day, future AAA executive secretary Frederick Johnson wrote Julian Steward a letter recapping their recent discussions concerning the desirability of establishing a large, centralized organization of American anthropologists positioned to take advantage of emerging opportunities. With clear enthusiasm, and joking about a drinking session with a colonel described as an “erstwhile ‘Wall Street Merchant,’” Johnson wrote:

As the alcoholic mists cleared during the ride north on the train I had a dream. I pass it on to you for what it is worth. As I thought about your suggestion that there be organized a society of professional anthropologists I had much difficulty in finding a common denominator for the whole field. There is one, of course, but it may be so broad that it is useless. I wondered if it might not be possible to recognize the division of the field into several professional bodies, such as archaeology, ethnography, and social anthropology. This could be done for the purpose of developing criteria for professional status and would have no reference to scientific problems or ambitions. Professionals chosen in this way would be anthropologists and thus be eligible for a general professional body. At the outset this appears
as a complicated thing fraught with all kinds of difficulties. However it might be shaken down to become something of use.

The need for such a body, no matter how it originates, is great and it is urgent. My past experience is sufficient reason to convince me. Sudden developments in the Committee make it even more imperative. Confidentially I can say that even now the status of the Committee is being questioned. I do not know whether this is a real difficulty or a desire to develop the most complicated arrangement possible. I doubt if this is serious because I have just fired off a big gun, if this does not work we might as well quit. I have a couple of more shots but these must be saved to further the work of the Committee rather than simply to form it. (ISA 7, FJ to JS 5/22/45)

Steward replied that Ruth Benedict, Margaret Mead, John Cooper, and Clyde Kluckhohn supported this plan, adding that “if this fine collection of prima donnas is so unanimously for it, I am positive the thing is sure fire” (ISA 7, JS to FJ 5/29/45).

In the month following Japan’s surrender, Steward wrote Johnson about “the battle of Washington” over a coming struggle either within the AAA or with the formation of a new central anthropological association “scrambling for status and permanency comparable to the days of the depression and again of the first part of the war.” A tentative constitution was drafted, and Steward described the status of generational factions among anthropologists in which “the venerable generation is not interested but won’t oppose it. Those of a slightly younger generation who have achieved fame are suspicious of it as a means either of trapping them or of building up their rivals. The younger generation is 100% for it” (ISA 7, JS to FJ 9/20/45). Steward anticipated that new governmental sources of social science funding were coming, and a well-organized professional association could position itself to take advantage of these opportunities. He saw a “great furor about getting social science into some sort of a national research foundation to implement the [Vannevar] Bush plan for the physical sciences. Several bills of the Bush plan are now before Congress and there is a mad scramble to get the social science plan ready before the hearings start in a few weeks” (ISA 7, JS to FJ 9/20/45). Steward initially considered creating a new anthropological association, a “proposed Society for Professional Anthropologists” (RB, JS to RB 10/25/45), but by early 1946, he realized that a reorganization of the AAA would be preferable to splintering off a new organization.

In the fall of 1945, Steward urged the AAA to publish a monograph detailing American anthropologists’ contributions to the war. The National Research Council had sponsored a monograph chronicling psychology’s contributions to
the war, and Steward envisioned producing a larger work detailing anthropology’s war years (RB, JS to RB 10/25/45), but this history was never published.  

In late 1945 Steward drafted a statement titled “Anthropology’s Justification of Federal Support for Social Science Research” for congressional hearings considering postwar national science policies. He argued that anthropological knowledge could help explain the root causes of human violence, and that in a nation devoting federal funding to the physical sciences at unprecedented levels, “knowledge of human forces must parallel knowledge of physical forces if World Organization is to discharge its trust” (AAAP 37, Sec. Memos, 9/29/45; see also AA 1946 48[2]: 309). Steward pitched anthropology almost as a form of Comtian social physics, claiming that “as an analyst and source of information, the social scientist has a function comparable to that of the research physicist or biologist” (AAAP 37, Sec. Memos, 9/29/45). He argued that like other scientists, anthropologists produced neutral data that would be used by policy makers because “a scientist as such has no political objectives” (AAAP 37, Sec. Memos, 9/29/45). Steward cited anthropologists’ valuable contributions to the war, stressed anthropologists’ roles facilitating “Indian Administration,” and saluted anthropologists’ roles supporting “colonial affairs of Great Britain, Holland, and France” (AAAP 37, Sec. Memos, 9/29/45).

Steward envisioned anthropological knowledge supporting the implementation of American foreign policy on projects ranging from the economic development of China to problems of postwar occupations and the “reeducation” of “backward peoples.” He argued:

In our efforts to aid Japan, Germany, or any other nation to achieve a government acceptable to the family of nations we must understand the native institutions we are dealing with lest our efforts have unexpected results or, at best, amount to nothing more than political imperialism. Reeducation of masses of people to alter their basic values and habits of thinking will succeed only as the values and habits are properly comprehended. Again, if we are to participate in or sanction trusteeship for backward peoples, we are morally obligated to make every effort to ascertain the probable consequences of the policies we underwrite. (AAAP 37, Sec. Memos, 9/29/45)

As other disciplines organized themselves in anticipation of coming funding opportunities, anthropologists settled subfield differences within the AAA and worked to reorganize the association’s members to more effectively compete for funding. In December 1945, at the first postwar annual meeting of the AAA, a committee was appointed to collect information from the membership and
from “allied societies, and other local groups” concerning their views on reorganizing the structure of the AAA, establishing a permanent secretary, “and other means of furthering professional interests.” The committee was in part selected to represent anthropology’s four field divisions, with a membership of Julian Steward (chair), Elliot D. Chapple, A. I. Hallowell, Frederick Johnson, George Peter Murdock, William Duncan Strong, C. F. Voegelin, S. Washburn, and Leslie White (st 177, 3).

At a 1946 meeting of the AAA Reorganization Committee, Steward extolled the benefits of a more centralized association lobbying for new federal funds. When Hallowell and others argued that the NRC and other existing bodies could best achieve these ends, Steward countered that “it will be better in the final pay-off when the money is allotted if anthropology has made a case for itself” (aaap 131, AAA Reorganization Materials, 3). This small group of men negotiated the basic features of the coming reorganization, determining qualifications for membership; proposing the structure and election of the association’s board, president, and liaisons; and arguing for a new structure that could meet more than once or twice a year and best represent members in the anticipated new age of funding opportunities.

**New Postwar Funding Horizons**

During the 1950s and 1960s, several governmental bodies considered establishing a federally funded social science research agency. Some efforts sought connections with national security–related agencies; others tried creating more independent funding bodies. In 1950, after three years of legislative struggles, the National Science Foundation (NSF) was founded as the primary federal institution responsible for funding scientific research aligned with national science policies, but at its founding the NSF did not fund social science research.

