



Hunt Institute for Botanical Documentation
5th Floor, Hunt Library
Carnegie Mellon University
4909 Frew Street
Pittsburgh, PA 15213-3890
Telephone: 412-268-2434
Email: huntinst@andrew.cmu.edu
Web site: www.huntbotanical.org

The Hunt Institute is committed to making its collections accessible for research. We are pleased to offer this digitized item.

Usage guidelines

We have provided this low-resolution, digitized version for research purposes. To inquire about publishing any images from this item, please contact the Institute.

About the Institute

The Hunt Institute for Botanical Documentation, a research division of Carnegie Mellon University, specializes in the history of botany and all aspects of plant science and serves the international scientific community through research and documentation. To this end, the Institute acquires and maintains authoritative collections of books, plant images, manuscripts, portraits and data files, and provides publications and other modes of information service. The Institute meets the reference needs of botanists, biologists, historians, conservationists, librarians, bibliographers and the public at large, especially those concerned with any aspect of the North American flora.

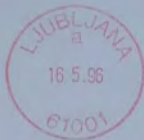
Hunt Institute was dedicated in 1961 as the Rachel McMasters Miller Hunt Botanical Library, an international center for bibliographical research and service in the interests of botany and horticulture, as well as a center for the study of all aspects of the history of the plant sciences. By 1971 the Library's activities had so diversified that the name was changed to Hunt Institute for Botanical Documentation. Growth in collections and research projects led to the establishment of four programmatic departments: Archives, Art, Bibliography and the Library.

BO-44-96

ZNANSTVENORAZISKOVALNI CENTER
SLOVENSKE AKADEMIJE ZNANOSTI IN UMETNOSTI



Gosposka ul. 13, 61000 Ljubljana, Slovenija



Digitized by Hunt Institute for Botanical Documentation

Dr. Doris Löve

05-30-96



DL

Chandler Court 5780
San Jose
95123 California

USA

Dear Doris,

Many thanks for your letter, it is always nice to hear from you and I hope that your health will improve.

Following your letter I contacted Stina, without getting her- she must be on one of her trips- and then I called Lovka directly, He is not at the institute, but stays at home. I do not know if he is retired - retired people use to proceed their research/work- or just at home. I had the feeling that they just pushed him out. He was a heavy alcoholic and not quite reliable, although he was the leader of the Biological Institute for a period. This was based on his political, not scientific qualities, as it usual here.

I asked him to write to you and he promised, although, as he says, does not know much or nothing about what was happening this time, you were here. He says that the whole was strictly a collaboration between Askell and Franc and that he was on the periphery. Mayer was not involved in this common project.

The documents from this time (25 years ago) are not more. The only thing he remembers, what also Franc and Askell knew, was that the real actors in the disagreeable affair were your own assistants, Mary and Jerry (nobody ever knew their family names, if they had some at all). They wrote one or more compromising letters to the USA to authorities giving you grants for the work in Slovenia. They accused you for some financial irregularities. After this Franc got some questionnaires from the same address such as about your relationship to Lóa and about Stinas house-privat flat or institute. That is all I remember from both Franc and Askells data.

The same does Milan Lovka. Franc told me that people from the Smithsonian came later to Ljubljana for revision. That you know well, you too!

I do not know about Mayers involvement, but he was not your friend, neither he is mine and he did much harm to me and still does. He is almost a criminal but as a member of the Academy he still rules all the events within the slovene biology and has cancelled phyxology and wanted me to be physically removed. He denied newly to accept two papers for the Dissertationes of the Academy, without asking for the topics and title and made the staff of the Proteus to refuse my In Memoriam for Askell. So you see that they are not friends, although. Neither to you or to me.

I keep absolute distance from the university (biology) since the mid-eighties, when Franc asked me not to come anymore. He is a rotten egg and not an especially big scientist. After the events in the seventies he settled over to "healing plants" coming out of cytology. This was just an excuse and a pseudo-science and a source to get money and a half-private factory, although this was impossible for normal people at this time. This was a heavily politicated, communistic mafia, partly criminal and allied with the secret police (before all Mayer and Martinčič). I do not understand why you had chosen this bloody crowd for collaboration. I am unfortunately from here, but always avoided any collaboration with this mafia and I still do it. They have and they still do dreadful things to me, trying to prevent my work, make it impossible and devaluate it.

I would suggest you to leave the whole stay, it is no use. Especially since the main actor was your own assistant "Mary". Ask her! Hope Lovka will write you as he promised, but you wont get any more information from him as those you already know.

I am writing a paper about the land-locked fjords now (Hördur) and make some experoments with Ulva.

Very best regards and good wishes to you, Lóa and Ingela

15.5. 1996, *Very sincerely yours*
Lude

October 19, 1994

ASKELL LÖVE: THE YUGOSLAVIAN INCIDENT

Digitized by Hunt Institute for Botanical Documentation

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction	1
Löve to John Fogg	
Text of Interim Report for First Summer Work	
Exhibits	
1. Ten Commandments of a Scientist	
2. Letter of appreciation, Carl Bock to Löve	
3. Löve to Hobart Smith, requesting transfer to another department	
4. Schertz to Crowe, Feb. 10, 1972	
5. Yugoslav Embassy, Washington, secret message to Susnik; reply by Susnik	
6. Harlan Lewis to Löve, Oct. 3, 23, 1972	
7. Löve and Roark to Whitehead (Smithsonian)	
8. Purchase Order, Smithsonian to Amer. Embassy, Belgrade, June, 1972	
9. Löve to Schertz, July 2, 1972	
10. Löve to Susnik, Sept. 4, 1972	
11. Transcript of telephone conversation, Löve with Barlovec	
12. "Destroy when read" message	
13. Susnik to Löve, Feb. 19, 1973	
14. Löve to Susnik, April 2, 1973	
15. Letters concerning the disallowance of grant funds	
16. The Agreement and Release	
17. Notification by Hobart Smith of ouster from the campus	
18. Smith to Löve acknowledging return of equipment	
19. Memos of Briggs and Bill Love re Doris Löve salary	
20. Briggs to Biology Department concerning Löve's chairmanship	
21. Deposition of Bertil Hanström concerning Swedish educational standards	
22. Termination paper of Doris Löve's Research Associateship	
Additional Documents	
The Appeal and the administrative verdict	

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction	1
Löve to John Fogg	
Text of Interim Report for First Summer Work	
Exhibits	
1. Ten Commandments of a Scientist	
2. Letter of appreciation, Carl Bock to Löve	
3. Löve to Hobart Smith, requesting transfer to another department	
4. Schmertz to Crowe, Feb. 10, 1972	
5. Yugoslav Embassy, Washington, secret message to Susnik; reply by Susnik	
6. Harlan Lewis to Löve, Oct. 3, 23, 1972	
7. Löve and Roark to Whitehead (Smithsonian)	
8. Purchase Order, Smithsonian to Amer. Embassy, Belgrade, June, 1972	
9. Löve to Schmertz, July 2, 1972	
10. Löve to Susnik, Sept. 4, 1972	
11. Transcript of telephone conversation, Löve with Barlovec	
12. "Destroy when read" message	
13. Susnik to Löve, Feb. 19, 1973	
14. Löve to Susnik, April 2, 1973	
15. Letters concerning the disallowance of grant funds	
16. The Agreement and Release	
17. Notification by Hobart Smith of ouster from the campus	
18. Smith to Löve acknowledging return of equipment	
19. Memos of Briggs and Bill Löve re Doris Löve salary	
20. Briggs to Biology Department concerning Löve's chairmanship	
21. Deposition of Bertil Hanström concerning Swedish educational standards	
22. Termination paper of Doris Löve's Research Associateship	
Additional Documents	
The Appeal and the administrative verdict	

ÅSKELL LÖVE: THE YUGOSLAVIAN INCIDENT

Confidential Materials concerning his resignation in 1973
from the University of Colorado Faculty

INTRODUCTION

This manuscript is a copy of papers given to me by Professor Löve five years after his resignation from the University of Colorado. The facts recited and allegations made herein are his own. I consider this material to be an absolutely honest account of the situation, for in my experience Professor Löve has always been, despite his irascibility at times, a completely honest man. The order in which these documents are presented have not been altered, except that certain documents relating to our appeal of the case have been added. I have made some small alterations in the wording in order to clarify language.

Some readers may be offended by what appears to be unbridled ranting over the treatment that Dr. Löve details in this narrative and dossier. These readers should always bear in mind that his bitterness is real and very deep, and undoubtedly justified. I have not edited out these portions of his narrative; indeed, they come out of the depths of despair, of a man of great knowledge, education, and accomplishments in the international scientific world, a great teacher and a poet – a man who was, if anything, naive and too trusting of everybody including those he numbered among his best friends. Dr. Löve's academic career was destroyed by what without much doubt was a witch hunt begun during the Joe McCarthy years and carried out to a successful conclusion in 1973. One may ask why Dr. Löve did not defend himself when there might have been an opportunity. It appears clear from his own writing that he did not know the extent of involvement of his Yugoslavian and American colleagues in his predicament and refused to be the agent of any damage to the reputations or lives of others, however misled or actively hostile to him they might be.

Löve to Jack Fogg

Letter to Jack Fogg, botanist of Philadelphia and close friend, giving Löve's personal account of the Yugoslavian incident that led to his resignation. (The letter was never sent.)

San José, Sept. 21, 1978

Dear Jack:

I must apologize for not having written to you long ago to thank you for a fine letter after your return from Iceland, and for the nice description of the trip in the Newsletter. I have tried to start to write to thank you for your consideration several times, but on each occasion I have refrained because I could not find the words for the latter part of the letter, for reasons that I hope will be evident to you with your deep understanding of human beings and the forces that motivate their thinking and actions. But although I am still not able to write what I want to, and may be using words that do not quite tell what I want to say, because English is not my native tongue, I hope that you forgive my sending this, and also hope that you keep its contents as confidential as you feel is appropriate, since I am especially anxious that it does not hurt others.

As to the Iceland and Greenland trip, I could write pages or remarks and notes that together would simply express the fact that I envy you this fine experience. You have seen more of the countries than most Icelanders have done, and you also have understood what you saw much better than even they could do, although the fast travel may have caused you to miss some of the fine details of history that your guide might have furnished, especially details that are dear to us because of our upbringing and important for the understanding of our conscience and our disposition and of our character and logic. And, by necessity, you missed the northwestern parts of the country, where I was brought up and started as a botanical collector when I was 13 years old, and thus also the most arctic parts of the country. Hopefully, you may see this later and then in my company, since I sincerely hope that your health will continue to allow you even strenuous travels for many years to come. But you may want to see something else; there is so much in the world that a person of your learning would like to see, so that even a long life of travels always is insufficient.

You might like to know about the only minor mistake in your report: the place you call Skálholt is actually the crater Kerid on the way to Skálholt. Skálholt, however, is the old site of the Icelandic bishops and the first Icelandic learned school, which still is our good old college at Reykjavík. Presently it has a modern church and a new adult school – and a lot of ruins from the past thousand years and a wealth of Icelandic history connected with the names of the many great men who lived and died there. Among them [was] Jón Arason, the last catholic bishop, who with his moral strength prevented the Danes for a generation to force the new rule upon the country and thus delayed the impoverishment and decline of its education that followed the fall of catholicism. He was at last murdered by the Danes in Skálholt on November 7, 1551, at a place still marked by a cairn, one of the darkest days in the history of Iceland, where foreign miscarriage of justice had long predominated.

As to the Greenland willows you were in doubt with, I believe the larger shrubs close to the Hotel Arctic are *Salix cordifolia* and *S. arctica* and their hybrids, whereas other and smaller shrubs which you may have recognized from Labrador, were *S. herbacea*, *S. uva-ursi*, and *S. arctophila*. Other species are not there.

As I mentioned, Icelanders of the past were not unfamiliar with miscarriage of justice, but I had never experienced it before I got into contact with the Americans in Iceland and at home. That happened even before we contemplated moving to this continent, when the American Embassy in Reykjavík honored us by putting my name on its black list of those not acceptable for American visas.

Of course, nobody at the Embassy knew us personally or bothered to learn to know us, and we were never confronted with the "evidence", a peculiar but common practice in American diplomacy. I was actually pleased when I heard that I was on this list, which I shared with perhaps half the Icelandic population and with all those Icelanders

who, in my eyes, were worth something because of their cultural or nationalistic standing or moral stamina. Also, because the "information" was said to include the remark that I had been a very active communist during my years in Sweden (where I never met anybody of that opinion; neither have I done so in America, so they must be rare even here). And I had another reason to be proud of such an accusation, because then I must be a good deal greater than any of my colleagues, who had sunk into such politics and become much delayed in their studies, whereas I had succeeded in completing my studies in a shorter time than even the most intelligent of Swedes.

It was, naturally, perfectly in order to list me so for internal American use, but when I applied for a visa to Canada, the American Embassy went out of its way to "inform" the Canadian ambassador, who resided in Oslo, about this "knowledge", and so hurt me and my family badly for almost a year before we succeeded in getting this corrected by aid of several outstanding Swedish colleagues. That certainly was libel or, at least, malicious slander, but it astonished me that when I told some of my American colleagues about it, none dared to say a word in protest, although my few Canadian friends made great efforts to help us. This was, of course, during the McCarthy era, when established scoundrels were not afraid of getting into the daylight with their character assassinations.

But I have understood later, that the success of that senator and his numerous cooperators was not based on anything new and ephemeral but on the perennial conservatism, inferiority complex, and tendency for cloak-and-dagger games of the generally badly educated Americans, even those with so-called university educations, when confronted with good learning and honest democracy and, perhaps mainly, on the almost total lack of fortitude and courage that seems to characterize much too large portions of this nation, so that even your so-called best friends turn chicken when a government employee, a policeman, or a lawyer accuses you of wrongdoing even without the slightest reason, or when a bandit bombs your house or tries to hunt or stab you or shoots you with the much too common American gun, by aid of which some minorities in this "land of law" have had to force their way to the rights to live as human beings.

I realize that these are strong words, and that others than my friends might like to use them as evidence of my dissident opinions that are resisted here no less than in Russia, where American politicians now protest against them. But I am sure that even you are likely to agree, since, unfortunately, they can be substantiated, not only for our times but for generations past. Although one must emphasize in all fairness that this land has also fostered some of the most learned, most democratic, and most fair men the world has ever seen. I am proud that I have had the opportunity to know some of them and to admire the others.

I am sure you understand that I had lost all hope for fortitude in America years ago when all my so-called friends turned chicken when I needed them most, even those who had claimed they would help, so I was pleasantly surprised by the personal part of your letter - but it was not unexpected. I am very grateful for the friendship you demonstrate when refusing to believe the slander that told you I had been forced to resign my position and facilities to work and even live because I had mismanaged some research funds in order to buy a car for my daughter! I can only say that this is clearly an aetiological myth, invented as an "understandable reason" for what was fabricated to harm me, probably because my European and genetical ideas do not fit in with the dogmas that still hamper progress in American botany.