The struggle to establish permanent federal funding of social science had been ongoing since the war’s end. On May 20, 1947, Senator William Fulbright failed in his attempts to amend the provisional National Science Foundation Act to include NSF social scientific research funding. Fulbright negotiated Public Law 53A, in the Seventy-Ninth Congress, allowing surplus overseas funds to be used for the training of citizens from these countries for academic study and other related activities in the United States. Later revisions of the Fulbright Act expanded academic opportunities for Americans to travel abroad as scholars. In 1947, the News Bulletin of the AAA announced that Fulbright funds were available in countries such as Indonesia, the Philippines, and French Indochina, and that anthropological fieldwork
projects could be funded under the Fulbright Act’s guidelines (NBAAA 1947 1[2]: 1). Within a few years’ time, other countries became available for research: Burma, Jamaica, Gold Coast, Nigeria, the Netherlands, Norway, Greece, Italy, Australia, Iran, Egypt, Malta, Hong Kong, and the Federation of Malaya.

Many in Congress rejected the prospect of large-scale federal funding of academics. American anti-intellectualism in the late 1940s and 1950s fueled skepticism over the contributions that academics could make to relevant Cold War issues. Typical of these views were the remarks of Senator John McClellan (Arkansas) at a 1953 hearing on academics (like Walt Rostow and Max Millikan) receiving funds to “determine how to carry on psychological warfare against the Soviet [Union] and satellites,” in which Senator McClellan complained that such research was “simply throwing money away” and that all the taxpayers received from such projects was “just a lot of professor theories and all that stuff” (U.S. House 1952: 345). Such anti-intellectual grandstanding played well with segments of the American public, but it failed to feed the incipient national security state’s growing hunger for social science informed intelligence.

Cold War concerns so deeply influenced the establishment of the NSF that the House version of the bill establishing the NSF required all grant recipients to undergo FBI background investigations — though this requirement was cut from the final reconciliation bill (H.R. 4846, March 1950; NBAAA 1950 4[2]: 3).

Anthropology received little federal science funding during the early 1950s (Solovey 2013: 167), and in 1954 the NSF began funding a limited number of anthropological projects under its Biological and Medical Sciences Division (Solovey 2013: 157). In 1958, the NSF recognized anthropology (along with economics, sociology, history, and philosophy of science) as a discipline with its own NSF funding status, under its new Social Science Programs (Larsen 1992: 40–52). Anthropology initially received “more than half (52.9 percent) of the resources allocated to social science” at the NSF (Larsen 1992: 64).

Two months after the launch of Sputnik, Julian Steward sent a telegram to AAA president E. Adamson Hoebel expressing concerns that America’s new space race would undermine AAA struggles for federal funds to study anthropology. Steward wrote that the government’s “increased support for education in the physical and hard sciences while ignoring social science implies a race for the ultimate weapon is the only deterrent to war[;] I hope that anthropologists and our fellow social scientists see behavioral understandings as better solutions to international tensions than threats of total destruction” (AAAP 48, JS to EAH 12/28/57).
While federal funding sources for anthropological research during the 1950s did not emerge at rates anticipated by Steward and others, the rapid growth of area study centers and private foundations funded significant growth in anthropological research. But military and intelligence agencies would eventually identify gaps in the sort of social science research for which they had uses.

In 1963, the Office of Naval Research funded a study, overseen by Ithiel de Sola Pool of the Center for International Studies (CENIS) at MIT, that resulted in a 270-page report titled *Social Science Research and National Security* (Pool 1963). The study sought to answer the question “How can a branch of social science be produced which takes upon itself a responsible concern for national security matters, and how can talented individuals from within social science be drawn into this area?” (Pool 1963: 10). The report discussed a broad range of social science applications: USIS polls of foreign populations, military applications of game theory, assisting counterinsurgency operations, theories of strategy and alliance, nuclear strategy, psychological warfare, “problems of international tensions related to military postures” (56), the production of intelligence information, efforts to anticipate the behaviors of other nations, military developments in new nations, and demographic impacts on national military policies. Pool argued that “social science needs a kind of engineering to go with it” (17). The report identified a need for standardized forms of accessing or organizing cultural data. Human Relations Area Files (HRAF) research was cited as having “contributed substantially” to the strategic collection of global attitudinal information that could be of strategic use to national security sectors (Wilbur Schramm in Pool 1963: 52).

Pool’s report informed a congressional revival attempting to establish a federal social science funding agency. In 1966, Senator Fred Harris (Oklahoma) proposed a bill to establish a National Foundation on Social Science (NFSS) to address gaps in federal social science funding at NSF, but it also linked Pentagon and intelligence needs with the production of social science research while maintaining some independence (Larsen 1992). The *New York Times* reported that the proposed NFSS would “be independent of all other Federal agencies, and it would be forbidden to allow interference with its personnel or policies from any other Federal official or department” (Eder 1966a:5).

In response to the academic freedom problems raised by Project Camelot and other military-linked programs (see chapter 10), Harris wanted a federal agency that would steer clear of military, intelligence, or secret research (Solovey 2012: 64). Harris proposed creating a twenty-five-person oversight board to review research proposals. Harris would have allowed CIA- or Pentagon-related research,
but “all research would be made available to the public” (Eder 1966a). Harris’s proposed NFSS died in 1969 (AAAFN 1970 11[1]: 7), but a House amendment proposed by Congressman Emilio Daddario and adopted in 1968 amended the NSF’s charter, expanding the funding of social science research (Solovey 2012).

**Private Interests Linked to State: Ford, Rockefeller, Carnegie**

As the Pike and Church congressional committees would later discover, even without directive Camelot-like federal funding programs for social science research, the CIA had secretly developed ways of directing private foundation funding. But more openly, the leadership of America’s most influential private foundations consisted of individuals rotating in and out of federal agencies with national security interests.

Public foundations worked with governmental agencies to prioritize research agendas. In 1949, John Gillin, Sol Tax, and Charles Wagley produced an NRC list titled “Research Needs in the Field of Modern Latin American Culture” (CLANRC 1949). This was a broad list, including studies on enculturation, culture and personality, urbanization, gender roles, and the impact of culture on notions of “race.” That same year, the AAA appointed the NRC Committee on Asian Anthropology, which generated a list of recommended projects that included a mixture of field-based and library research on topics such as community studies, colonialism, national structure, population shifts, land use, and cultural values (CLANRC 1949). The NRC’s Committee on Asian Anthropology at this time recommended that anthropologists could use classified documents to produce a “series of volumes on China, Japan, Indonesia and India would be feasible at the present time and should be encouraged by boards of competent scholars in these fields. Obviously such studies should be undertaken only after a thorough exploration of classified and unclassified materials of a comparable nature have been examined both in the U.S. and abroad” (AA 51[3]:540).

Rockefeller, Ford, Carnegie, and other private foundations bearing the names of Rooseveltian malefactors of great wealth shaped the funding of anthropological research during the Cold War. Functioning as intergenerational trusts, these foundations protected against the dissolution of the massive conglomeration of wealth upon the death of the funds’ creators. With the establishment of family members controlling boards (sometimes with significant
compensation or with family use of trust properties) and following established policies aligned with the desires of the funds’ patrons, the interests of wealthy magnates could stretch beyond their corporal existence while estate taxes were evaded in ways that created intergenerational tax shelters. Joan Roelofs described these foundations as “examples of mortmain, the dead hand of past wealth controlling the future” (2003: 20). These foundations funded not only research projects aligned with their intellectual, political, or class interests but also less-aligned projects (with some limitations), though they favored the coverage of specific geographic regions or specific social problems during given periods.

These private foundations funded social science in ways that nurtured the establishment of an academic elite that, as David Nugent observed,

was to be trained in the virtues of empirically grounded, practically oriented research within one of the philanthropies’ remade institutions of higher learning. In order to make it possible to train a new elite along these lines, the philanthropies provided their remade institutions of higher learning with large sums of money specifically for the training of students. The philanthropies made it possible for these institutions to offer scholarships to fund the entire graduate training of “promising” students. The philanthropies thus helped influence entire cohorts of graduate students, who were schooled in the scientific, empirically grounded, practically oriented concepts, methods, and techniques that the philanthropies believed would make a contribution to the pressing social problems of the day. (2002: 11)

Carnegie, Ford, and Rockefeller were selectively predisposed to nurture ideas aligned with their founders’ political-economic interests, and funds were disbursed that supported causes ranging from spreading specific forms of American democracy, to advancing the Green Revolution, to studies of foreign labor systems favoring management. These wealthy private foundations were often directed by elite men who moved between these positions and Cold War governmental roles. John Foster Dulles and Dean Rusk moved from Rockefeller Foundation presidencies to becoming secretary of state. When McGeorge Bundy left his White House national security post, where he liaisoned with the CIA, he replaced John McCloy as chair of the Ford Foundation. The Ford Foundation’s director of international affairs during the 1950s and 1960s, Shepard Stone, had served in army intelligence and the State Department. With such ties, it seemed natural for the Ford Foundation to provide replacement funds after the CIA’s secret funding of the Congress for Cultural Freedom was exposed,
providing needed financial support in the CIA’s embarrassed absence (Epstein 1967: 16–17n1).

Bruce Cumings’s examination of how Philip Mosely linked the CIA, the Ford Foundation, and area study centers at various universities clarifies how the CIA used private foundations, such as Ford, to shape academic research during the 1950s and 1960s. Cumings cited 1953 correspondence between Mosley and Paul Langer discussing how the Ford Foundation would consult with CIA director Allen Dulles to establish how Ford-funded research projects could be selected in ways that coalesced with the CIA’s needs (Cumings 1999: 184). Cumings showed how “Mosley provided a working linkage among Ford, the CIA, and the ACLS/SSRC well into the 1960s,” with back-channel correspondence between Mosley and the CIA working out who the CIA should use as regional consultants (185). Cumings concluded that this

suggests that the Ford Foundation, in close consultation with the CIA, helped to shape postwar area studies and important collaborative research in modernization studies and comparative politics that were later mediated through well-known Ford-funded SSRC projects (ones that were required reading when I was a graduate student in the late 1960s). According to Christopher Simpson’s study of declassified materials, however, this interweaving of foundations, universities, and state agencies (mainly the intelligence and military agencies) extended to the social sciences as a whole: “For years, government money . . . not always publicly acknowledged as such — made up more than 75 percent of the annual budgets of institutions such as Paul Lazarsfeld’s Bureau of Applied Research at Columbia University, Hadley Cantril’s Institute for International Social Programs at Princeton, Ithiel de Sola Pool’s CENIS program at MIT and others” . . . My own work in postwar American archives over the past two decades has taught me how many books central to the political science profession in the 1950s and 1960s emerged first as internal, classified government studies. (Cumings 1999: 186)

The spread of these funds in postwar area study centers provided opportunities for anthropologists seeking fieldwork, while also shaping the questions they pursued.

The AAA’s First Postwar Decade and Select Political Advocacy

The AAA membership grew rapidly during the postwar years, rising from 1,271 in 1946 to 3,000 in 1949 (NBAAA 1949 3[4]: 5). Increased membership funded a full-time professional staff, and in 1949 anthropologist Frederick Johnson was hired as the association’s executive secretary. Johnson helped advance the asso-
ciation’s standing with New York’s and Washington’s newly emerging networks of public and private funding sources; as foundations were established, a new generation of funds emerged for overseas fieldwork with programs like the SSRC’s Training and Travel Fellowships (nbaaa 1949 3[1]: 7) and fellowships dedicated to studying problems of foreign nations (nbaaa 1948 2[1]: 5–6). The Department of State offered new programs like the Government Fellowship in American Republics for graduate students, which funded six months of study and travel in Central and South America (nbaaa 1949 3[1]: 9). In 1952, the Ford Foundation had opportunities for one hundred Foreign Study and Research Fellowships (nbaaa 1952 6[2]: 8). There were also programs with more obvious governmental applications, with the AAA publishing requests for information from the State Department’s Office of Intelligence Research seeking anthropologists’ dissertation abstracts for circulation within governmental agencies (nbaaa 1951 5[2]: 5).

During the decade following the war, the AAA struggled with how to address several political issues. At the first AAA meeting after the American bombing of Nagasaki and Hiroshima, the membership adopted a resolution proclaiming the association’s dedication to studying atomic energy and to working to guard against the dangers of these new weapons (aa 1946 48[2]: 319). In 1946, the AAA Executive Board appointed Carleton Coon (Chair), Gregory Bateson, Earl Count, Melville Herskovits, and Alfred Métraux to the Committee to Investigate the Possibility of Strengthening Non-Nazi Anthropologists in Enemy Countries (aa 1946 48[2]: 319). The wartime service of these five anthropologists represented the range of activities undertaken by many AAA fellows: Coon and Bateson had both served in Office of Strategic Services (OSS) field operations, Count taught human anatomy to military surgeons in training, Herskovits worked at the Smithsonian’s Ethnographic Board, and Métraux worked for the U.S. Strategic Bombing Survey (D. H. Price 2008a; Sade 1997).

The committee was charged with determining which specific anthropologists in “enemy or enemy-occupied countries had been on our side and which opposed us,” but it soon abandoned this task, arguing that it was unqualified to delineate which anthropologists had been Nazi collaborators. The committee had difficulty evaluating conflicting reports about individual anthropologists and was concerned that some scholars might be settling personal vendettas against colleagues. It reported that the French were “having great sport accusing each other of being collaborators” (AA 1947: 353).