It is right, that I have bought cars for my daughters, not one but actually two, for both of them, but years before we came into contact with the Smithsonian. And the last car I bought was paid [for] in America in the spring [of] 1972 and used in Yugoslavia that summer because our "rental" car from the University car pool in Ljubljana the year before had been highly unsatisfactory, and we had for years driven our own cars when we were collecting in America or Europe and charged the mileage to our research grants. I thought it was a common practice.

Of course, the slander you heard and many may have spread though we have never heard it before, is only a shallow addition cover-up for actions that we believe were a very serious violation of our civil, academic, and human rights, very much more so than an alleged but fabricated "fraud" in a place where most scientists accept so-called research funds and never return even acceptable reports of a worthwhile investigation, but perhaps again typical of the false morality of this home of superior hypocrisy. It is a complete untruth.

I am hesitant to mention the real story in a letter because we have reason to believe that some of our mail is regularly tampered with and because we are still getting threats through anonymous and very short telephone calls. Doris, therefore, does not want me to tell anything even to you in a letter; that shows how even she has become suspicious of everything American after a generation of discrimination and miscarriage of justice. However, since it would be unwise and unfair to refuse to give you information that you alone have had the courage to ask for, I will try to give you the main points below, though hesitantly, but in the hope that it will not turn also you away from us.

October 12.

Since I wrote the above, I have made numerous unsuccessful attempts to find appropriate words to tell you what happened five and more years ago, but since every story has many sides and the so-called truth can be told in various ways because we never know the absolute truth or even the relative truth of the honest lawyers, I still have not succeeded in doing this in the way I want, especially since the material seems to have a tendency to grow into book-size, and a shameful book at that. But I trust that you will read this with wisdom and indulgence, and especially with benevolence and cognizance of the fact that it is written by a foreigner, whose knowledge of your language is restricted to other fields than that of the intrigues of lawyers. And so I may use expressions or select words the meaning of which may perhaps at least slightly differ from what I took them for. But such mistakes are unintentional and, hopefully, understandable, and a wise reader will easily forgive harshness when softness was intended.

In order, hopefully, to strengthen your impression of me as an honest and trustworthy scientist, I would like to add here some information about the moral and ethical background that has affected me and made me, I hope, a more complex and a more sincere being than are some others. I should emphasize that the three Icelandic families of my grandparents have always been characterized by the strict conscience and disposition that has been the hallmark of all the many respectable Icelanders for more than 1,100 years. In their genealogical records that go back to before the colonization of Iceland there are only peaceful and honest men, many of them leaders in various fields, and from them I believe I inherited the various mental attributes which are amply documented in my own activities for a lifetime.

I know, however, only a little about the genealogy and characteristics of my paternal grandfather, who was a Danish merchant risen from the class of farmers and sailors, as were my Icelandic ancestors of course. My father was his illegitimate son, and his mother was a very poor woman who had lost her parents when she was an infant. Despite all drawbacks in the severe conditions of the last century, he became a successful though never wealthy sea captain who is said to have been the essential power behind the belated revolution in Icelandic fishing when he, as a young man, got a loan to buy the first motor for a fishing vessel. He married twice. I am the oldest of six sons and a daughter of his second marriage, so I was brought up in the poverty between the wars, and I was still only a boy when he was forced to retire from the sea because of ill health, so I and my brothers [had to] work our ways during the depression to get through the very competitive Icelandic upper school system.

With understanding from home and earned state scholarships, however, we all made it so well that two of us got doctorates abroad. One became a vice president of the Teachers University; one was the organizer and manager of the exemplary Icelandic organization for rehabilitation of people crippled by disease or accidents and a leader in the European association of such organizations; one is a successful businessman and importer; one died while still preparing to become an artist for which he had apparent talent; and my sister is a librarian who has brought up three intelligent children, all university educated as is the entire third generation. At home we were encouraged to enjoy and take part in all kinds of cultural activities and handicraft.

Since we could not afford to buy more than a limited number of books, we all read through the good libraries available in our community, including of course the enormous Icelandic and Scandinavian literary heritage and the great books of civilization, even the Bible, the books of Plato, and *Das Kapital*, which certainly have

influenced my life no less than did my spartan upbringing and my years of study in Sweden. I even dreamed of becoming a philosopher, and good old Kant, who presently is read by much too few and probably by no scientists in America, became dear to me so that his learned but complex *Kritik der reinen Vernunft* still is placed on the bookshelf on the back of my desk, together with some other works of classical philosophy and poetry. Still I continue to feel, with Kant, the greatest wonder and awe from the starry heavens above me and the moral and ethical law within me. I am sure you do too, and that you agree with my "Ten Commandments of a Scientist" (Exhibit 1) that I used to give to my advanced students.

The influence from home and from good teachers, from the Icelandic heritage and great books, made me a promising young poet during my college years, and I am still proud and astonished at the considerable contributions that I could make in that field during those few romantic years of my youth. That training probably led to my success in writing my own language that culminated in an essay in a competition that, at graduation, resulted in the Golden Pen Award for Icelandic Composition, still the most prominent but rarely given award at our very old and esteemed college.

I also became deeply interested in philosophy, mainly metaphysics. However, I knew all the Icelandic plants then known when I was only 13, and made, during two summers, a mature collection in the far northwest of the country, in the most Arctic coastal area, where my then retired sailor father was a lighthouse keeper. That was probably the main cause. In 1937, when I had earned a good scholarship for studies abroad in a field that I could select myself, I decided to go to Sweden to study botanical genetics rather than to go either to Heidelberg for aesthetics or Paris for philosophy, for both of which I had received a nod from these places. But it may also have been my interest in contributing to the development of Icelandic agriculture, because I made efforts to learn everything in plant breeding, with which I mainly worked after returning to Iceland in 1945.

Before continuing with the main contents of this letter, allow me to add that, when I was a boy of seven, I joined the temperance movement (I.O.G.T.I.) and promised neither to use alcoholic beverages nor tobacco. Although others certainly regarded this as only a temporary promise that could be broken when grown up, I have kept it for some reason, perhaps because I tend to keep promises slavishly however uncomfortable that may be. I have never used these or any other drugs and still do not even drink coffee or tea. I avoid swearing or using foul language though perhaps not always successfully, and also refuse to take oaths, a custom that I find to be greatly misused in America, and I have been married only once and never have been interested in adultery. Nevertheless, I believe my friends would agree that I have shown them tolerance when they differ in this, and also when [they are] of other opinions.

Although my father was strongly agnostic and among the first to withdraw from the Icelandic state church when this at last was permitted, he insisted that we get a thorough religious education in school, because he believed that Christian ethics and morals were among the most necessary learning and the essential pillars of our civilization, and he and my grandmother impressed us children with the importance of seriously always trying to follow the Golden Rule. I remain an irreligious Christian and at least try to follow the morals and ethics of the New Testament, whereas I abhor the Old Testament with its eye-for-an-eye and tooth-for-a-tooth advice by which the world still seems to be governed.

I am proud that my parents also encouraged us children to visit regularly the only Sunday School in our town, that of the Salvation Army, which we found to be a fine organization of good people dedicated to helping the poor and the weak. I am also proud of having belonged to the Icelandic nationalistic youth organization Ungmennafélag, which during the first half of this century brought up and strengthened the democratic minds of later leaders in every important field. And I am especially proud of having been the second Icelandic boy scout to become an Eagle scout and to have gained moral strength through the influence of this fine international organization, the travels with which strongly affected my view of nature and my own development as a botanist.

Since I had to start working to help myself and my family already as a boy of seven, and was brought up

among working men and numerous gifted children who suffered more poverty than I did, I came to be strongly class oriented so that when I became interested in politics, as was typical of the college students in Reykjavik in the early thirties, it was to be expected that this and my strongly nationalistic and democratic background would push me into the labor movement and into the Social Democratic Party, of which youth organization I was the secretary in 1935-1937. Afterwards, in Sweden, Iceland, Canada, and the U.S.A., these leanings have changed but slightly, though I have not taken part in active politics since 1937, except for voting between 1946 and 1952, for the simple reason that my energy has been insufficient for activities outside my science, as is perhaps amply documented in the fact that I have published close to 600 papers and 15 books in botany and genetics after completing my three Swedish degrees in record time, plus teaching and administration that I did for a living.

No more of this, to avoid sending you 1,000 pages of biography, but I felt you should know so you may understand better my reactions below.

You may read my abbreviated biography in *Who's Who*, but we came to the States, or to Boulder, from Montreal where we had been caught up in the general fight between the French and English, but the discrimination we experienced there was doubtlessly also caused by envy of small souls, as always, because we seem to be able to do as little as others even without proper facilities. Since our positions at Montreal had been rudely terminated, we had no bargaining power when we came to Colorado, actually wanted none because we detest all kinds of political pressure, which to me is anti-democratic. However, despite my honesty in reporting the situation as it was, we were immediately persecuted through a lowered salary, denial of employment of Doris despite her superior competence matched by no men in that university, etc., etc.

Notwithstanding hardly any facilities, no gardens or greenhouses, no technical assistance, no laboratory equipment, hardly any library except our own, we nevertheless succeeded in doing more research than others had done before us in Boulder, but instead of bringing praise, this of course resulted only in envy and, consequently some cloak-and-dagger games connected especially with a small but powerful group at the Medical School in Denver that wanted Biology at Boulder to be replaced by biochemistry disguised under the new name of molecular biology. We had experienced similar reactions earlier for the simple reason that your less conscientious or able colleagues always resent it when you are not satisfied with the minimum of work and ideas for maximum pay. We had had always done the maximum of work even without pay since we first got research support in Sweden, where we were told that bookkeeping was not essential, but that if we wanted continued support we had better do at least what was promised in the application, and publish our results as soon and as accurately as possible - a policy that we have always followed despite our observation here that it is not honored by most American grant seekers. Discrimination because of superiority is probably typical everywhere. I observed something that indicated its existence at Philadelphia and certainly at Harvard, cf. the ugly story around Merrill, [Karl] Sax, and [Ivan M.] Johnston, and all the disguise that followed it.

Although the administration at Boulder never showed our work any appreciation except for encouragement from Dr. Manning, the fine vice-president during our first years, and Dr. Archer, the second graduate dean during my tenure, the administration at the end of my term as chairman, and later even went out of its way to run me down, as when a hand-picked committee of non-peers chaired by a small molecular biologist refused me a so-called Faculty Fellowship for which I was more qualified than any other biologists who received this honor during these years. The reason given by the then dean was that I was working "only with damned chromosomes"; his specialty was said to be philosophy of religion. However, my colleagues had elected me in 1966 for a period of chairmanship of the department. They seemed to be satisfied with my efforts, since I believe that their letter to me at the end of my term (Exhibit 2) was sincere, and they at least twice recommended me for a university lectureship, which of course was turned down by the same dean, who later felt competent to be my very partial judge (see later).

And there were several other cases that can only be regarded as downright discrimination and miscarriage of justice. I was just an uncomfortable immigrant casting a shadow much too big for this environment (and perhaps even for this country?). This same dean went even so far once in 1968 to phone me and ask why I was working

for this bunch of incompetents, meaning the Biology Department, but my reaction stopped him from continuing or proposing some change in my position; he was only waiting for a chance to kick me out. You may read more about the situation at Boulder between the lines in the next letter (Exhibit 3), which I wrote just before I left the chairmanship. It was not even orally acknowledged and thoroughly ignored. I recommend that so-called university to nobody, although honest men might learn about corruption at various levels by urging a thorough study by critical outsiders and honest auditors of how the so-called overhead research funds and other outside support is distributed, sometimes not without expecting favors instead. But let this end the long Jeremiads and get to the points promised.

Our final problems in America seem to have started in 1968, when in the spring I received a letter from the National Research Council asking if I could accommodate for a few weeks an exchange scientist from Ljubljana, Yugoslavia, Dr. Franc Susnik, who was then the director of the Biological Institute of the university there. Although I was busy this summer with some graduate students who were striving towards completion of their theses, with other administration, my own research and, especially, with writing the new *Icelandic Excursion Flora* that was published two years later, I consented to try to assist him. When he arrived, he told me that he had mentioned my name because I was one of the less than handful of American botanists known in this part of Europe, but mainly because of my renown as the leading cytotaxonomist, a field in which he and his colleagues were especially interested for various reasons.

I soon discovered that he was familiar with the cytological and taxonomical techniques that are basic for this approach, and also with the cytogenetical philosophy that is essential for the logical interpretation of its results. He took on a small problem with Rocky Mountain fescues [grasses] that we had been looking at, but time did not allow him to complete it. A good proportion of the days and evenings that we spent together was, however, used for discussion of problems in the Yugoslav and Balkan flora that were likely to benefit from a thorough and extensive cytotaxonomical investigation similar to those that we had previously completed for Scandinavia, northwestern Europe, Iceland, and Mount Washington in New Hampshire, and were working on the basis of immense collections from Manitoba, the Arctic, eastern Canada, the Rocky Mountains, southern Spain, and northern Italy.

As a matter of fact, when we were planning the two last-mentioned projects in 1962, with aid of substantial support from NATO, we had first planned to locate it in Yugoslavia, with all its problems related to so-called endemic species and genera that had been described during the time of dominance of the Vienna school of philosophy in taxonomy that still dominates among some American and Russian botanists but differs significantly from the classical and evolutionary concepts of the Scandinavians and Germans, which we accept as do most modern botanists. Although much preparation had gone into this project through discussions with our Ljubljana colleague, Prof. E. Mayer, and by aid of detailed studies of the literature and herbaria, political problems interfered, so our collections in 1962 and 1963 were instead located in Spain and Italy, and even to the southern Alps close to Slovenia. We were, therefore, thoroughly familiar with the botanical problems of this region.

Our discussions resulted in the conviction that a joint project on the cytotaxonomy of the Yugoslav flora, or preferably of the Balkan flora as a whole, was likely to solve many of the crucial problems in European taxonomy and phytogeography and clarify some of the basic processes of local endemism anywhere. When we considered the problem of the possibilities of funding such a project, I explained to Dr. Susnik the situation we had encountered at the National Science Foundation with its hostile anti-taxonomical so-called peer reviewers, and also the unlikelihood of convincing NATO, despite the success of our Spanish and Italian project.

He then told me that while in Washington on the way west he had visited the foreign office of the Smithsonian Institution and learned about the availability of considerable Public Law 480 funds [American funds left in Yugoslavia after World War II that could only be used in that country] for projects in which American and Yugoslav scientists could cooperate, and also that as yet no such proposals had been found to be acceptable to the Yugoslavs, for reasons unknown or not mentioned to me. He promised to make further contacts in Washington on his way back home and to ask that available information be sent to me. To make a long story shorter, I contacted the Smithsonian Institution in the spring of 1969, and in the fall we presented a project which every qualified

cytotaxonomist would have looked upon as excellent because it was backed by a wider and deeper experience in the field than any other couple of botanists had shared anywhere. It proposed an initial study that we felt we could accomplish in five years, provided of course that the support were adequate and that no obstacles were thrown in our way. I am sorry that I seem to have lost the last copy of this proposal, but it ought to be available from official files at the Smithsonian and at the University of Colorado.