In abandoning its charge, chair Carleton Coon explained that the committee “considered that if a German served in the armed forces of his country he was
no more guilty from our point of view than those of us who had done the same thing. At first glance, we considered blackballing those who had used their positions for propaganda, but we soon realized that a great number of our own anthropologists had done the same thing and if we had supported that course of action we would have had to condemn some of our own colleagues” (AA 1947: 353). This argument revealed an understanding of the complexities of duties of service during wartime, as well as lingering misgivings some anthropologists had about their war work, but it also revealed an unexamined argument of assumed political, ethical, and moral equivalence between Axis and Allied applications of anthropology.

This decision by the AAA to ignore political differences between using anthropology for campaigns of genocidal fascist tyranny and, arguably, for liberation from such forms of oppression had later consequences for American anthropology. These would include the association’s proclivity to sidestep political concerns in favor of ethical considerations in ways that focused on professional “best practices” for fieldwork yet ignored political outcomes of projects using anthropology and anthropologists. Differentiating between ethical and political critiques is not without epistemological and practical difficulties. Yet meaningful distinctions can be made by recognizing that ethical critiques focus on best practices followed by professionals — often in a context of providing disclosure, gaining consent, minimizing harm, maintaining informed autonomy, and so forth — whereas political critiques focus on power relations, including macro questions of empire, neocolonialism, and imperialism. This practice of focusing primarily on ethics while avoiding confronting political issues would become a significant feature of later anthropological critiques of disciplinary militarization (D. H. Price 2014b).

Perhaps the wartime experiences of these committee members influenced this decision. Gregory Bateson’s OSS propaganda work in Burma included overseeing black propaganda broadcasts (in which his OSS team pretended to be Japanese radio broadcasters while supplying disinformation) made from a clandestine radio station, work that Bateson later regretted for having been deceitful (Mandler 2013; D. H. Price 1998). While some committee members may have undertaken war work that paralleled some of the war work of German anthropologists, this did not mean their work was morally or politically equivalent, given the differences in the larger Allied and Axis political projects.

The committee stipulated that if “special cases” of Nazi anthropologist collaborators came to its attention, it would investigate and determine the facts of
specific alleged instances, but it did not look for any such “special cases.” Had the committee investigated, it would have easily found disturbing examples of anthropologists’ Nazi collaborations. As Gretchen Schafft’s research shows, the contributions of German anthropologists to the Nazi cause were widespread and apparent. Had these scholars investigated, they would have found records of anthropological collaborations ranging from research supporting the Nuremberg Race Laws of 1935 to the cooking of fake scientific racial reports (Schafft 2004: 73, 17–27). The atrocities of professionally trained anthropologist Josef Mengele would have been easily identified examples had the committee chosen to undertake even the most cursory of investigations (Schafft 2004: 183).

But the AAA found it easier to weigh in on other political issues. Anthropologists’ concerns about American racism led to policy changes within the association. In 1947, the Executive Board canceled plans to hold the association’s annual meeting in St. Louis because “all large hotels in St. Louis maintain discriminatory practices against some of our members” (NBAAA 1[3]: 1). The meeting was relocated to Albuquerque, where the University of New Mexico graciously provided free accommodations in campus dormitories that were empty for the Christmas break. These progressive moves by the association were the sort of activities devoted to racial equality that would eventually garner the FBI’s attention and harassment for activist anthropologists in the 1950s (D. H. Price 2004b).

The AAA joined the efforts of other professional organizations collecting academic books to be sent to devastated academies around the world (AA 1946 48[3]: 490). The association adopted a political statement declaring that native peoples should not suffer under the impacts of increased Western militarization. At the 1946 AAA annual meeting the membership passed a resolution deploring “the proposed action of the British Military Mission in Australia to fire destructive projectiles into an area of Western Australia occupied by many living aborigines, and calls upon the Mission to cancel all such action” (AA 1947 19[2]: 365).

In 1947, Melville Herskovits drafted a “Declaration of Human Rights” that was presented to the Department of State and the United Nations (NBAAA 1947 1[3]: 41). The declaration, which acknowledged the difficulties of identifying fundamental human rights in a context completely independent of cultural processes, stated three fundamental positions:

1. The individual realizes his personality through his culture, hence respect for individual differences entails a respect for cultural differences.
2. Respect for differences between cultures is validated by the scientific fact that no technique of qualitatively evaluating cultures has been discovered.

3. Standards and values are relative to the culture from which they derive so that any attempt to formulate postulates that grow out of the beliefs or moral codes of one culture must to that extent detract from the applicability of any Declaration of Human Rights to mankind as a whole. (AA 1947: 541–42)

Julian Steward criticized the statement, voicing doubts that in urging that values be respected because “man is free only when he lives as his society defines freedom,” we really mean to approve the social caste system of India, the racial caste system of the United States, or many of the other varieties of social discrimination in the world. I should question that we intend to condone the exploitation of primitive peoples through the Euro-American system of economic imperialism, while merely asking for more understanding treatment of them: or, on the other hand, that we are prepared to take a stand against the values in our own culture which [underlie] such imperialism. (1948: 351)

Steward identified problems that arise when anthropological associations use their scientific positions to advocate on political issues. He concluded:

We have gotten out of our scientific role and are struggling with contradictions. During the war, we gladly used our professional techniques and knowledge to advance a cause, but I hope that no one believes that he had a scientific justification for doing so. As individual citizens, members of the Association have every right to pass value judgments, and there are some pretty obvious things that we would all agree on. As a scientific organization, the Association has no business dealing with the rights of man. I am sure that we shall serve science better, and I daresay we shall eventually serve humanity better, if we stick to our purpose. Even now, a declaration about human rights can come perilously close to advocacy of American ideological imperialism. (1948: 352)

Steward brought questions of scientific neutrality and advocacy, as well as issues of applying anthropological understandings of culture, power, and equality, to the foreground, but most of the discipline remained silently disengaged from weighing in on these issues (see D. H. Price 2014b).5

In July 1950, Ashley Montagu (with the assistance of Claude Lévi-Strauss, Ernest Beaglehole, and others) drafted UNESCO’s progressive statement rejecting biological essentialist notions of race, known as “The Race Question” (A. Métraux 1951; UNESCO 1969: 30–35). Asserting that “scientists have reached
general agreement in recognizing that mankind is one: that all men belong to the same species, Homo sapiens,” this UNESCO statement advanced Boasian notions of the social construction of race in an international sphere.

The statement declared that scientists had determined that all of humanity was a single species, and that while genetic differences between groups were evident, using the concept of “race” to describe different populations was scientifically arbitrary. Métraux deconstructed notions that nations or religious groups constituted “races.” He described a number of acquired characteristics, such as “personality and character,” “temperament,” and cultural differences, and rejected the possibility that biological processes were responsible for these differences, declaring that “‘race’ is not so much a biological phenomenon as a social myth. The myth of ‘race’ has created an enormous amount of human and social damage” (Métraux 1951: 144). The statement argued for human equality, pointing out that “the characteristics in which human groups differ from one another are often exaggerated and used as a basis for questioning the validity of equality in the ethical sense” (144).