I received no answer from Smithsonian until February 11, 1970, when I was told by Mr. Whitehead, the friendly associate director of the PL 480 projects at Smithsonian, that a panel of specialists (only two botanists, neither one in the fields concerned) had found our project to be unacceptable for various reasons. He was apparently reading in part from a letter dated the same day, to our Vice-president for Academic Affairs and received in copy by me a few days later, in which several statements showed that the reviewers were ill-informed on certain matters, as could be expected from a non-specialist panel. Since I was aware that none of my few real peers in America had taken part in this judgment (and this was confirmed by Mr. Whitehead), despite the hardly honest but conventional claim that "scholars particularly well qualified to comment on the subject matter of the proposal" had been consulted.

I complained about this to Mr. Whitehead; he gracefully offered to accommodate a new application if it could be presented without delay, and to be presented to a group of our cytotaxonomist peers to be selected from a list that I consented to prepare, and then to present it to the Smithsonian panel at its spring meeting early enough for us to start our work in Yugoslavia in the early summer. He also asked me, for peculiar reasons that indicated that our competence might have been questioned by the Washington panel, to put an emphasis on the Julian Alps, an area without problems of the kind emphasized in our project, and to restrict the project to Slovenia.

Time did not allow a consultation with Dr. Susnik, but his astonishment and anger was a reasonable reaction when he was informed. Then he flatly refused to follow these clearly ignorant "instructions", but when I informed him that Mr. Whitehead had confirmed in a telephone conversation that a stringent conformity with this plan was not expected, this secured its acceptance by Dr. Susnik. (At about this time, Dr. Susnik informed me in a letter that I seem to have mislaid somewhere, that during his visit to Washington in 1968 or 1969, some botanists had pressured him to replace us with them or with some other American-born botanists, a proposal which he had categorically denied on the basis of the simple fact that none of these botanists had any real knowledge of cytotaxonomy or its principles, nor were any of them familiar with the European flora in general or the Balkan flora in particular, as we already were.

Later in the spring I was told by Mr. Whitehead and through a copy of a form letter, that the new proposal had been accepted because of enthusiastic recommendations from reviewers selected from the list. I believe they were Arthur Cronquist, Verne Grant, Harlan Lewis, John Reeder, and Billie Turner. However, because of "lack of funds", it could not be funded outright, though hopefully later in the summer, so I was encouraged to keep our student assistants ready. Nevertheless, despite my efforts to pressure the office so the work could start before the winter would prevent all collection of plants in the Yugoslavian mountains, I gave up after July.

This I reported to Dr. Susnik, who knew about the availability of plenty of funds that had also been officially approved by Zames, the Yugoslav Research Council, and then also told him that the Smithsonian official to whom I had spoken last time had even indicated that funds might not become available until perhaps in 1972! I have copies of several letters from this time that indicate what was going on, evidently in order to discourage us so that Smithsonian "specialists" might be pressed into our slots whatever the Yugoslavs would say, but I doubt that you or others would find them worth your while. They are a disgusting evidence of negativism and downright discrimination.

The Yugoslavs were not happy with this situation and seem to have remarked on it to Washington through their diplomats. Therefore, I was asked to visit Ljubljana late in 1970 to correct some misunderstandings, an indirect answer to an ignored application from me and my wife to visit the place in order to gain proper knowledge of its problems from the point of view of our finances. I believe this complaint and this visit resulted in our project being at last funded in the spring of 1971, though with last-minute reductions in our part of the budget which I have later

understood as attempts to get me to withdraw in disgust. But at last we went, together with three students, one of whom was our younger daughter, who had been assisting us considerably in bibliographic work fundamental to the investigations to be started in Ljubljana.

We worked intensively in Yugoslavia during two months in the summer of 1971, under very unfavorable conditions, but could nevertheless in the fall present a report of results that even we had good reason to be proud of, including papers in press. Therefore, we were in no doubt that our funds for the next summer would be gracefully approved. When we heard nothing about this, however, we asked the University Office of Research Services at Boulder in the second week of March to inquire about this with the dean of the Graduate School and the Provost. When the latter denied having received any information, we asked the ORS to contact Washington. That resulted in a copy of a letter that had been sent to the provost early in February, without a copy to me (but he forwarded a copy late in April or early in May!). This letter included not only a negative answer but a highly damaging report, as you can read (Exhibit 4).

We later learned from Billie Turner that Paul D. Hurd, a Smithsonian entomologist, had told him that this report had mainly been based on his judgment, whereas Harlan Lewis, the only one of my peers who seems to have been consulted, told me, as I recall, that he had been asked to review our report and had sent in a very positive and enthusiastic review which, however, apparently was ignored by the Smithsonian committee. If this is not a misuse of the peer review system of which American scientists have been so proud, and a case of highly malicious libel that in addition was sent to my ignorant superiors with the intention to hurt me, and without even informing me by aid of a copy, then I am badly mistaken about the protection of even immigrants by the laws against slander and libel, even by those who like to hide behind so-called anonymity of so-called peer reviewers who are no peers.

I have the feeling that the Smithsonian officials intended this report as still another means to get me to withdraw in anger from the project so that their cytotaxonomically ignorant representatives could step into my project and try to utilize my ideas, whatever our Yugoslav colleagues would say. If so, it certainly was a serious blunder and miscalculation not to send me at least a copy of this libelous "report", because I could hardly react in anger to something I did not know; and the ineffectiveness of the Boulder provost also prevented me from answering at once. But the interference of the ORS coincided with a letter from Dr. Susnik, who seemed to have some information that I did not have in the middle of March, and he urged me to come during the summer and not give up the project, whatever "decisions" the Smithsonian might make.

When I met Dr. Susnik in May, it became evident that when Mr. Schmertz [in charge of Smithsonian PL 480 funds] had not received my expected angry answer in the middle of March, he lost his patience or felt that some other action must be taken to secure my withdrawal, because then he visited the scientific attaché of the Yugoslavian Embassy to ask him to directly slander me in Ljubljana. I enclose the letter as my Exhibit 5, and it would astonish me if you and other honest scientists do not agree that it contains even a greater malicious libel than the former letter.

With the copy of the original, in Slovenian, I enclose a translation done by Dr. Susnik, and also a part of his letter that answers this request. It shows clearly that he was not flattered by the much-too-evident cajole, and that he was not going to do as the Smithsonian non-botanists recommended to replace me with a "better American scientist." Naturally, when he gave me a copy of this letter, he was greatly disturbed and could not avoid making the remark that if an official in his country had done something like sending such a letter abroad, even using such methods inside the country, he would not be able to do it with impunity, and his institution would at least have been forced to pay substantial damages. The same would be true in my country. You will probably react similarly to Harlan Lewis (Exhibit 6), to whom I sent a copy of this libelous letter after our return home in the fall.

After the letter (Exhibit 5) had been sent to Ljubljana, and the negative answer from Dr. Susnik had arrived, and after I had received his letter urging us to come whatever the "report" might be, Washington received the request from the Office of Research Services in Boulder for readjustment of our budget (Exhibit 7). It is my suspicion that then Mr. Schmertz may have been seized with some misgivings about the possibility that I might already have

received from Dr. Susnik a copy of this second libelous letter, and that this clearly unwise attempt to force our withdrawal might cause us to ask for legal assistance against the libel at least; if so, that must be prevented. Be that as it may, but it would not astonish me if, at this point those who were responsible for the two letters had realized the seriousness of the situation, and that now their only possibility for a successful evasion would be to get us to Slovenia where a new plan, based upon a frame-up and entrapment, could be put into action to produce a watertight coverup for them and also scare us to withdraw and to keep silent.

For such a plan, however, our presence in Yugoslavia would be essential. I believe that this is the simplest logical explanation of the fact that, suddenly, there is no need to refuse us any funds, but instead, our budget was gracefully reinstated and all our wishes fulfilled, so that we could depart with three assistants immediately after school ended in the middle of May. We were even given permission, per telephone and without the slightest objection, to route two of the assistants over London for a visit to Kew, and to go ourselves via Portugal to take part in the *Flora Europaea* Symposium at which we could confer with numerous European colleagues about our project. We did not have the slightest suspicion of this sudden and complete reversal, and so accepted it gratefully.

However, when we arrived in Ljubljana a week or so later, we found that the initial step of what I believe was a wicked plan had already been taken when the Embassy, through its scientific attaché, Dr. Liimatainen, told me on the telephone that no authorization had been received from Washington to release any of our funds. The Yugoslav officials, who also had to be involved, were, however, of the impression that no such new authorization was necessary because these funds had been authorized in 1971 for a three-year project. Dr. Liimatainen claimed the following days and weeks first to have been unable to get any answers from the Smithsonian to repeated requests for such an authorization, but later he blamed Zamtes, the Yugoslav Research Council, for the delay, among other evasions that to me looked as if they were connected with the action asked of but refused by Dr. Susnik (Exhibit 5), of which the Embassy likely had some knowledge, directly or indirectly.

The funds were at last released at the end of June, through the Belgrade Bank, as verified by a form (Exhibit 8), but my bank receipt was among the materials of which I was stripped at the end of the summer, as described in Exhibit 10. The details of the first part of this plot as it was carried out are described in my letter of July 2 to Mr. Schmertz, in which I informed him about what had been happening and, thus, followed his instructions as to my changes in the budget that were required in the field. That letter is my Exhibit 9.

I mention this again, together with information on the continuation of the plot until we left for home in the fall, in my letter of Sept. 4 to Dr. Susnik, which is my Exhibit 10. I am sorry that the contents of neither of these letters can be properly corroborated except as copies made by me at their time of writing, because I was stripped of all vouchers and evidence, even my personal notebook as described in the letter in Exhibit 10, and also of all my receipts, even our food receipts which were later replaced by incorrect receipts based on what I had also been forced, by threats, to assist with, as described more closely in the letter in Exhibit 10. The receipt of these letters was never acknowledged and they were not registered, cf. below. In the letter to Susnik I mentioned a phone call from Mr. Barlovec (or from a person so identifying himself, cf. below) on July 20, when he instructed me as to the final phase of the process. I enclose my handwritten notes of this as Exhibit 11.

The story relative to the letters in Exhibits 9 and 10 may read as a script for a detective novel when scrutinized by an honest scientist, but they certainly created a nightmare for me that summer and ever since, with a continuation worthy of the Ku Klux Klan. As I mentioned in my letter to Mr. Schmertz (Exhibit 9), I mailed it the day after it was written, from Klagenfurt, in order to avoid the curiosity of the Yugoslav and USA secret police letter openers. It was, unfortunately, not registered, since an innocent and nervous writer does not think that such a mailing might later need verification, especially because in it I was reporting happenings that I had reason to believe were not entirely unknown to the addressee himself. But my travels in Austria that day are documented by a stamp at the border in my passport, whatever that might be worth in a land of lawyers and auditors.

The later letter, to Dr. Susnik (Exhibit 10) was also sent indirectly, through the address of an old colleague

at the University of Graz in Austria whom I asked to deliver it to its Yugoslavian address without using the mail over the border. He sent me a card confirming the acceptance and delivery of the letter, of which I made a note in pencil on my copy before I destroyed the card as promised. Unfortunately, Professor Widder, the intermediary, died in an accident in 1974, and so is not available to confirm my words. Even my wife and daughter were unaware of these letters because I made efforts not to upset them with information about what was going on, in part because I was being considerate and in part because of threats, so the claim that these letters were actually sent rests only on my two copies and on my Icelandic word of honor. It is, therefore, possible for others to interpret Exhibits 9 and 10 differently, if my word is not accepted.

I want to emphasize in connection with what I reported in Exhibits 9 and 10, that I am unable to speak Slovenian or Serbo-Croatian, so that I needed help to use the telephone for calls outside Ljubljana. Since only two of the office staff seemed to know some English or German, Dr. Susnik instructed them to assist me whenever I received an outside call or needed to make one myself. The names of these two persons I never got straight since I never saw them in writing, and they have later become only shadows of a young man and a young woman in my memory. All my long distance calls were, naturally, recorded in my notebook, with details of the conversations, but since this book was among the materials requested by what I believe was the Embassy as told on the telephone (Exhibit 11), only a fraction of these calls remain in my memory. However, the letter to Mr. Schmertz (Exhibit 9) was written with support of this notebook which was then still in my hands. And the letter to Dr. Susnik (Exhibit 10) was in part based on my copy of the letter to Dr. Schmertz, of which the Embassy had no first-hand knowledge, and did not mention at the time, the instructions shown on my notes from the last conversation with the voice introducing itself as Mr. Barlovec.

The two office staff members mentioned were my intermediaries for numerous calls, both those coming from the Embassy and the others from me, and they always told me who was on the phone, except in a few cases, mainly in the early summer, when either Dr. Susnik phoned from his office or received calls there, usually from Mr. Liimatainen or Mr. Barlovec of the Embassy, and let me talk with them. Therefore, I want to emphasize that I never met any of the persons at the Embassy in person and so would not be able to identify them if I met them or to claim emphatically that they were more than names given to me by themselves or others on the telephone. If I had had any reason to suspect foul play, however, I would, naturally, have made efforts to identify everyone in writing by Dr. Susnik or others.

There is an exception concerning Mr. Francodruz, whom I met and with whom I exchanged funds but no documents at the instruction of persons identifying themselves on the telephone as staff members at the Embassy. When I met him and asked if he was Mr. Francodruz with whom I had just spoken on the telephone, he confirmed this with a voice that I recognized, and also with a smile that later (cf. Exhibit 10) got me to suspect that the name might have been fictitious, since I believe it could simply mean "friend of Franc." He was already an old and frail man in 1972, so he may not be alive. I must also admit that sometimes later I have thought of the possibility that all the phone calls that were said to be from the Embassy and with which I was assisted by the two staff members who spoke some German and English in the office could as well have come from within the city of Ljubljana, even from other rooms in the same building. Then, however, the person said to be Mr. Barlovec must have had an unusual ability to imitate his voice if it in fact was somebody else, because I never doubted that this was the same person that Dr. Susnik had introduced me to on the telephone in 1971 and in the spring of 1972 when the call unmistakably came from the Embassy in Belgrade.

That such a person existed became evident when one day in the summer he apparently visited our assistants in the Botanical Garden without visiting us, and when the girl who was our assistant visited him in Belgrade later in the summer, as I believe I mentioned in the letter to Susnik (Exhibit 10). The fact that I felt I recognized his voice with certainty was a strong reason why I never doubted that the other introductions were genuine (which I still believe), and I have no reason to suspect foul play by my Yugoslav colleagues, although others may want to suggest that on the basis of what is said above. Nevertheless, this possibility for doubt makes me hesitate to send a copy of these two exhibits even to you, because I do not want to implicate or hurt anybody or to accuse someone unknown to me on the basis of such evidence alone. Therefore, I trust that you will not copy these documents, and only allow

others to read them under conditions when they could not be copied or xeroxed for distribution or other misuse.

There is perhaps a need to explain that when I sent the letter and copy of Exhibit 5 to Harlan Lewis in the fall of 1972, the story related in the letters in Exhibits 9 and 10 had already taken place, so that I could have told it to him also and added copies of those letters. At that time, however, I was nervous because of the threats mentioned, and perhaps especially because of a special one not mentioned in either of the letters, that had been distinctly expressed at the end of the conversation during which I received the "instructions" in Exhibit 11. When the speaker had completed his conversation, he said goodbye and added hurriedly before putting down the receiver: "Remember that the long arm of the CIA will reach you anywhere if you squeak." I now realize that this and other threats may have been empty pranks, though to me they looked serious, and that it might have been wise to break this at that time at least, since Harlan Lewis would certainly have protected me. If he had known about all this, he might even have prevented the most unbelievable part of the scheme that still had not been put in action. And I also thought that by being obedient and silent I was protecting my family, my constantly first thought – "this deliberate fool", Shakespeare might have said about me and my innocent simplicity.

In my letter to Dr. Susnik (Exhibit 10), I described the last part of the plot in Yugoslavia when, by aid of a threat especially serious in the mind of a foreigner who has discovered that, even in his role of an immigrant supported by American funds, he is clearly unprotected in a dictatorial police state. I was stripped of most of my documents by those I had believed were my protectors. This included even "duplicates" and unsigned papers that I was "required" to include for "reasons" that look doubtful at least. But if you can put yourself into my situation, you certainly realize that I had no choice but to conform, if I wanted to get out of the country with my family – provided that the threats were real, as I had all reason to believe.

When we were leaving, a few of these papers were returned to me with the "instruction" not to open the envelope until back at home. Most of the documents and vouchers and my important special notebook were missing, and those that were included had been "doctored" and furnished with signatures by somebody somewhere, and with them was an enclosed note (Exhibit 12). As mentioned above, I sent this letter through an Austrian intermediary who informed me about its delivery. I never heard about it from Dr. Susnik, but received from him some noncommittal letters that answered questions concerning our mutual research and the papers we were preparing, or asked about his final report that I felt was important for our closing of the affair. These letters were sent by ordinary mail and meant for his files in Ljubljana, although I had enclosed at least with one of them a handwritten note carefully asking about the September 4 letter.

I received some unpleasant phone calls from Washington demanding that I immediately report on our summer's work and especially on the finances of the project, a request that was contrary to my instructions because such reports, including the Yugoslav part, were hardly due until the end of the year. When no answer arrived from Dr. Susnik, however, I at last decided to comply and to follow slavishly the "instructions" (Exhibits 10, 11, and 12) and their supporting threats by what I had no reason to doubt were the officers at the American Embassy in Belgrade, trusting that they had kept their promise to "explain everything" in a way satisfactory to Washington.

I heard nothing of the matter for some months, but at about the same time, in February 1973, I received an alarming and upsetting letter from Dr. Susnik (Exhibit 13) and a phone call at home from a Smithsonian auditor (Mr. Stanton?), who then was at the Office of Research Services in Boulder especially to audit my papers there. I answered the letter from Dr. Susnik at once and asked for more information (Exhibit 14), but never again heard from him, not even a thanks for reprints and for a copy of the large and very expensive *Cytotaxonomical Atlas of the Slovenian Flora* that I sent to him through the publisher in 1974, the monumental and main result of our joint efforts. (Here I want to add that we sent the same package of reprints and the book to the Smithsonian as our final report early in 1975, addressed to Mr. Schmertz but not registered; its acceptance has never been acknowledged!)

The auditor asked me, in the tone of a far from friendly one who believed he had the power, where I, yes, I, had placed a microscope that had been bought for the project in 1971, and I could not avoid the impression that

he was implying that I had personally "taken care of it!" He calmed down and seemed satisfied when I explained that this apparatus had been paid from the Yugoslav part of the budget, where it had also been listed in our original application, and that it therefore had been left in Ljubljana at the University Botanical Garden Laboratory. I asked him if there were other matters or problems that I could help him with or needed to explain, and offered to come to the ORS despite the bad weather that day, but he said that there was no need for that; everything was under control.

I had, however, almost asked him about the matters mentioned in the last letter from Dr. Susnik, but decided not to expose my and his worries to an outsider. Little did I realize that he was in Boulder because the Smithsonian bureaucrats had decided to go ahead with the final phase of their plans that we had seen a little of in Yugoslavia, so that they could get rid of us and our project without contacting our peers but instead by implicating me by using the fabricated and reconstructed "evidence" by aid of auditors and other non-scientists who could help to discredit me and accuse me in such a way that the coup-de-grace could be trusted to an administrator at the University of Colorado.

Still less did I imagine that political, not academic, bureaucrats of this putatively most respectable of American learned institutions who repeatedly had niggardly declared lack of funds for our fine research project that they despised for political and discriminatory reasons, now suddenly had uncovered plenty of money to send auditors and even high administrators, by air, not only to Boulder but also to Yugoslavia to pinpoint on us "irregularities" that seemed to have been known to them before we experienced them already in the spring of 1972, and seemed to have been carried out by Embassy officers simply to force immigrant scientists to withdraw from a fine project that some unimaginative botanists at the Smithsonian were interested in pursuing without proper knowledge.

It astonished nobody that these emissaries found everything wrong on our side of the project and that they returned with "affidavits" supporting their "evidence", as is typical in this land of lawyers and bookkeepers. Neither did it astonish us that these same investigators declared that everything was in good order with the books of our Ljubljana colleagues. This despite the fact that one of the main "cooperators" had done practically nothing for the project except accepting his additional salary, so that the more honest of the cooperators even complained to me about this in 1972, and threatened to report this to the rector of the University.

Also, the auditors did not observe that several persons were listed as having received salaries from the Yugoslavian part of the project although we had not seen them and therefore did not know them or their "results". This is not to forget that, during the second summer hardly any work was done by any of the Yugoslavs, who even delayed the work of our students by demonstrating unwillingness in helping them to collect material for cytological studies, and delaying or refusing to give them information about material that had been collected previously.

Instead of asking the two students about such matters that really were connected with the work contracted for, they were, willingly or unwillingly, given the opportunity to write affidavits against us that mentioned nothing of our ardent work for long hours during the summer. My observations here may indicate that lack of doing work contracted for and paid for is not an auditory sin and perhaps more in line with that done by others than we, who always have felt responsibility to do more than promised, irrespective of the possibilities of reward. And the auditors apparently had no interest to ask about how much time and effort we had spent on this large project in Boulder, without any remuneration from the Smithsonian funds. Why bother about others?

On the basis of the highly superficial and unjust so-called "investigation" by the auditors, who had not even been informed of the details of our budget (cf. above regarding the microscope) and who certainly had not been told anything about the several earlier attempts to discredit us as scientists and to force our replacement with incompetent "better American scientists", not to mention what went on in connection with our funds in Yugoslavia during the summer of 1972, I was soon presented, through the University that apparently was given responsibility for this last phase, with a "report" (Exhibit 15) that a considerable sum was "disallowed" from my financial report and I was required to repay it without any explanation, despite the fact that I had followed the albeit crooked but clear instructions from what I still believe was the Embassy staff, and also despite the fact that we had and would soon

deliver much more than ever was contracted for.

I could not believe that this letter could be serious, since I was not even advised of my rights to legal counsel. And since I was still under the impression of the threats in Yugoslavia that seem to have affected my stomach ulcer ever since, I did not feel that I could even try to defend myself by informing the provost of what had happened there, for the simple reason that I knew from my experience that I could not trust him not to use this to hurt us more and also others.

I asked, however, that the auditor of the ORS be instructed to review the audit with me, and I believe I sent a copy of the vicious letter from Washington to Dr. Susnik (Exhibit 5) as an indication of what had been going on since then. This letter, however, was not even acknowledged. Later I have wondered if this procedure actually could have been caused by some bureaucratic vigilance or simply by a mistake, or it may have been a bold attempt to find out if the threats still would keep me from "squeaking". Irrespective of any threats, I would have kept silent about the major cover-up activities for at least five years and never revealed names to a person as little trustworthy as I had experienced those here involved, because only in that way I felt certain that I would not hurt the Yugoslavs, whatever their role might have been.

I do not think the organizers of the Washington witch-hunt had planned it that way originally, but everything went out of their hands when they sent their letter to the administration of the University, because then the culmination of the case was secured to become a most serious miscarriage of justice when it was taken over by the most unscrupulous and incompetent administrator I have ever met during a quarter century in America, a man who had wilfully discriminated against us for years and done everything in his power to obstruct even our research. Instead of disengaging himself from the case because of evident partiality, he did not hesitate to appoint himself as my judge in a kangaroo court based on the old Colorado "law": "Let us give him a fair trial and hang him", except that here even the trial was absent and, naturally, there was no hesitation in violating my civil, academic, and human rights. This was during the "law and order" period of American justice.

When this unscrupulous man ordered me to come to his office on May 24, he neglected to inform me about the seriousness of this meeting or about the actual matter that it concerned, and did not advise me to bring a counsel, not even a neutral or friendly witness. He asked me at once, dryly, to sit down at one side of a table which was cluttered with irregular heaps of books and papers, and then left for a moment for the next room, the door of which seemed to be permanently open. I believe I heard from that room a low click as if a tape recorder had been started (I am familiar with that equipment since many years ago). Under the table I observed a thin wire that led in the direction of the other room, though the door was hidden by a shelf; but since I had no time to lift the books or papers, I could not see for sure if there was a microphone hidden amongst them before he returned. However, I am convinced that our entire conversation was taped, without my knowledge and permission, but for his possible protection and edition, as I told my friend Jack Ives later that same day.

When both of us had sat down at the table, one on each side, the provost, Dr. Lawson Crowe, handed me a copy of what I have shown here as Exhibit 15, became very formal, using my academic title and name, and spoke clearer and louder, accusing me at once of "multiple counts of fraud against the government." I tried to show him the libelous letter (Exhibit 5) to get an opportunity to show that this was a part of a long operation to remove us from a scientific program in favor of "better American scientists." But he refused even to listen, and said that he had succeeded in getting copies of numerous affidavits that had been taken from my student assistants and some people in Yugoslavia to support this claim. He held up some papers which he said were those affidavits and waved them towards me, but refused to give them to me or even allow me to look at them. He also said that if I did not agree to pay the sum of \$7,575 at once, he would turn the matter immediately over to the Justice Department which, as he let me understand, already had made preparations for my immediate deportation.

After what I had encountered myself and had heard about the experience of some other immigrants in this country, this did not astonish me, though I had almost asked the question: How would he himself assess a judge who bases his highly arbitrary decision on only a very one-sided part of the available data, and refuses to listen

neutrally to information contrary to his preconceived notions. But, since I had seen that even American scientists used the same method to judge scientific opinions in which I and other Europeans had differed from them, namely regarding glacial survival, continental drift, frequency of polyploids, speciation, etc., I refrained from irritating this less wise man with such a question and kept it to myself. Instead, I said that rather than hurt the students and the Yugoslavs by the action he had indicated, I would agree to pay the sum mentioned without further discussion.

This meant that the part of the salaries we had saved from two summers in Yugoslavia would be reduced to less than nothing for our full two years of ardent and industrious work that had mainly been done at home during our extra unpaid hours in Boulder. I am not a lawyer, thanks for that, and so I did not realize that the false implication of admission of so-called guilt could be drawn from this action by American lawyers using their peculiar kind of logic. But I understood later, when viewing the Watergate discussions, that this must have been a calculated entrapment with help of a threat, and my ignorance as an immigrant from a more democratic country, where such an answer could in no way be thus explained – and in my opinion I had admitted nothing.

But as soon as I had given the provost this promise, he insisted that I immediately resign from my position at the University, threatening at the same time that he would instruct the regents at their meeting next day to dismiss me if I did not comply, adding that I could later present this to his grievance committee or to the court, a peculiar proceeding from the standpoint of an Icelander. I asked if this was not too much asked on too doubtful a basis, and then if it were not advisable, that I get a neutral legal advisor. But I was told that a further discussion with a lawyer was not needed because he, the provost, had already discussed the matter with the president (who soon was to be fired because of "incompetence"). He also said that the legal counsel of the University agreed that what was being done was the correct procedure, and he mentioned the word deportation again.

So it may be in Colorado, but certainly not in any really democratic place, and I even doubt that it is a proper and fair method anywhere outside the administrative offices of the University of Colorado. I realized once more that I was dealing with a "judge" as unscrupulous and partial as I had found this person to be earlier, so I consented to his new request also, and even accepted that he be trusted to compose the papers to be signed. In my diary that evening I wrote that this was a relief after years of nothing but discrimination and miscarriage of justice, and that now I hoped that the "better place", which my colleagues Arthur Cronquist, Harlan Lewis, and Billie Turner had indicated they would help me to find from this "stepping stone" into the United States, would at long last materialize and open its doors to us.

Perhaps I would have fought and even avoided trying to protect the students and the Yugoslavs if I had known that even these colleagues and friends of mine would turn chicken and do nothing for me and not even answer my letters asking for their help for five long years! The provost, however, said that since I did not "make a fuss", he would see that the resignation papers guaranteed me "all employment benefits", and explained that these would include severance pay, and especially so-called University supplementary annuities and medical benefits, emphasizing that this would be full and unreduced, whatever that meant. All this I jotted down on a piece of paper at once, and wrote it *in extenso* at home in the evening – also the remark that the resignation request probably was based on the provost's assumption that I had admitted "moral turpitude", a peculiar criticism coming from such an amoral man. But such are people.

On the same day as I had visited the provost, I told my colleagues Hobart Smith, David Rogers, and Jack Ives about this event, mentioning at least to both of the latter that I was convinced that my conversation with the provost had been secretly taped. Rogers showed little interest, perhaps because he was soon to leave for Rome, but he offered to phone Harlan Lewis to ask for his help and advice. That he never did, however. Smith was evidently shocked and afraid, and showed next day and later that he had rapidly turned into a chicken.

Or what else can explain that, although he first reacted by wanting to assure that my date of departure be delayed until the end of summer school, for which he said Dean Briggs of Arts and Sciences had told him there were precedents, he rapidly backed down on this when the provost refused? When Smith phoned me next morning, just

before I had to leave to deliver the cheque to the provost and, I believed, sign the papers that I expected him to have completed, since he had indicated that outside forces were in such a hurry to see me removed, he asked me for a message to the provost regarding my participation in the summer session. But I took the opportunity to ask him, as my chairman, to come with me as a witness and advisor. He became obviously disturbed and had difficulties explaining why he could not do this, his strongest argument being that he was not fully dressed at the telephone! Although I was disappointed, this reaction did not astonish me, because I had long since observed that although this industrious and certainly eminent scientist is basically a man of some fortitude, he lives with an enormous inferiority complex apparently caused by an unhappy childhood and, unfortunately, because his innate kindheartedness prevents him from protesting, and he is sometimes forced to do contrary to his convictions due to dominance by a ruthless and tyrannizing wife.