As the AAA membership and the association’s focus expanded after the war, some governmental agencies found opportunities to capitalize on this convergence of research opportunities, money, and anthropologists’ desires to contribute to building a better world.

A Secret Sharer and the AAA’s Membership Roster

During the Second World War, the AAA had helped the OSS’s institutional predecessor, the Office of the Coordinator of Information, compile rosters identifying anthropologists’ geographic and linguistic expertise; later the Ethnogeographic Board compiled similar lists for military and intelligence agencies (D. H. Price 2008a: 97–101). These rosters were vital tools during the war, and as the Cold War progressed, the American government had renewed needs for such lists.

The CIA’s interest in compiling rosters listing biographical information on specialists with skill sets of interest stretched back to the agency’s earliest days. A May 12, 1948, CIA memo to the future director of the CIA-funded Asia Foundation, Robert Blum (then working in the office of the secretary of defense), records the CIA already prioritizing the creation of databases containing such records (FOIA CIA-RDP80R01731R0003400050047-3, 5/12/48). In 1974, former AAA executive secretary Charles Frantz reported that in the 1950s the NRC, the NSF, and the CIA had been the main agencies pushing the AAA to compile a membership roster (Frantz 1974: 7). Frantz observed that facilitating projects
that connected members with federal agencies and funding opportunities was a natural extension of the reorganized AAA’s goals. The new association bylaws “further specified that the officers were obligated to maintain records of professional anthropologists, to serve as a clearinghouse for professional and scientific anthropological matters, to publish a bulletin for Fellows on activities of professional interest, to hold referenda on urgent matters, and to establish liaisons with other scientific organizations and institutions” (Frantz 1974: 12).

In February 1951, the AAA’s executive secretary, Frederick Johnson, wrote President Howells and the Executive Board (John O. Brew, John Gillin, E. Adamson Hoebel, Morris Opler, Froelich G. Rainey, and Edward H. Spicer) that governmental agencies had contacted the association to request a cross-indexed roster of the AAA membership, noting that the “people who desire the roster are, somewhat justifiably impatient” (AAAP 6, FJ memo 4, 2/21/51). As the only nonrevolving member of the Executive Board, Johnson exerted significant influence on the board’s transient members. After exploring several options for agencies to oversee and support the compiling of the roster, Johnson determined that the CIA would do a superior job, though the agency insisted on secrecy. Johnson wrote, “In searching for the ways and means of setting up a roster of Anthropologists I have a general proposal from Central Intelligence Agency. This agency is reluctant to have its name connected with the proposal. It will do the work as generally and tentatively outlined below provided the Association will sponsor the project” (AAAP 6, FJ memo 4, 2/21/51, 2).

Johnson asked board members to signify whether or not they wanted to pursue this offer from the CIA; a second ballot item asked approval for Johnson to investigate how the association might maintain future versions of the roster. The ballot stated:

The Executive Secretary is empowered to continue negotiations with Central Intelligence Agency for the purpose of compiling a roster of Anthropological Personnel. The final agreement will be based on the idea that the Anthropological Association will sponsor the roster and the Agency will do the technical work connected with it. The [Central Intelligence] Agency will be allowed to keep one copy of the roster for its own use and it will deliver to the Association a duplicate copy the use of which will not be restricted. The final agreement between the Association and the agency shall be such that the Association shall be liable only for mailing charges and such incidental expenses as it may be able to afford. The final agreement shall be approved by the Executive Board. (AAAP 6, memo 4, 2/21/51)
The board approved these arrangements, with five members voting yes, one voting no, and two not voting; the board also authorized Johnson to investigate options for making the roster updatable.

President Howells wrote Johnson:

The CIA proposal is ideal. We should go along with it, with the understanding that they give us duplicate IBM cards and duplicates of the questionnaires, which they can easily do; they are great at reproducing things. If a reasonable questionnaire, suitable to both parties, can be worked out, we will both get what we want, and except for the mailing they will put the whole thing through from beginning to end, and the chances are we will get something that we want; if we don’t, then the questionnaire method is no good anyhow, and we don’t stand to lose. (AAAP 6, WH to FJ, 3/2/51)

Howells proposed to Johnson that the AAA establish an anthropologist liaison committee that could link the association with government agencies. Responding to a suggestion apparently already made by Johnson, Howells advocated designating an individual to act as a liaison between the CIA and the AAA, writing:

I think that we should appoint a committee along the lines you suggest, and it can work, and no fooling. We have anthropologists in the CIA, of course and I should think we could get one appointed liaison member for the CIA, and go to work. I suggest: Newman, Fenton, Collins (bad health?), Foster, Flannery, Roberts, Stirling, all obvious as candidates for committee. What have we for a linguist? And yourself, ex-officio. For your information, we shall be in Washington April 6 and 7, and we can make time for some work, e.g. seeing Jim Andrews or somebody about it, if necessary. (AAAP 6, WH to FJ 3/2/51)9

The AAA’s surviving correspondence provides no further information on what became of Howells’s suggestion that the AAA appoint a “liaison member for the CIA.”10

Johnson, who had his own ideas about which anthropologists should liaison with the CIA, responded, “Of the group you suggested I am only enthusiastic about Foster and with some reservations Bud Newman” (AAAP 6, FJ to WH 3/6/51). Johnson eliminated most of Howells’s nominees, complaining that “Stirling does not know what it is all about and usually does not care. Collins’ ideas concerning Anthropology are rather narrow. Fenton, on the basis of the record is greatly over-rated. Flannery is almost as restricted as Collins.
Roberts on the other hand might be of use especially since he has had some experience with similar things. However, I happen to know a lot about his situation and what he has to do and I am fairly certain that if he took on the job he would not be able to do as much as he should” (AAAP 6, FJ to WH 3/7/51:2).

Johnson wanted liaison members to be based in Washington, but he rejected several suggested Washington-based individuals. He wanted a certain type of DC-based anthropologist; as he explained to Howells, they should select a group of Anthropologists representing all fields who in-so-far as possible are heads of departments. Ask these men to select from their advanced students people who will do the work under supervision. This accomplishes two things. It gets the work done without overloading the experienced man. It “trains” the younger men in committee work. The later is getting to be important. Now that our, at least my hair is getting gray we are losing touch with the new generation. If we can get some of these men started up the line in the Association it will be that much easier to get more representatives and active committees in the future. The gray-beards are nice and we know what they can do, but there comes a time when they cannot or will not. (AAAP 6, FJ to WH 3/7/51, 2)

Johnson favored creating a closed structure of power, drawing on a young generation of anthropologists, which would establish ongoing bonds between the association and the bureaucratic power structures of Washington.