Jack Ives, however, became very upset and wanted me at once to get a lawyer and to refuse to sign any papers because the promise had been given under duress and without any recommendation that I seek some counsel. However, I told him that, since it has been my principle never to break any promises, even when given under threats, I would sign, but I also gave him permission to look for some lawyer the advice of whom I could seek when presented with the letter of resignation that would be composed by the provost and his legal counsel. However, when I came to the office of the provost, he accepted my cheque, which he said he would cash and then send the money to the Smithsonian after having subtracted a "fee" for his services, but told me that the papers were not yet ready, and that he would contact me later for the signature.

When that time came, on May 31, after a call from the office of the provost, Jack Ives had not succeeded in finding a lawyer of his liking, but instead he insisted that he himself be allowed to come with me as my advisor and witness, evidently because he realized that some foul play might be involved and because his English conscience clearly let him believe that the American doctrine of "innocent until proven guilty" was being violated, though it ought to be valid even for immigrants in Boulder. Since I knew that he would more easily than I be able to spot any attempts at encroachment although I suspected none, I accepted his offer with delight. I had known him for many years in Canada, effected some of his research into the geology of Pleistocene plant refugia in the northlands, had even been instrumental in bringing him to Boulder, and had always looked upon him as a friend as close as my brothers, so I must admit that I had expected this reaction from him, though I would never have asked him for such a favor.

I was sorry that another of my colleagues and friends, William A. Weber, of the Museum, was absent when I tried to contact him, because I at least hoped that he would react in a way similar to that of Ives. He had been instrumental in bringing me to Boulder and together we had, in 1975, proposed the need for establishing two separate projects to revive American taxonomy: a compilation of a *Flora Boreali-Americana*, and a computerized data bank for plant taxonomy. Some others might also have reacted similarly if I had contacted them and given them an opportunity, at least Jane Bock, Eric Bonde, Willy Segal, and Paul Winston, who showed us understanding later but otherwise seemed to follow the advice of the provost, dean, and Smith not to discuss the matter with me. But I am afraid that most of those others who had benefitted from my chairmanship might have shown a strength similar though not as pitiful as a small zoologist of little standing for whom I had done more than for all the others together and even accepted as my assistant chairman despite my understanding of his limitations. When, a few days after my resignation, I was in our neighborhood food store and turned into an aisle, I saw him at the other end, rapidly turning when he observed me. In order to check to see if he really was avoiding me, I also went over to the next aisle, and he repeated his evasion. Lower no man can sink.

Let us return to Jack Ives and May 31. It was comforting that he was with me when I met the provost outside his office at 4 p.m., but I was disappointed when the provost denied my request to bring him in with me as my advisor, when I should sign the letter that the provost told me was composed by himself and the legal counsel of the university, and had not and would not be shown to any others (Exhibit 16). I later understood the seriousness of that refusal, which was not only equivalent to a refusal of a counsel when one was needed and recommended by law and by the laws of the Regents of the University, but also prevented me from having a witness to the

explanations of the paragraph that the provost said was to secure me "all university benefits" mentioned above. Perhaps, more importantly, this denial was certainly a refusal of counsel to a foreigner who did not understand the cunning use of "legalese", and had no notion of the importance of having the support of a neutral witness or a lawyer in a "land of law" of the kind that I, and many other immigrants, was experiencing from less scrupulous men who were not my friends.

I got a still better understanding of the seriousness of this refusal later, when two of my real friends tried to help me find those benefits by contacting another officer of the university, a very recent law graduate woman who had rapidly advanced as a professor of law to a lower administrator and then to vice president in order to allow the university to fulfill requirements for women and minorities on the faculty and in the administration to hide a rampant discrimination. This administrator said that she had discussed the matter with "all" concerned with my resignation (if this means others than the provost and the legal counsel and the former president, does that not indicate a conspiracy of which I knew nothing?), and then claimed, in a letter to Professor Weber, dated February 7, 1977, that "the University has no further obligations to Professor Löve." Dr Weber explained to me that he had been told that this was caused by the fact that I had not retired but resigned, perhaps a blunder by the provost and his legal adviser? Or is it possible that the written promise, agreed upon and signed by the provost and myself, was added only to fool me, or was it perhaps simply a dishonest act as so many around it? My kind of scientific and philosophical logic has some difficulty seeing that my situation could be negatively different from that of President Thieme, who a little later was fired outright by the Regents for incompetence, as it was called, except that he is American born and I am an immigrant from a small and powerless country occupied by America. Does not the entire story remind of some "thousand slimy things", to paraphrase Coleridge?

The provost had promised – and forced me to do the same with my signature – that no "public notoriety" be given our "agreement" or its contents. However, I soon became aware that he kept his word less stringently than I did. Already on June 1, I heard from a couple of colleagues that they had received from Dr. Smith a letter in which they were informed about my resignation and told that *I had requested that nobody discuss it with me*, thus depriving me of their sympathy and help. Evidently, all others complied as expected; that is the reaction which gives the crooks security in chickenland; but he did not show me the courtesy to send me a copy for information. Also on June 1, I received the letter enclosed as Exhibit 17 from Dr Smith; such a letter I would have refused to write or sign with a reference to the old and established fact that civilized men refuse to follow an illegal or immoral order from their superiors except if connected with serious threats that might also hurt others, cf. my "acceptance" of the Belgrade "cover-up" actions. Although I was in no doubt that at least some of what the letter requested could be refused legally, I conformed because of my state of mind. Since I was not sure what equipment actually was mine and what really was the property of the University, because I had replaced from my own funds several expensive items that had been stolen from my laboratory and not reported by my students at the time of discovery of the losses (two microscopes that were our property also had disappeared, but they had been insured when I lent them to the Department, albeit below their value). I tried to get in touch with Dr. Smith in order to receive a list of the material in question. However, he clearly eluded me both at home and at the office, and his secretary, Mrs. Owen, had apparently been instructed to protect him from such a visit and also not to give me any information! Although I indicated that there was some doubt regarding the ownership of some of the items, it took a week before the receipt of this equipment was acknowledged. I believe that Jane Bock told me that she had repeatedly reminded him that this must be done, though a common courtesy, but at last I received the note which I enclose as Exhibit 18. Even those who sometimes demonstrate fortitude may other times lack a moral muscle.

I would like to make special remarks on point two in the "decisions" listed in Dr. Smith's letter (Exhibit 17), because I dare to greatly doubt not only its fairness but also its constitutionality, still more its moral and ethics. Doris, my wife, came to Boulder from Montreal where she had been for eight years Associate Professor of Research with academic qualifications surpassed by no other woman working in American botany or cytogenetics, with more experience in teaching, research and herbarium administration than any woman ever in Boulder, and with more publications in her field of research than any of the great men then on the Boulder faculty of biology. Dr. Pennak, a zoologist-limnologist who then was the chairman of the Biology Department, told us bluntly, without being asked,

when we came for an interview on our way to the wedding of our older daughter in California in the summer of 1964 (we were not reimbursed even for the cost of motels in Boulder or in Aspen, where he sent us to see Dr. Weber; another peculiar story), that she could have no position in the department because of the University's "nepotism rule", a certainly peculiar and undemocratic rule if it in fact was more than a common bigotry excuse. When, soon after our moving to Boulder, I received an NSF Grant for research in which she was to be a co-investigator as she had been very frequently since 1940, Dr. Pennak first maintained that she could not even be a research associate without pay from the University, but from that ridiculous position he backed down when I insisted (he might perhaps have done likewise if I had protested when he invited me to [take] a marked reduction in salary and position, even refusing me tenure that I had since 1951 in Canada and since 1943 in Iceland, but I felt that was of less importance than getting the position at that time). She not only worked diligently for years after that on various research projects paid with grants that we felt were similar to alms and far below her Montreal pay when a proper salary with similar benefits as others received would have been proper, but although the university apparently did not feel it could acknowledge her qualifications, it had no qualms in accepting the so-called "overhead" that certainly was never used to further her research facilities. Naturally, she also published numerous papers that received wide acknowledgement for their quality and for which the university received credit. She also advised and took care of several advanced and graduate students and even taught important courses, especially at the Institute of Arctic and Alpine Research, without pay and sometimes even at considerable costs to us.

Jack Ives, the director of that institute, made repeated efforts to get her a professorship at INSTAAR, connected either with Biology or Geography, but Dean Briggs of Arts and Sciences counteracted this for reasons unknown. When the good Graduate Dean, James Archer, who had made the promise of such an arrangement when Jack Ives was offered his directorship, was forced out and replaced by his assistant dean, Lawson Crowe, as Graduate Dean, later Provost, at last Chancellor, he also prevented the fulfillment of this self-evident action, also for some reasons unknown to us that I surmise were not only based on the principle of "better American scientist" or that she was a woman, but perhaps also from the fact that she is my wife. I also have the feeling that these two gentlemen, Briggs and Crowe, were [behind the fact that], when two women administrators, dean and chairman, at the Denver Center, whom she and I had helped considerably at various times, wanted to offer her a vacant position there, this was also thwarted. Dean Briggs even tried, though with evident doubts, to get her salary on our second budget for Yugoslavia lowered from the far from adequate salary proposed, so that it would instead conform with the unfair treatment she had experienced previously, although he must have realized that this summer salary actually was her full year's salary because no funds were available for our work outside Yugoslavia though it would be an essential part of our work on the project. The then graduate dean, William Love, a physicist, however, supported her (Exhibit 19).

I cannot refrain from mentioning in this connection that even I was the subject of a salary discrimination by Dean Briggs, since even during my period as chairman, which was a full time job in addition to my teaching and research, my salary never reached the levels of my colleagues Pennak, Rogers, and Smith, all born Americans but only the last one truly outstanding in his field. The salary discrimination is still greater if compared to that offered those "better American scientists" (or so the administration wanted us to believe) who were hired to lead the so-called sister department [of Cellular and Molecular Biology] that was expected to starve our department to death as a much more attractive, important, and well-financed new biochemistry department that works with unicellular life and its biochemistry. But all this is a digression.

When I had almost completed my four-year term as chairman of the Dept. of Biology, my executive committee (my invention) proposed to the dean that a committee be established to decide on and arrange for my successor. This committee soon seems to have decided, without asking me, that it must find someone, preferably a zoologist of course, to replace me. But, although it would have been a simple matter of courtesy first to ask of my interest, which certainly was nil after my efforts to improve this impossible department against its will (cf. Exhibit 20), they showed the little wisdom to use foul methods instead. At one of its meetings, Pennak went out of his way to get the support of some of the members by claiming that the dean had told him that as soon as I ceased to be chairman, Doris would be hired as a full professor. That, of course, was only a smokescreen of the usual dishonesty. When some time later a position became open for a geneticist, a field in which Doris received her

outstanding degrees, Ph.D and D.Sc., with great honors and in considerably shorter time than was average in Sweden (cf. explanations in Exhibit 21, a letter from Prof. Bertil Hanström, then prorector of the University of Lund, among the oldest and most respected of European universities) and a field in which she has published extensively, she was not contacted. But her file at the Department, certainly very incomplete though impressive, was apparently brought forward without her knowledge and scrutinized by a committee on which there was only a single geneticist [Edwin Helwig] of a much lower reputation than she enjoys. This committee of small non-peers were looking for a yes-man of their own qualifications had the stomach to declare her less fit than the formal applicants on the basis of the purged file that certainly was insufficient for any such judgment. Indeed, the appointment was offered to a pleasant but recently graduated forest ecologist with a very limited experience in genetics.

When this was reported to her in a letter without an envelope, that was put in our mail box, I saved her from seeing this meanness with which she was once more being treated by those who frequently had received her help, and destroyed the paper. She was then also spared the anger which would have been unavoidable if she had known that her "application" had been included without her, or our, knowledge. I may have become overly sensitive after years of miscarriage of justice than she enjoys, but I am inclined to believe that this was not done only to get an opportunity to show her despicableness, but also likely aimed towards me by those who dared not kick me directly, although I, certainly the only geneticist of the Department with worldwide reputation, had been carefully kept out of the committee!

Doris has never been interested in complaining about the treatment she received because she is like me in that she does not have interest in fighting for herself when mistreated, although she has gladly fought for others. It certainly hurt her to see numerous women added to the University faculty these years, not because of their academic excellence but because they were "better Americans" and frequently connected with some politics. And when the frequent complaints about women and minorities came up for the almost annual whitewash, she kept her grievances to herself and nobody even mentioned her case although it certainly was the most blatant of all cases of discrimination at Boulder and perhaps elsewhere. But she continued to do her good work without remuneration and without official encouragement, considerably more research work than the average at this university, and at an international standard.

After all this and very much more naughty experience at Boulder, the provost and dean of the faculty of Arts and Sciences and the chairman of the Department of Biology could sink so deep as to downright kick her out of the few facilities she got with her unpaid title of Research Associate, only because she was my wife and because I had abstained to fight their unfairness. In addition, Dr. Smith must be held responsible for having added to the official paper of discharge the word "resignation" to hide the truth, a mean act of forgery that in a real land of law would hardly be given impunity. But the dean and other officer who signed also must have been aware of the incorrectness of that claim of which she knew nothing until she got her copy of this infamous document (Exhibit 22). The explanation was, however, already in the letter from Smith (Exhibit 17) when he says that in this way I must be prevented from "access to facilities". It was apparently so important to keep such a "criminal" away lest the students be contaminated, that even criminal methods were acceptable, though I was not known for having broken promises or lied to students or boasted of the easiness with which I could get coeds into my bed, as had one of the high officials involved in my removal. Perhaps moral turpitude is an accusation valid for others than "good Americans?"

Although it was evident that everything had to be done to prevent us from delivering the results of the contract for the Smithsonian Institution which doubtfully-qualified reviewers and specialists had wanted to be continued by "a better American scientist", we of course decided to do what we could to complete our work, as we always had done previously [despite] whatever obstacles.

The essential part of the Slovenian work was a critical checklist of the flora of this area with references to chromosome numbers known for its species. This work was already proceeding towards its completion by aid of computer methods, but now we had been stripped of the facilities needed. When I asked our colleague David

Rogers, who had introduced us to these methods and whom I had saved from the dwindling interest in his work that I had observed at Fort Collins whence he had come from New York [Botanical Garden], he claimed inability to help us for reasons that I knew were invalid. But our friends at INSTAAR, Jack Ives and Patrick Webber, had another understanding of our needs, and the computer center remained open to us despite lack of University funds to pay for its services.

So we were able to complete our 1,241 page large book, *The Cytotaxonomic Atlas of the Slovenian Flora*, which we had printed and published in Germany. Naturally it has been very favorably accepted and reviewed by highly competent European botanists, who probably would like to meet the "better American scientists" who felt they could do this more thoroughly. Perhaps those were the same as compiled the disgusting list of so-called "endangered species", or had compiled an even more unscientific so-called checklist of the North American flora? Our stabbing in the back by the Smithsonian bureaucrats also was insufficient to prevent us from completing several special papers that were printed in respectable European journals, although other papers from the same project that we had sent to our Yugoslav colleagues for printing in their planned new journal *Scopolia* still do not seem to have been printed. We have reason to believe that this has been caused by pressure on Dr. Susnik, who seems to have left the university in Ljubljana to work with the cultivation of medicinal plants in the country where he was born and where his family still lives.

I am in some doubt if I ought to mention that, even after I thought I had received enough harassment from whomever they are who felt compelled to save Boulder and American botany from my kind of ideas and culpability, we have not wholly avoided their attention. For the first years after this happened, I made several attempts to find another position, and applied to places for which every fair scientist would have agreed I was well qualified. Despite the written promise of the University provost as to "notoriety", it became apparent in several of these cases (and then, especially in letters from Albuquerque, Winnipeg, and Copenhagen that I will not enclose here), that somebody in Boulder had slandered me even more strongly than fine-scientists such as Verne Grant had recommended me. That could be expected. But someone also seems to have felt that more threats were needed to make sure that I would not tell my incredible story to honest and really good Americans who might react unfavorably to the culprits.

As early as June 7, 1973, a Thursday, at about 2 p.m., my telephone at home in Boulder rang, apparently long distance, and a female voice who said that she was speaking from some place in Virginia. I got the impression that the name of the place began with Mac or Lang, though that may be wrong (it was not repeated), and asked for me. When I had said that I was speaking, another, male, voice took over without mentioning his name, but I got the feeling that I had heard it before without recognizing it for sure. He then said, as I hastily tried to write it down: "Your decision (or agreement?) not to fight was wise, but the friend who offered you help is in a bind (?) and does not dare. We know that you know Thomas Riha. Re reneged (?), so he and the woman he talked to had to go (leave?). If you do, we will deport you without warning, or - , Don't forget the fate of Thomas Riha." Here he slammed down the receiver.

I did not even tell this to my wife because I could not believe this and hoped it was a hoax by some students or pranksters, but the shock apparently affected me because within a week my old duodenal ulcer acted up, although it had not done that in the middle of summer for many years. A month later, at about 2:30 p.m. on July 7, the phone rang and a female voice asked for me. Then I heard a weak click, and a hoarse, changed male voice that said, twice, as if recorded: "Don't forget the fate of Thomas Riha." Click. A similar call came on September 11 at 12:30 in the morning, on November 19 at 4:30 p.m., and on December 28 at 11:45 p.m. It continued irregularly until we left Boulder in 1976, the last call having been on July 23 at 9:30 p.m. We left on August 11. It is possible that the calls have been many more but that they were not completed because my wife may have taken the call when I was not in.

We heard nothing more of this kind until May 2, 1977, at 2:30 p.m., and then it continued at irregular intervals again; the last one was as recently as September 22, although then much abbreviated, cf. below, so perhaps that was only my imagination? I did not tell Doris about this until in the spring of this year, 1978, because I did

not want to worry her or my family, but in a letter of May 24, I mentioned this to Bill Weber in Boulder, and received a call on May 26, with the same (recorded?) "reminder", followed by a similar voice asking "Why did you tell Bill Weber?" After that I have heard the voice three times, when it said "Don't forget", and a click, but I am not sure that the call on September 22 mentioned above was the same, since the female voice was not followed by the male one. Perhaps she has heard that I was trying to connect a tape recorder. Since nothing has happened, at least yet, since the "voice" realized that I no longer kept quiet, perhaps it has never been more than a hoax or the sick reaction of a bad conscience. Who knows? But I felt I ought to tell you this also.

This will have to conclude this much too long and still not satisfactorily organized review of this ugly chapter in our American odyssey. It could easily grow into a book of considerable size in which we could add much that is unsaid about our observations and experiences in Boulder, much more positive than negative though, and also of what we have heard or observed from other immigrant colleagues of the highest competence who have been forced to accept positions secondary to "better American scientists" – or else! But in all fairness such a book would differ from this report, because despite our negative experience of what we like to look upon as the reaction of small minds of bureaucrats, we also are able to look back to immense memories of great people, magnificent landscapes, and remarkable research that we have enjoyed to such a degree that we have learned to love this land and its people and forget its hopefully few scoundrels and many chickens. And we know that many really better American scientists would be shocked if we had told our story to them rather than to keep it to ourselves for so long. It is thanks to your reaction to the unbelievable slander, that I have at long last written all this down, and I hope you will forgive me for bothering you with all this. Most of the players in the game are probably unknown to you, although some can be found in *American Men of Science*, and I could add clarifications of others should you so wish. But I believe the Romans would have described the situation best: *Res ipse loquitur*, the thing speaks for itself.

Our experience seems to agree with what Edmund Burke once said: "The only thing necessary for the triumph of evil is for good men to say nothing." But I believe that many of the good men are still waiting to hear our side of the story, since it certainly is not their fault that they have been even more considerate than you and never asked us. How could even our best friends know our story if we have never even forced it upon them and left their questions unanswered? I have the feeling that I know your reaction, and hope others of the many truly good men will react similarly in this land of our dreams – and nightmares. I trust that I will soon hear your reaction.

TEXT OF INTERIM REPORT FOR FIRST SUMMER WORK

CU Proposal No. 71.7.383, Sept. 1971

An Interim Report and Proposal to the Smithsonian Institution
for Research Support in Yugoslavia under the Foreign Currency Program
[Report after the first summer; see Exhibits 4 and 5 for a judgment]

Name and Address of Institution: The Regents of the University of Colorado, Boulder 80302

Title of Research: Cooperative Studies on the Cytotaxonomy of the Yugoslavian Flora

American Principal Investigators: Askill Löve, Professor and Doris Löve [etc.]

Yugoslavian Principal Investigators: Franc Susnik, Professor, and Ernest Mayer, Professor [etc.]

Starting Date: June 1, 1972

Estimated Duration of Project: Five years

Amount requested for the second year: \$108,370

Amount for Three Following Years: Approximately \$300,000

Signers: Askill Löve, Principal Investigator, Doris Löve, Principal Investigator, Hobart Smith, Chairman, Department of Biology, and Lawson Crowe, Provost and Vice President for Research

If a Smithsonian Foreign Currency Program grant is awarded for the conduct of the research described in the attached proposal, it is hereby requested that an advance payment, as set forth in the project budget, also be authorized to begin carrying out the work, since this institution is a non-profit institution without working capital to initiate research. Moreover, to employ dollar funds to begin this work would be contrary to the President's directives to avoid expenditures abroad which might contribute to the U.S. balance of payments deficit.

A. Report of Activities for the first season, Summer 1971

As the first step in the study of the cytotaxonomy of the remarkable flora of Yugoslavia, it was proposed that extensive studies be made towards an evolutionary-ecological synthesis of the history of the alpine vegetation of this region, beginning with cytotaxonomical studies of as many as possible of the species of higher plants in the Julian Alps. Our Yugoslavian colleagues were, however, of the opinion that such a review of the entire flora of Slovenia as a whole would be more appropriate. The flora of this part of Europe, and especially the alpine regions, is known to be rich in endemic species, whereas it seems to be typical of various regions of Slovenia that related taxa integrate or mix in zones where the nemoral flora of Western Europe meets the Mediterranean vegetation. The work was planned as a cooperative effort between a team of cytotaxonomists, ecologists, and technicians from the University of Ljubljana, centering at the Institute of Biology and the Botanical Garden.

Due to various circumstances, the American team could not be in the field for more than two months this first summer (1971), but during that time extensive work on orientation, collecting, and microscopy, as well as writing and library work, was carried on every day, including weekends. Although the work could be grouped in various other ways, we find it easiest to report it under the following headings:

1. *A Review of the Flora of Slovenia and the Alps*

In order to acquaint the five members of the American team with the details of and the problems in the Slovenian flora, the Yugoslavian team had planned travel to areas of various kinds during the first four weeks of our stay, combined and interspersed with extensive collections of living material for further study in the botanical garden. These travels took the group all over Slovenia, though they concentrated mainly on the alpine regions. Material brought to the Botanical Garden in Ljubljana and the Juliana Botanical Garden in the Julian Alps included all the endemic species of the Eastern Alps in the widest sense. Also, a good proportion of the non-endemic alpine flora of the Julian Alps, Kamnian Alps, the Karavanken, and Trnovski Gozd was brought under cultivation for further study, in addition to selected material from other regions for comparison. The American team became thoroughly acquainted with the about eighty endemic species of this area, and also with the numerous endemic subspecies, varieties, forms, and demes, and with the flora as a whole, which the two American Principal Investigators knew previously as belonging to the western European nemoral flora.

During our travels, numerous problems to be studied through this cooperative effort were discussed in detail with the Yugoslavian botanists. Based on these discussions, the four senior scientists, Askeff Löve, Doris Löve, Ernest Mayer, and Franc Susnik, compiled a report which reviews the problems from various points of view and described the evolutionary background for the planned work. It is hoped that this paper will be printed this winter in a Yugoslavian journal.

For the latter part of the summer, the team was joined by the Norwegian cytotaxonomist and specialist on alpine flora, Dr. Gunvor Knaben of Oslo, who has studied similar problems in Scandinavia and Alaska for many years. She spent considerable time in the Julian Alps together with her Norwegian assistant and one of the skilled Yugoslavian students, concentrating mainly on studies of critical groups of the large genus *Saxifraga*. All the cost for her stay and travels and those of her assistant were paid by a special grant from the Norwegian Research Council, but she shared out laboratory without compensation.

In connection with the survey of the flora, the American Principal Investigators and one of their assistants compiled a critical checklist of the entire Slovenian flora, which comprises about 2,900 species, and prepared it for computerization. This list also includes information on previously determined chromosome numbers and the distribution of each taxon within Slovenia. The list is being circulated among the entire group of researchers in the cooperative team as a computer printout, will be made available to others as soon as it has been completed, and will serve the group as a basis for selection of critical groups for study during the years to come. Our Yugoslav colleagues feel that its publication would be useful for several other groups of scientists inside and outside of Yugoslavia, so we plan to print it in some Yugoslavian publication series during the winter or next summer. Although about 60-70 percent of the species seem to have been cytologically studied from elsewhere in Europe, less than 5 percent of the taxa have been determined from Slovenia itself, and most of the critical groups are cytologically unknown.

2. Cytotaxonomic Work

As mentioned above, considerable collections were brought to the Botanical Garden during the summer, both from the trips of the entire group and from numerous individual trips when both teams split up into smaller expeditions. All this material was potted in the Gardens and much of it has already been fixed for cytological study, at the same time that duplicate vouchers were carefully produced for more detailed identification later. Considerable numbers of cytological preparations had already been studied before the American team returned home at the end of August, and the rest will be worked out during the winter months. The numbers for 115 species, representing 80 genera and 38 families, have already been submitted for printing in November in the journal *Taxon*. These include some of the more remarkable endemics, whereas most of the endemics of the Julian Alps, the Karavanken, the Kamnian Alps, and Trnovski Gozd will be studied more closely during the winter, together with some selected taxa of special interest.

3. The Endemics

In addition to field observations of the endemics and studies of their chromosome numbers, we tried to make a complete taxonomical review of all the Slovenian endemics, and studied them morphologically and chorologically in great detail. A thorough study of their distribution, including mapping, is being made by Ernest Mayer. These studies are being coordinated with similar studies in the central and western Alps by Professor Cl. Favarger and his students in Neuchatel in Switzerland, the foremost specialist on the cytotoxicology of the Alpine flora, and with studies of endemics and alpine plants from Spain and Italy performed but not yet published by A. and D. Love and on alpine plants from the arctic regions of Atlantic Europe by the American P. I.s and Dr. Knaben. Although all the Slovenian endemics were under study already this first season, special attention was given the following complexes and taxa, which may serve as examples.

a. *Iris cengialti* Ambr. and *I. illyrica* Tommas. These are taxa of the eastern Alps and of the coastal mountains of the northern Adriatic. Although morphologically and geographically distinct, these species have been known to cross and give rise to apparently fertile hybrids, and on the basis of morphology some botanists in the past have regarded them as races only of the much more widespread European *Iris pallida* Lam. Our chromosome studies do not contradict this conclusion, since all these races are characterized by the same number ($2n = 24$) and at least very similar morphology of chromosomes. However, a more detailed study of already available artificial hybrids will be performed before a final conclusion is reached, although the present evidence seems to be in favor of regarding them only as minor geographical races, or varieties, of a single species.

b. *Aconitum angustifolium* Bernh. This taxon of the eastern Alps has recently (by Tutin in *Flora Europaea*) been regarded as a doubtful variation, which some others have even thought of as a possible hybrid between *A. variegatum* L. and *A. compactum* Rchb. Our studies showed it to be a hexaploid which is possibly derived from the diploid and tetraploid species just mentioned. No further investigation is needed for its acceptance as a good endemic species, although more work has to be done before its mode of evolution can be ascertained.

c. *Papaver julicum* Mayer & Merxmüller. Our studies of the cytology of this taxon have confirmed that it is a diploid belonging to the diploid complex *C. alpinum* L., most closely related to its subsp. *sendineri* (Kerner) Schinz & Keller. Our preliminary observations seem to indicate that its correct evolutionary status may be as a variety of this major race, but hybridization experiments may be required before that question can be definitely settled.

d. *Pastinaca fleischmannii* Hladnik. This taxon was discovered on the slopes of Castle Mountain in Ljubljana more than 150 years ago and brought into the Botanical Garden. There it survives thanks to help from the gardeners, but it is extinct on the mountain. We have found it to be cytologically identical with *P. sativa*, of which it is apparently a one-gene mutation, so it is most correctly regarded as a genetically deviating deme or local population of interest mainly as the lowest observable level of endemism.

e. *Hladnikia pastinacifolia* Rchb. This umbelliferous genus is one of the most distinct endemics in Europe, met with only near the eastern and western borders of the Trnovski Gozd, which is the southernmost part of the Slovenian Alps in the karst region. We studied it from various points of view with Professor Susnik and are working on a comprehensive report of the taxonomical, chemotaxonomical, morphological, ecological, and chorological characteristics of this monotypic genus. These studies seem to confirm earlier opinions that this is a relic paleoendemic of such a distinction that even our detailed methods are not able to reveal its relationship to any other genus of the family anywhere in the world.

f. *Gentiana froelichii* Jan. The American Principal Investigators have long been working on the reclassification of the collective genus *Gentiana*, a work in which they have cooperated with Swedish and Japanese specialists. Ernest Mayer of the Slovenian team has also been interested in the subdivision of this taxon into more natural genera, on morphological and chorological grounds. Through his help and that of our other Yugoslav colleagues we became well acquainted with several of the groups represented in Yugoslavia. Our attention was especially directed to taxa in the Himalaya and other southern mountains. Of these species we became especially

interested in *G. froelichii*, which is known only from two small areas in the easternmost Alps and in the eastern Italian Alps. Although it remains somewhat like the small species of the Frigida group of southern Eurasian mountains, it differs from all its species in several respects, so specialists have been inclined to distinguish it as a section of its own. We were already acquainted with many of the other species, but the distinction of this taxon struck us at once, and when we could add the observation that it is a hexaploid with distinct chromosome morphology and the basic number $x = 7$, which is rare in the Gentianaceae, we drew the conclusion that it would be more correctly treated as a genus of its own, monotypic and endemic without closer relatives, perhaps the most distinct genus ever separated from *Gentiana s. lat.* We are still working on this problem, but expect to be able to publish the description of the new genus later this winter in a paper by A. Löve and E. Mayer.