Howells did not press the issue. He relinquished his authority to Johnson, writing that he could keep after this as you like, as far as I am concerned. My suggestions of the Washington people were only the names that occurred to me, and I will not stick to them. On the other hand I do not care much for the idea of advanced students taking the job at hand; they are apt to be too enthusiastic and overdo things, according to my experience. Actually, you on the one hand and the CIA on the other are the key people, and could probably agree on the data wanted in a very short time. Certainly a committee which is representative should help, but too many cooks might spoil the broth. Why don’t you and Mr. Kelley draft something up? This might save a lot of time. What I am saying is rather random. I am inclined to suggest that Duncan Strong might come in on it, because of his past experience. (AAAP 6: WH to FJ 3/16/51)

Strong’s “past experience” was likely a reference to his war work on the Ethnographic Board’s roster (D. H. Price 2008a: 97–100). Howells and Johnson recognized that with AAA members’ information entered into the CIA’s com-
puters, these data could be adapted and rearranged later, and future editions and updates to the roster could be easily adapted. Howells wrote the board a few days later to provide an update on Johnson’s progress with the CIA and suggestions for how CIA anthropologists could assist this project, explaining that Johnson “would like to see a working committee set up to collaborate with the CIA; I have suggested that this should be made up of Washington people, especially since there are already anthropologists in the CIA, and the questionnaire could be set up more quickly, always of course under Fred’s eye; this is his baby” (AAAP 6: WH to Board 3/6/51). Howells wanted the CIA to produce duplicate computer punch cards so that the CIA and the AAA could both have copies of the data, and he wrote Johnson, saying he wished to meet with anthropologist and CIA employee James Madison Andrews IV to discuss details of the roster. Johnson responded that this sounded like a good idea:

By all means go and see Jim Andrews and others in the CIA when you are in Washington. If the members of the Board would only return their “ballots” to me I could go ahead with this business. Mr. Francis Kelley who worked out the proposal with me is very anxious to get this started. I had hoped that the Association would act efficiently in this matter simply because we should do our job. In any case, I suspect that the ballots will be in before you get to Washington and that I will have taken the next step. I hope so for then there will be something for you and others to put your teeth into. (AAAP 6, FJ to WH 3/7/51)

As AAA executive secretary, a nonelected position, Johnson exerted extraordinary control over policy decisions. He drafted resolutions and later forwarded these to Howells, who sent them to the board for ratification as if he had written them. Howells facilitated this and even took steps to hide this practice, prohibited by the bylaws, of a non-board member introducing a motion by developing their own “protocol.” Howells asked Johnson, “May I make a suggestion about protocol? That is, that if you send out proposals to the Board accompanied by ‘ballots,’ so marked, it looks like a motion being made and seconded by the Executive Secretary instead of from within the Board, which is unconstitutional, and we might get our lines tangled. E.g., it sometimes might embarrass me in trying to act on your behalf, as in the previous paragraph, when I think you ought to be put on the committee” (AAAP 6, WH to FJ 3/2/51). Johnson replied that this was “certainly food for thought,” admitting that he had in the past introduced several motions adopted by the board, a violation of association bylaws, and that on some issues he had skirted procedures, but he assured Howells this was in the interest of streamlining the process: “This was perhaps
a little legalistic but I found myself on the verge of tacitly committing the Association to an activity. Theoretically I should have submitted the proposal to you. Members of the Board should move and second it and then vote on it. In my brash way I have short-circuited this and submitted the ‘motion’ for a vote. I have done this in the interest of saving time and correspondence” (AAAP 6, FJ to WH 3/7/51).

Johnson proposed that he and Howells set up an arrangement where Johnson could present proposals that Howells could then restate as a motion coming from him so that the board could vote (AAAP 6, FJ to WH 3/7/51).

Johnson negotiated with the CIA, and by mid-April 1951 an agreement for collaboration was reached. Johnson informed the board that under this agreement, “the C.I.A. will compile a preliminary questionnaire. The people who will do this have had experience with the rosters being made by the NSRB and they will be advised by anthropologists on the C.I.A. staff” (AAAP 6, FJ to EB 4/17/51).

The identities of the CIA anthropologists who assisted in this work were not disclosed in archived AAA correspondence. Johnson collaborated with CIA personnel to produce the questionnaire sent to AAA members. The only appreciable cost for the association coming from this arrangements was the approximately two hundred dollars in postage for mailing questionnaires to members.

In September 1951, Johnson sent a “Memorandum to Committee on Roster” providing a “checklist” of information to be collected for the roster. Johnson supplied a page from the American Council of Learned Societies (ACLS) questionnaire for its political science roster and suggested that the AAA separate out the subfields of social anthropology, applied anthropology, physical anthropology, linguistics, archaeology, and ethnography. Johnson recommended that the AAA collect information on the following “functions”: “research, development or field exploration,” “management or administration, teaching,” “technical writing and editing or library work,” “consulting, clinical practice or evaluation,” and “student” (AAAP 36, FJ memo, 9/13/51). He wrote the board that “a voluntary registration of specialized personnel is frequently viewed as closely related to recruitment and placement activities. While it is possible that the projected registration will be used in connection with recruitment and placement programs, no definite plans for such use have yet been developed by the ACLS or the Office of Naval Research” (AAAP 6, Johnson memo, 10/15/51).

Though I searched numerous archives and libraries and filed several Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) requests with the CIA and other governmental agencies, I have not located a surviving copy of the AAA roster. In response to
a FOIA request, the FBI mailed me a 129-page file relating to the AAA’s activities with the ACLS, which included a copy of the final survey instrument that was mailed to AAA members in 1952. The FBI stumbled across this roster questionnaire while undertaking a mail intercept operation involving an (unidentified) anthropologist who received the roster survey.

The FBI recognized the usefulness of this instrument for itself and other intelligence agencies. The FBI reported that “such a repository appears to be [of] great value to the Bureau from an investigative standpoint, and it is suggested that consideration be given to developing reliable sources in the organization and utilizing this material to the fullest advantage. The thought occurs that the questionnaires may have been initiated by some Governmental agency, such as CIA, for the express purpose of obtaining intelligence data” (FBI 100–387756–8).

While American anthropologists passed along a wealth of personal information with little apparent concern of how it might be used, the FBI understood how such information would be invaluable to the CIA as it set up covert operations and contacts all over the underdeveloped world.