We hope to collect considerably more material on these and all the other endemics for further investigation next summer, although it may require several years to find a satisfactory solution of the complex taxonomical problems of this interesting group. It is our hope that these studies may carry us one step closer to an understanding of the evolutionary problems of endemism. It is evident already at this stage, however, that polyploidy is no more a factor in the evolution of such plants than it is in that of other species in the same flora, since we find its frequency to be the same within this group and in the entire flora of the eastern Alps, an observation also made by us within other regions which we have had an opportunity to investigate. However, we found some indications that special pollination mechanisms may play a role in the evolution of these alpine endemics, though some other factors are apparently also effective in their isolation and survival, and we are in doubt that the solution may be different for more recent endemics within the species and the old and very distinct paleoendemics of the type of, for example, *Hladnikia* and *Gentiana froelichii*.

4. Polyploidy

The ecological composition of the alpine flora of Slovenia is well known, and detailed phytosociological levies are available from various areas of climatical and ecological variability, especially in the Julian Alps and the caves and deep grooves or "dolinas" of the karst region. Combining such studies with investigations on the frequency of polyploids with the aid of computer techniques may be expected to result in the detection of stress areas which may be of some importance for the understanding of phenomena of selection that could have affected the evolution of endemics, at the same time as this may perhaps help the understanding of several other ecological phenomena. One of our researchers, William Reid, did considerable work in this field during the summer, together with Slovenian colleagues. He has already started to work out a computer program for this material, which he wants to complement next summer, and we expect that he will be able to present the results in his Ph.D. thesis during the winter of 1972-73.

The chromosome checklist mentioned above is composed in such a way that it will be easy to use it, with the aid of the computer, to compare the frequency of polyploids within the phytogeographic area into which the Slovenian botanists have divided their country. This may be preliminarily completed during this winter, although it will hardly be ripe for publication until later, when still more material becomes available. Also, the checklist will be useful as a basis for other studies on the frequency of polyploids, including studies at different altitudes, in order to check some hypotheses and discrepancies between northern and southern regions previously studied from these points of view.

We started studies on some polyploid complexes, especially within the fern genera *Ceterach* and *Pteridium*, but also from some other groups like *Acetosella*, *Dactylis*, *Dactylorhiza* (of which our group discovered a new species for Slovenia), *Leucanthemum*, and several others, all of which are represented by at least two ploidy levels in this area. Some of these studies are already so close to completion that we have drafted papers describing the results, whereas others will be studied more closely during the following seasons, and still others are planned for use by Slovenian students for their thesis work.

5. *Scopolia*

It is the very legitimate wish of the Yugoslavian team that the results obtained be published in Yugoslavian journals as far as possible, and for this purpose \$1,000 were budgeted for the first year. The only Slovenian publication available for such a purpose is *Biološki Vestnik*, which at irregular intervals publishes papers on various biological subjects but has a very small circulation in botanical fields and outside Yugoslavia. The same is true for other Yugoslavian local journals, which we nevertheless plan to use for printing some of our results. After considerable discussion, the conclusion was reached that a national botanical journal with international scope specializing in evolutionary biology, including taxonomy and phytogeography, would be highly desirable. It was decided by University of Ljubljana authorities to start such a journal in early 1972, mainly with the aid of funds from the University and from other available Yugoslavian sources. The name chosen for this journal is *Scopolia*, in honor of the classical Slovenian botanist, Scopoli, who in 1772 published the very important and still classic *Flora Carniolica*, the first manual of plants of any part of Yugoslavia. Editors from Ljubljana have already been selected and a list made of five foreign and five Yugoslavian members of an editorial board, and twenty-five foreign collaborators, to insure the quality of the journal from the beginning. This coming year, instead of supporting directly the printing of individual papers from our program with the certainly insufficient sum of \$1,000 budgeted, it is our opinion that it would be more appropriate to use this sum as direct support for the journal, properly acknowledged on the title page of each volume, and then print most of the papers there without direct individual support. The approval of the Smithsonian Institution Foreign Currency Program is hereby sought for this use of the funds set aside for publication costs.

6. Summary

The first summer of the cooperative study of the cytotaxonomy of the Yugoslavian flora was, by necessity, used mainly for orientation on the problems to be investigated, and then almost exclusively within Slovenia and primarily in the Slovenian mountains, which are the easternmost parts of the Alps. On the basis of this review, it was decided that although the first objective of this cooperative effort still must remain the study of the Yugoslavian flora as a whole, with the main concentration during the first five years on the well-known flora of Slovenia, this opportunity should also be used for a concerted attack on the evolutionary problem of endemism, because nowhere else are there so many endemic taxa at all levels. In addition to this orientation, the following results were obtained during the first summer.

a. A critical checklist of the Slovenian flora, including detailed information on chromosome numbers and distribution of all the taxa, was compiled by A. and D. Love and L. Kaersvang. It will be completed and computerized during the fall and, hopefully, printed in the spring or summer.

b. Numerous samples of several hundred species were collected and transplanted to the Botanical Gardens for further cytological and taxonomical study. Among these were living and herbarium material of all the endemic species of the Julian Alps, Trnovski Gozd, Kamnian Alps, and the Karavanken. Some of these studies are already nearing completion, and papers reporting the results will probably be completed this winter.

c. In connection with the compilation of the chromosome checklist, detailed studies are being made on the frequency of polyploids within the flora of Slovenia as a whole and also within each of its distinct phytogeographical regions. In addition, one of the American researchers has selected as his thesis subject a computer study of environmental stress as observable from combined studies of phytosociological levies and polyploidy from the alpine regions to the lowlands and from karst caves and deep grooves.

d. As an indirect result of the cooperative effort, the University of Ljubljana has decided to start a new national botanical journal of international scope, named *Scopolia* after the first author of a Slovenian flora. This journal will be an appropriate place for publication of most of the papers that derive from this cooperative study.

e. The members of the cooperative group spent some time during the summer in preparing several papers, which will hopefully be completed during the winter. The following are the preliminary titles of these:

Chromosome Atlas of Slovenian Plant Species (A. & D. Love, L. Kaersvang)

A New Genus of Gentianaceae (A. Love & E. Mayer)

Chromosome numbers of 115 Yugoslavian Plant Species (M. Lovka, F. Susnik, A. & D. Löve) to be published in IOPB Chromosome Number Reports 34, in *Taxon*, November, 1971

Cytotaxonomy of Yugoslavian Plants. I. Introductory remarks. (A. & D. Love, E. Mayer, & F. Susnik)

Polyploidy in the Slovenian Flora (A. & D. Love)

*Cytotaxonomy and Chemotaxonomy of the paleoendemit *Hladnikia pastinacifolia** (F. Susnik & A. Löve)

*Cytotaxonomy and Distribution of Diploid and Tetraploid *Ceterach** (M. Lovka, F. Susnik, and A. Love)

Some Chromosome Numbers of Eastern Alpine Endemics (A. & D. Love, M. Lovka, and F. Susnik)

*The significance of *Pastinaca fleischmanii** (F. Susnik and A. Löve)

Five to eight papers in the series: *Cytotaxonomy of Yugoslavian Plants* (A. & D. Löve, M. Lovka, and F. Susnik)

BUDGET FOR SECOND YEAR

I. International travel and transportation

1.	Airfare, 9 round trip Denver-Ljubljana @ \$1,000	\$ 9,900
2.	Airfare, one round trip for Danish consultant Copenhagen-Ljubljana @ \$300	300
3.	Excess baggage or air freight for books, equipment, etc.	500
	Subtotal (I)	\$10,700

II. Expenditures in Yugoslavia

A. For American participants

1.	Salaries and wages	
	a. Askill Löve, Principal Investigator, 3 mos. @ \$2,060	6,180
	b. Doris Löve, Research Associate, 3 mos. @ \$1,800	5,400
	c. Four research biologists, 3 mos. each @ \$900/mo.	10,800
	d. Danish consultant, one month @ \$2,200	2,200
2.	Per diem, 570 man days 17	9,690
3.	Mileage and car rental	5,000
4.	Office rent for 2 American investigators, 3 mos.	1,000
5.	Books, xeroxing, reprints, etc.	800
	Subtotal (II-A)	\$41,070

6. Medical and other insurance required by the University authorities: Sum and conditions unknown to Principal Investigators, but authorization requested for the American Embassy in Belgrade for negotiation.

B. For Yugoslavian participants

1. Salaries and wages

a. Franc Susnik, Principal Investigator, 5 mos. @ \$600	3,000
b. Ernest Mayer, Principal Investigator, 3 mos. @ \$600	1,800
c. K. Micevski, ecologist-taxonomist, 1 mo. @ \$600	600
d. M. Sopova, ecologist-taxonomist, 1 mi. @ \$600	600
e. two other botanists, 2 mo. each @ \$500	2,000
f. Special asst., 12 mo. @ \$300	3,600
g. Technical asst., 12 mo. @ \$300	3,600
h. gardener, 12 mo. @ \$400	4,800
i. local labor	3,000
2. Local travel (mileage and car rental)	4,000
3. Field maintenance and per diem	4,000
	Subtotal (II-B)
	\$31,000
C. For cooperative efforts	
1. Orientation excursion through Yugoslavia	1,000
2. Non-expendable equipment	
a. Stereomicroscope	800
b. Zeiss camera microscope (total cost \$6,000) 50% to be borne by Univ. of Ljubljana	3,000
c. Combi or Land Rover (total cost \$5,000) 50% to be borne by Univ. of Ljubljana	2,500
d. Experimental garden in Mediterranean area	1,500
e. Experimental garden in alpine area	1,000
f. Greenhouse with growth chamber (total cost \$5,000) 50% to be borne by Univ. of Ljubljana	2,500
g. Photo equipment	1,000
h. Gardening and herbarium equipment	1,000
3. Expendable supplies	
a. Laboratory supplies	1,300
b. Photographic and other supplies	500
4. Laboratory and office rent	4,000
5. Publication costs	2,000
6. Administrative costs	3,500
	Subtotal (II-C)
	\$25,600
Second Year Total: \$108,370	

BUDGET NOTES

The budget for the second year is based on our experience during the summer of 1971, with slight increases caused by the devaluation of the dollar and expected inflation in Yugoslavia. If these two changes become substantially greater during the winter and spring, we trust that the officers of the Smithsonian Foreign Currency Program and the American Embassy in Belgrade will be able and willing to make an appropriate correction of the budget before the final dollar sum is fixed. The budget is calculated as carefully and exactly as possible, and is based on what we believe are minimum needs for maximum efficiency, so we hope it will not be drastically reduced without proper consultation, since we believe that such action curtailed our activities last summer and forced us and our assistants to supplement our per diem and travel costs unduly much out of our salaries.

Most of the increase as compared with last year's budget is caused by a one-third increase in time to be

spent in the field, a necessary increase in participation by senior scientists and assistants, and by slight but normal salary increases. Also, by the beginning of the project the cost of international travel had already increased from the budgeted \$820 per person to \$930 per person, thus eliminating the possibility of overseas travel for one American investigator this winter for consultation during the writing up of our results, or for one Yugoslav coming to America for the same purpose. This time our estimate of the possible increase in airfare is, hopefully, not too low, but the correct price will not be exactly known until next winter.

We would like especially to explain the following items:

1,2; II,A, 1, and 2: Danish Consultant. These items include the cost of bringing Professor Tyge W. Böcher from Copenhagen to Yugoslavia as a consultant on various problems and on techniques which he has employed for many years on investigations that include numerous Mediterranean and arctic and alpine plants. Such consultation is highly recommended also by our Yugoslav colleagues, and it is likely to be of great help in organizing our cultivation experiments and in the discussion of the results obtained.

II,A, 2: Per diem. In our revised budget of January 28, 1971, which was based on discussions a few weeks earlier with the authorities in Ljubljana, we calculated per diem on the basis of \$17 per day as given in the information packet on Yugoslavia. Although we had mentioned that even this might be too low for Slovenia, this was reduced to \$12 per day, with the explanation (by telephone) that this had to be done, partly because of lack of funds but mainly because Slovenia was said to be less expensive than Belgrade and Serbia. We had no way of protesting this, but during the summer we confirmed the fact that, since Slovenia is considerably more developed than other parts of the country, it is also more expensive for travelling and living. The reduction in per diem forced us and our assistants to pay out of our own pockets whenever we needed accommodations outside our base in Ljubljana, and it also made it mandatory that we make our own means almost every day, thus spending valuable time that otherwise could have been used for research work. This year we are again calculating per diem at the rate of \$17 per day, and trust it will not be reduced, though we would expect it to be more realistic after the devaluation of the dollar and the 15-20 percent annual inflation in Yugoslavia. If the per diem were raised to \$20-25, especially for cases that require both a base station and wide travels to other regions.

II,A,3: Mileage and car rental. After a visit to Ljubljana in January 1971, A. Löve was aware that even the estimated sum of \$3,000 for mileage and car rental would be insufficient for efficient work by two Principal Investigators and three other researchers, since the car rental in Yugoslavia is fully as expensive as it is elsewhere. However, this already low estimate was cut to \$1,800, thus jeopardizing the collecting work which is the most basic part of our project, since this sum would have been sufficient only for the hiring of a small car for only part of the time. Fortunately, the Univ. of Ljubljana lent our team two cars from its limited car pool, at a considerable sacrifice, in order to make our collecting trips possible, but we were expressly told when we left that this could not be done another year.

Our plans for a slightly larger group next summer make it necessary to increase the sum available for mileage and car rental. If our estimate of \$5,000 for this purpose proves to be too low, we will be able to switch parts of our efforts to other parts of the program, and, if it is too high, the remaining sum will, naturally, revert to Embassy funds. The lower sum for the Yugoslav participants is possible and reasonable because they are able to use their own cars for part of the time, without paying exorbitant sums for car rental, sums that include daily mileage requirements that are almost sufficient to carry one throughout Yugoslavia.

II,A,4: Office rent for two American Principal Investigators. The laboratory space rented from the University of Ljubljana for this project is sufficient for the laboratory work and as a place for the assistants we had last summer, but it is not sufficient for the work of the Principal Investigators. We know of available and appropriate office space not far from the Botanical Garden that could be rented last summer for 4,500 ND per month, so we expect it to be available for three months next summer for the equivalent of \$1,000. If rented for this purpose, it will greatly facilitate the investigations, calculations, and writing by the two Principal Investigators, who otherwise

will have to be crowded into space not appropriate for this kind of work.

II,A,6: Insurance coverage. When we arrived in Ljubljana last June, the University authorities told us that it would be desirable that all the American participants be insured under the national medical plan, in order to prevent hardship to the University in case of sickness or injury. Professor Susnik contacted the American Embassy personally for information about this, but the letter was probably lost in the mail, since no answer ever arrived; the same happened to another letter written later about the sum involved, but we understand the concern of the University, because one accidental death and one case of serious illness hit other foreign colleagues in this area last summer. Therefore, we urge that this matter be taken up specially with the Embassy and solved to the satisfaction of the University before the beginning of the next season.