The FBI reproduced the AAA’s original six-page questionnaire, along with a sheet requesting “additional names” that might be included in the roster, and cover letters from AAA executive secretary Johnson, and Bernard V. Bothmer, general secretary of the Archaeological Institute of America. Figure 3.1 reproduces the second page of the roster questionnaire, showing the detailed level of information that was gathered. The questionnaire asked AAA members to provide information on educational background, languages studied, countries visited, academic specialties, citizenship status, professional honors, professional membership, past military service and current military status, employment history, and income levels. The questionnaire did not divulge the CIA’s role in the project, only telling members that “the data compiled from this Roster will be used in the analysis of manpower problems and for possible placement and allocation purposes” (FBI 100–387756–2). The roster questionnaire was announced in the January 1952 issue of the News Bulletin of the AAA and in American Anthropologist (see NBAAA 1952 6[1]: 1; AA 1952 54[2]: 288–89). Association members were told that the roster was being compiled because “the present lack of information concerning specialists in the humanities and social sciences is a serious stumbling block to a kind of planning which is urgently needed. Mobilization activities which will continue over a long period of time have strongly emphasized the basic need for apprising our defense program as related to the concept of national security. Analysis of the data from this registration will throw considerable light on the potentialities of the various fields,
FIGURE 3.1. Page 2 of the AAA's 1952 roster questionnaire as reproduced in FBI file 100-387756-2. The FBI collected this questionnaire while conducting surveillance on AAA members, and FBI analysis of the document led them to correctly assume the CIA was likely involved in the collection of this information.
including Anthropology” (NBAAA 1952 6[1]:1). A 1952 report of AAA committees listed members of the Committee on the Roster of Anthropologists as W. W. Howells, Frederick Johnson, D. B. Stout (ex officio), David Aberle, Wendell C. Bennett, Marshall Newman, Alexander Spoehr, and Carl F. Voegelin. The CIA drafted components of the questionnaire, and it is unknown what activities this committee undertook, or whether committee members not on the board knew of the agency’s links to the roster (AA 1952 54[2]: 289).

Other organizations with later-identified CIA links collected information on anthropologists and other scholars for their own roster projects (see Colby and Dennett 1995: 339). In 1955, the Bulletin of the AAA carried a small advertisement announcing the National Conference on Exchange of Persons, sponsored and organized by Kenneth Holland, president of the Institute of International Education, which was held in New York in February 1955 (BAAA 1955 3[1]: 13). The advertisement reported the roster had records on “210,000 persons who have studied, trained or taught in countries other than their own” and was financed by the Ford Foundation (BAAA 1956 4[2]: 4–5).

The AAA produced other membership and departmental rosters in later years, but these did not contain the level of profiling detail of this first CIA-assisted roster and were produced by AAA personnel without assistance from the CIA.

Postwar Applied Anthropology

The Society for Applied Anthropology (SFAA) was founded months before the United States entered the Second World War. With so many anthropologists engaged in war work, the organization’s membership grew rapidly, and the postwar years brought opportunities for anthropologists working in the emerging public service sector and on new international aid programs connected with America’s Cold War development strategies. The Cold War provided opportunities for applied anthropologists, with some military and intelligence agencies using them for jobs similar to those performed by anthropologists during the war.

Louis Dupree organized the session “Anthropology in the Armed Services” at the 1958 annual meeting of the SFAA. The impetus for this session occurred two years earlier, when, after presenting a paper at a conference on using anthropology to study air force survival techniques, anthropologists C. W. M. Hart and H. T. E. Hertzberg asked Dupree to organize a session for applied anthropologists working for the military. Hart and John Bennett later helped
add this armed services session to the 1958 program (Dupree 1958: 2; see NBAAA 1952 6[2]: 16).

For a discipline that had been so thoroughly engrossed in warfare only a decade and a half earlier, this 1958 session found anthropology significantly distanced from the military and now more commonly working in industry, on community-based projects, or on governmental projects financed through the Departments of the Interior or the Department of State. Most of the session topics had anthropological corollaries during the Second World War, yet the papers did not connect with this now-silent past.

Paul Nesbitt’s overview of air force projects identified anthropological studies of “social stratification of U.S. Air Force Bases,” “combat behavior,” “psychological and sociological vulnerability of peoples in satellite tension areas,” and studies administering “national intelligence surveys of Africa, Asia and Europe” (Nesbitt 1958: 4–5). Nesbitt argued that anthropology could effectively study and improve people’s abilities to use new weapons systems (5). He examined oral histories and other records, finding themes in descriptions of more than a thousand bail-out incidents. Nesbitt artificially created the conditions encountered by a downed crew of a B-52 and then used ethnographers to conduct participant observations with the crew as they enacted what they would do in an actual survival situation (8). Nesbitt described air force uses of HRAF data and other ethnographic sources to produce five-by-eight-inch “ethnic information” cards containing ethnographic data that crew members carried in their flight suit pockets. He found that “each ethnic group is described in terms of populations, range, environment, physical appearance, language, religion, social organization, economy, diet, transportation, and reputation for being friendly or hostile. In addition, each card bears a photograph of a typical male and female and a map which pinpoints the location and range of the particular ethnic group. . . . To date more than 150 of these studies have been published” (11). These cards, which were produced by civilian and air force anthropologists, supplied ethnographic profiles of seventy ethnic groups within the USSR, twenty in the Middle East, and another twenty in the Far East (11).

Joan Chriswell (1958) summarized some of the World War II navy research by the Institute of Human Relations and connected this work with anthropologists’ postwar roles at CIMA and the Scientific Investigation of Micronesia. He highlighted Ruth Benedict and Margaret Mead’s ONR-sponsored work at the Research on Contemporary Cultures project, and John Bennett’s ONR-sponsored research in Japan. Paul T. Baker, a physical anthropologist who had spent five years working for the army, identified two dozen reports and publications by
army physical anthropologists (Baker 1958: 23–25). He described military medical anthropological efforts stretching from the Civil War era to World War II, including projects contributing to survival and area culture guides, forensic methods of identifying war dead, and physical anthropologists’ designs for gas masks (23–25). Baker envisioned a bright future for military anthropologists, emphasizing that “the anthropologist employed by the Army will find himself armed with considerably greater funds and resources than in almost any other research position” (26). The paper “The Future of Anthropology in the Department of Defense,” by Colonel Philip H. Mitchell of the U.S. Air Force, examined the bureaucratic context in which anthropological research would be used (P. H. Mitchell 1958: 47–50).

Dupree concluded the volume by reporting that despite the optimism of assembled scholars, their enthusiasm for harnessing anthropology for Pentagon uses was not shared by their anthropological audience. He wrote: “What was conceived in optimism died in pessimism. The discussion following the presentation of papers seemed to indicate a current lack of interest in anthropology and social science research in the Armed Services” (L. Dupree 1958: 52). The audience response was tepid, and Dupree concluded that “except to dig up and record the fate of cities at the conclusion of a nuclear war, archaeologists per se have little place in the scheme of modern warfare planning” (52).

Pentagon Careers

While Dupree despaired over the military anthropology session’s lackluster reception by mainstream applied anthropologists, he underestimated the variety of work being undertaken by anthropologists at the Department of Defense. A growing cadre of military anthropologists — at times rotating in and out of universities and applied military employment settings — developed in the postwar years. A brief survey of some of these anthropologists’ work provides perspective on the range of developments that were occurring beyond the academy.

Donald Stanley Marshall’s career combined years of Polynesian fieldwork with national security strategic planning and ethnographic explorations of human sexuality. Educated at Harvard and at the Army Command and General Staff College and the Army War College, Marshall was awarded Fulbright, MacConnaughy, Guggenheim, and Peabody fellowships for his fieldwork in New Zealand (1951–52). He conducted extensive fieldwork at various other locations in Polynesia and Southeast Asia during the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s, widely publishing books and articles based on this anthropological work (e.g., Marshall
1957, 1961). Marshall joined the army in 1942. According to his September 7, 2005, obituary in the Washington Post, an encounter with San Blas Cuna Indians while he was stationed in Panama during the war sparked his interest in anthropology. He played multiple military roles, including chief of the army’s Long Range Planning Task Force, and deputy director of the SALT Task Force from 1973 to 1974, and wrote counterinsurgency works on Southeast Asia, including the two-volume Program for the Pacification and Long Term Development of South Vietnam (1966) and several multivolume reports on Thailand and Vietnam.

At least one anthropologist worked for the National Security Agency. Richard Wesley Howell was an NSA intelligence analyst, working in Washington, DC, and Japan from 1953 to 1958; later sent to Japan as a cryptolinguist with the Army Security Agency and became a professor of anthropology at the University of Hawaii, Hilo (bic 2014b). Theodore Allen Wertime was an OSS operative in China during World War II. His April 16, 1982, obituary in the Washington Post indicated that he then “did further intelligence work with the State Department from 1945 until 1955,” later establishing a career as an anthropology research associate at the Smithsonian Institution.

During the 1950s, Thomas Sebeok oversaw the production of sixteen Uralic monographs for the army’s chief of psychological warfare and wrote training materials for teaching Hungarian for the War Department (bic 2014f). Robert Brainerd Ekvall graduated from the Missionary Training Institute in 1922; a decade later he began graduate work in anthropology at the University of Chicago (1937–38), work that informed his U.S. Army intelligence work focusing on Burma and China (1944–51). Ekvall held appointments as a research associate in the University of Chicago’s anthropology department (1951–53) and as a research fellow on the University of Washington’s Inner Asia Research Project (1958–60) (bic 2014e).

Sometimes anthropologists working for military organizations came under FBI scrutiny for holding progressive political beliefs. Bela Maday earned his doctorate in 1937 at Pazmany University in Hungary. After the war, Maday worked for the Hungarian Red Cross. The CIA’s release of documents under FOIA and the Nazi War Crimes Disclosure Act included reports indicating that Maday came to the attention of intelligence agents working on Project Symphony (an OSS-SSU project designed to identify communist and Soviet agents among Jewish refugees emigrating to Palestine). According to one declassified secret CIA document, Project Symphony identified Maday as directing the Vienna office of the Hungarian Red Cross, where intelligence reports indicated that staff
“have been variously suspected of intelligence activities and the smuggling of Nazis into the Allied Zones” (cia 4/18/46; 1705143 file HQ file LVX 219).  

Maday immigrated to the United States on a postdoctoral fellowship in 1947 and in the early 1950s became chair of the Army Language School’s (als) department of Hungarian language. After an employee at the als reported to the FBI that Maday supposedly said “he was happy the Communists came to power in Hungary,” the FBI began an investigation of him in October 1955 (FBI 140–10547–8). The FBI interviewed several professors and staff members at the als (FBI 140–10547–4) but found no evidence of communist ties or tendencies (FBI 140–10547–5); nor did checks with the Immigration and Naturalization Service and the CIA find anything that suggested communist ties (FBI 140–10547–9). Maday’s efforts to become an American citizen were later complicated by this report, although he did become a citizen in 1956 (FBI 140–10547-NR, 12/29/67). Maday began teaching at George Washington University and American University in 1956. His FBI file includes a sixty-page report from 1959 evaluating his “suitability for access to classified information” related to his employment at American University’s Special Operations Research Office (soro) (FBI 140–10547-NR, 12/29/67). At soro Maday wrote a series of military and State Department manuals: he coauthored Area Handbook for Brazil and Area Handbook for Malaysia and Singapore and wrote Magyar Grammar (1950) for the als.

“Just a Lot of Professor Theories and All That Stuff”

In the years following the Second World War, the AAA’s Executive Board saw nothing wrong with governmental agencies compiling information on anthropologists for rosters. But two decades later, with increased knowledge of the uses to which military and intelligence agencies put such lists, anthropologists’ attitudes were significantly changed as the AAA Executive Board would take steps to limit the U.S. government’s access to its members. When the AAA leadership learned in 1971 that the National Science Foundation had been compiling the National Register of Scientific and Technical Personnel, the AAA joined other professional associations in objecting to “its locator function which enabled any government agency to request and receive lists of scientists, with their specialties, in the participating fields” (AAAFN 1971 12[4]: 1). In severing its ties to this project, the AAA announced, “The AAA Board in February unanimously voted to condemn the locator use of the roster, recognizing its potential...
for misuse. Data for the National Register, a requirement of the National Science Foundation Act of 1950, has been collected since 1954 in biennial surveys of scientists chosen by their professional associations” (NAAA 1971 12[4]: 1).

Given congressional claims of the 1950s that social science research was too biased or too liberal to receive federal funding, it is ironic that an increased flow of militarized funds for directed social science research would, as we will see in later chapters, invert this feared dynamic. These funds fed increasing liberal notions of militarizing the social sciences, with a new generation of counter-insurgency projects that showed the Pentagon and intelligence agencies how easily they could buy a piece of anthropology.

During the decade following the end of the Second World War, American universities were packed with eager students funded by the GI Bill, and a new wave of first-generation college students brought to anthropology mid-twentieth-century hopes of internationalism, theory building, and cross-cultural understanding. Both students and professors remained transformed by the Second World War and Cold War impacts on higher learning in ways that were seldom considered at the time.

Most of the professors who had contributed their anthropological skills to the war effort had worked on large projects, with dozens of other scholars and with goals and outcomes determined by others. This type of workplace environment encouraged working on research questions that had been determined by external forces, and as the Cold War brought new sources of funds for scholars working on certain research topics, these wartime experiences helped inform the approaches to this work.

Anthropologists at times joined interdisciplinary teams. Some of these were new interdisciplinary arrangements of academic departments, such as Harvard’s Department of Social Relations; other anthropologists joined new types of ethnographic research teams, such as Columbia University’s Puerto Rico Project (funded by the Rockefeller Foundation; see Patterson and Lauria-Perricelli 1999) or Harvard’s Modjokuto project in Indonesia (funded by the Ford Foundation), Norman McQuown’s Chiapas Project (funded by the National Institutes of Health and the NSF), or George Foster’s research at the Institute of Social Anthropology. The postwar availability of substantial support for fieldwork dramatically increased the number of anthropologists working in foreign countries as funds from Fulbright, SSRC, Ford, Rockefeller, NSA, NIH, the Viking Fund, and the Wenner-Gren Foundation provided the ways and means for anthropologists to conduct fieldwork all over the world.