II,B,1: Salaries and wages of Yugoslav participants: Adjustment of the salaries of the two Yugoslav Principal Investigators is self-explanatory.

After the success of the restricted beginning, the Yugoslavs want to increase their participation to a degree more comparable to what was originally planned in the proposal of 1969. Therefore, we ask that two senior scientists, the ecologists-taxonomists K. Micevski and M. Sopova, be added to the team for one month. Their qualifications are beyond dispute, although we have not been able to get copies of their vitae so far.

The Slovenian Principal Investigators also find it highly commendable that we include two other botanists from Slovenia to participate actively in the work for two months. Since the selection of the most appropriate persons apparently takes longer than expected and has to be left to local botanists and the Yugoslav Principal Investigators, we propose that the inclusion of this item be accepted, in the belief that only well-qualified botanists will be proposed and agreed upon by the team.

One special assistant on a whole-year salary has been added to the Yugoslav group. This is our most qualified assistant, whom we want to employ as a full-time microscopist-cytotaxonomist. In addition to local labor, which we found to be insufficient in itself for taking care of the plants, we ask for a full-time gardener (a position included in the original proposal), in the hope that he will be able to keep the death of the transplanted plants to a minimum and their growth and flowering to a maximum.

II,C,1: Orientation excursion. A new item is added for an orientation excursion through Yugoslavia for the principal participants, during which other centers of botanical activities will be visited and studies and collections made of critical species from other regions of interest. This trip is being organized and planned by Ernest Meyer, who is an outstanding specialist on the taxonomy and distribution of the flora of the entire country.

II,C,2: Non-expendable equipment. Last year a stereomicroscope, valued at \$600, was left out of the budget. This influenced negatively some of our identification work this past summer, so the item is again included in the present budget, but at a higher price for inevitable reasons.

The Zeiss camera microscope will be needed to meet the requirements of so large a research group.

The Combi or Land Rover was requested in the original proposal by the Yugoslavian team. We are requesting this auto again because of our need for a vehicle to be used by our research group.

Since Ljubljana is a warm city during the summer months, it is difficult to keep alive and growing some of the delicate alpine plants that we could not study at the Juliana Botanical Garden in the Julian Alps. Therefore, we feel it is necessary to add a greenhouse with a growth-chamber to the facilities at the Botanical Garden in Ljubljana. We have seen such chambers that were built in Yugoslavia and feel confident that the sum of \$500 will be sufficient for appropriate growth-chambers for our needs.

The University of Ljubljana will contribute one-half of the total costs of the above three items. Therefore, only the amounts shown are requested here.

The experimental gardens are needed to complement the experimental gardens in Ljubljana, where the climate is not always suitable for the comparative experiments planned.

II,C,4: Laboratory and office rent. This item must be increased because more space is needed for the junior researchers during the summer and coming winter because of their increased number. Other members of the team also use the laboratories, but the Yugoslav senior members use their own offices and the herbarium for much of their laboratory work on the project.

II,C,5. Publication costs: This amount is double that requested last year, because we expect that considerably more results will need to be printed the second year, if all goes well as it has hitherto. This cost will likely be used as direct support for the journal *Scopolia* in its second year, since most of our papers will be printed in its pages.

[Editor's Note: See Exhibit 4. This is the report that caused the Smithsonian's committee of "peers" to decide that the Löve's performance is inadequate and reason for termination the project!]

EXHIBIT 1

TEN COMMANDMENTS OF A SCIENTIST

1. Do not feel absolutely certain of anything.
2. Do not think it worth while to proceed to conceal evidence, for the evidence is sure to come to light.
3. Never try to discourage thinking, for you are sure to succeed.
4. When you meet with opposition, endeavor to overcome it by argument and not by authority, for a victory dependent upon authority is unreal and illusory.
5. Have no respect for the authority of others, for there are always contrary authorities to be found.
6. Do not use power to suppress opinions you think pernicious, for if you do, the opinions will suppress you.
7. Do not fear to be eccentric in opinion, for every opinion now accepted was once eccentric.
8. Find more pleasure in intelligent dissent than in passive agreement, for, if you value intelligence as you should, the former implies a deeper agreement than the latter.
9. Be scrupulously truthful, even if the truth is inconvenient, for it is more inconvenient when you try to conceal it.
10. Do not feel envious of the happiness of those who live in a fool's paradise, for only a fool will think that it is happiness.

EXHIBIT 2

Carl Bock to Askeff Love

Dear Dr. Löve:

At its meeting this noon the faculty of the Biology Department voted to express its gratitude for your efforts as our chairman over the past four years. We realize that the job is often a thankless one, and we want you to know that we feel the department has made great progress during your tenure. We look forward to your being able to return more fully now to teaching and research, which will continue to bring honor to our department.

Very sincerely,

Carl E. Bock
Acting Associate Chairman

EXHIBIT 3

Askell Löve to Hobart Smith

Boulder, May 5, 1970

Dear Hobart:

My six years experience in the Biology Department under a narrow-minded dean of Arts and Sciences and a couple of years under an unscrupulous dean of the Graduate School has convinced me that not only do these men, who were elected to their posts by aid of connections rather than on the basis of academic competence, want to eliminate all real scholarship from the non-chemical part of the Biology Department, but also that these too powerful administrators keep their eyes open to the fact that I am a non-conservative immigrant from a small but highly cultured nation at the same time as they refuse to accept that my education, experience, and achievements are far above those of the average professors of this university, and therefore far above that of the junior college teachers they prefer for biology. I do not feel too badly about being kicked by small people, as for instance when the graduate dean recently helped his hand-picked committee to refuse me, and no other biologist here, a Faculty Fellowship after six years of good work, with the explanation that my work was only on "damned chromosomes", as if he understood their significance.

I am more disturbed by [the fact] that a good friend at the NSF has indicated to me that this dean has prevented a renewal of our grants by telling them per telephone that there are no, and will not be any, facilities in the department for work of the kind we do - but this may not be true. Sometimes I have wondered if this administrator perhaps may have been behind the visit the FBI made a year or so ago to [Prof. Eric] Bonde, [Prof. Edwin] Helwig, and [Prof. Sam] Shushan to snoop about my opinions and beliefs - the same as the CIA had done for years but through a direct contact by their exemplary and pleasant agent here.

Be all that as it may, I have tried and will continue to try to do my very best in whatever I do in research or other work, at the same time as I will continue to make efforts to avoid all contacts with this apparently small and insecure man, following the wise advice by good old Rudyard Kipling regarding the honesty of the Saxons that ends with "My son, leave the Saxon alone", or perhaps the following fits still better as an advice in this case: "Don't dance or ride with General Bangs - a most immoral man." So I will do my best to keep away from Lawson Crowe and hope that his superiors will understand his not so straight morals and disposition before he gets an opportunity to sink the university to his own level.

I am more bothered about the attitude of [Arts & Science Dean William] Briggs, who is not a great man but I believe an honest one, although not free from bigotry as so many here. I cannot understand his inability to realize that even non-chemists may be too outstanding for junior college teaching, and his unwillingness to see that even an immigrant who speaks with an accent (which he once has tried to imitate to my face in a very compromising situation) may have feelings and even be internationally recognized in his fields and thus ought to be treated economically no worse than those who do similar work and are born here. That my strength lies in my profound education at one of the finest and oldest universities in Europe, and in creative research and writing, ought to be clearly documented by my thirty years of publishing several hundred research papers that have strongly influenced the international development of my field, some much appreciated books, and numerous research reviews, all of which have caused many international honors to come my way. And it ought to be evident even to him that my strength in the fields of evolutionary biology, in which I have been a recognized international leader for decades, as you so well have told me was also your impression, has been steadily growing, as can be seen by the fact that in 1964, the year I came to Boulder, I published 15 research papers (alone and with my very learned but much discriminated-against wife) and five research reviews, whereas since 1965 I have published 60 research papers and books and 54 research reviews, altogether more than 1,500 pages, despite a normal teaching load, heavy administration, and virtually no research facilities.

Since it has become very apparent recently that the two deans do not appreciate research in the Biology Department, and have even decided to complete their persistent discrimination against me by professional

assassination, as soon as they can invent some ways for this, with or without outside help, I am forced to draw the conclusion that if we cannot find a more congenial atmosphere elsewhere, I must ask for a transfer of my position and salary to another part of the university where good and productive research is better appreciated than under these administrators. I could do this straight, by contacting the President himself, personally and in writing, but since that might be construed as an indication of disagreement between us, which is nonexistent as we both know, I would rather not go above your head with such an action. Instead, I hereby submit to you the humble request that you make all possible efforts on my behalf to get my position transferred from the beginning of the academic year 1970-71 to the University Museum, where my duties would be those of a professor and curator of evolutionary genetics, evolutionary botany, or simply experimental botany and biogeography, a subject in which I know I am the recognized world leader. Or, if this should be more feasible, I could be transferred to the Institute of Arctic and Alpine Research, though my wide interest in evolutionary biology certainly would fit better into the work at the Museum at the side of Professors Maslin, Robinson, and Weber. Naturally, I would teach in the Biology Department in the capacity of joint appointee as do Professors Maslin, Rodeck, and Weber, if so desired, and accept responsibility for graduate students whenever appropriate. At the same time, since the Museum is short of space, I would like to request that you arrange that I be allowed to keep my present office and laboratory space in the Armory until other suitable arrangements can be made.

I hope that you realize that this letter is not to be construed as a declaration of any criticism or doubts from my side of your prospective administration. But I hope that such a transfer will help to alleviate some of the ill will of the two administrators mentioned towards the Biology Department and allow your own contacts with them to become much more cordial than they allowed during my chairmanship.

Naturally, this letter is personal and confidential, though I hope you can and will use its contents to get the action asked for, the sooner the better. You have my permission to show it, again confidentially, to the directors of the Museum and INSTAAR, but not to copy it for them or others, nor to broadcast its contents even among our colleagues in the Department.

With the very best wishes and thanks for your positive action.

Yours sincerely,

Áskell Löve

EXHIBIT 4 (received by Löve on March 16, 1972)

Smithsonian Institution
Washington, D.C. 20560, U.S.A.

February 10, 1972

Mr. Lawson Crowe
Provost and Vice President for Research
The University of Colorado
Boulder, Colorado 80302

Dear Mr. Crowe:

I refer to CU Proposal No. 71.7.383, Dr. Aske Löve's proposal to continue his "Cooperative Studies on the Cytotaxonomy of the Yugoslavian Flora." I regret that, after careful review of the results of Dr. Löve's first year of work in Yugoslavia, as outlined in his renewal proposal, the Smithsonian has reached the conclusion that the project cannot be supported as a continuing project. Our review included consultation with scientists particularly qualified to comment on the subject matter of the proposal; after that the proposal was reviewed by the regular Smithsonian Foreign Currency Program Advisory Council in Biology, which has a rotating membership drawn from established American biologists. The conclusion of the Advisory Council was that the results of the first year's work do not warrant continued support for the project. However, since both the American and Yugoslav teams engaged in the project were proceeding on the expectation of continued support, the Advisory Council voted to award the sum of \$40,000 equivalent in "excess" Yugoslavian dinars for a terminal season of work in order to allow the data obtained in the first year to be consolidated and the project to be closed out in the most orderly possible manner.

The Smithsonian's decision not to support this project on a continuing basis, even though support for the first year was awarded on the basis of Dr. Löve's original application, is based on our Foreign Currency Program policy as outlined in our regular Program Announcement (latest edition dated July 1, 1971): "SFPC grants normally provide support for only one year's research even though the original proposal anticipates several year's work. To secure funds for each succeeding year, a renewal proposal is required."

If the University decides to accept the award of \$40,000 equivalent in Yugoslav dinars for an orderly close-out of the project during a terminal season of work, Dr. Löve should be requested to forward a detailed budget for work at this reduced level to the Smithsonian for approval and incorporation into a subsequent grant contract. No payments designated "salary" for any of the American participants should be included in this budget.

Sincerely yours,

(signed) Kennedy Schmertz, Director
Foreign Currency Program
Office of International Activities

KDWhitehead:pbk

EXHIBIT 5

EMBASSY OF THE SOCIALIST FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF YUGOSLAVIA
2410 California Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. 462-6566

17 Mart 1972

Dr. Franc Susnik, Direktor
Institut za biologiju
Askerceva 12
Ljubljana

Postovani dr. Susnik,

Dr. Schmerz, koji vodi spoljne poslove u Smithsonianu, zamolio me je da Vam prenesem jednu informaciju delikatne prirode.

Radi se o projektu "Cytotaxonomy of Yugoslav Flora". Jednogodisnji rad Dr. Asker Løvea na tom projektu dobio je losu, neprolaznu ocenu. Zbog toga ce Smithsonian ovu drugu godinu da finansira prve (40.-50.000 dolara). To je, takodje, poslednja godina za dr. Løvea, jer se nece saglasiti da on i dalje nastavi da radi na tome. Posto dr. Løvea smatraju upornim, ocekuju da njegovo uklanjanje nece proci bez trenja.

Na Vas rad nemaju primedbi. Smatraju da je problematika interesantna i zeljeli bi da je nastave sa nekim drugim, boljim americkim naučnikom. Vi mozete razmisljati ko bi mogao drugi da dodje u obzir, pa kad se stvar rascisti sa Loveom, nastaviti sa drugim.

Sa drugarskim postovanjem,

dr. Milorad mladjenovic
Savetnik za nauku

* * *

(translation by F. Susnik)

Dear Dr. Susnik

Dr. Schmertz, Director of Office of International Activities in Smithsonian asked me to transmit to you an information of a very delicate nature.

The matter in question is the project "Cytotaxonomy of Yugoslav Flora." One year's work of Dr. Love on this project has been evaluated with a bad, insufficient recommendation. Therefore the Smithsonian has decided to finance this second year in the same amount as he did it the first one (40,-50,000 dollars). This would be also the last year for Dr. Love, because they will not agree with Dr. Løve continuing this work. But Dr. Løve is known as a very persistent man, so they expect that his removal will not pass without any difficulty.

They have no remarks on your work. Considering that the problems are interesting, they would like to continue this work with another, a better American scientist. You can think over about another American scientist who would be capable of this work, and then, after the problem with Dr. Love has been solved, continue the work with him.

(translation of Dr. Susnik's reply)

UNIVERZA ZA LJUBLJANI
INSTITUT ZA BIOLOGICO

YU-61001 LJUBLJANA
Askerceva 12-P.p. 141/3
(061) 22-121

Dear Dr. Mladjenovic:

I thank you for the information in connection with the visit of Mr. H. B. Quine and Mr. T. A. Wastler. The information about the project "Cooperative Studies on the Cytotaxonomy of the Yugoslav Flora" was especially important for me, because I am personally involved. A few days ago I got a letter from Dr. Löve with a copy of the information from the Smithsonian Institution to the University of Boulder, where Dr. Löve is working as professor, in which he is interpreting the new situation. I regret not to know the reasons, why the Smithsonian has decided in such a way. I personally can guess, then, so that this decision has not surprised me too much. The most difficulties are probably connected with his political views and the fact that he is a foreigner in U.S.A., a citizen of Iceland.

If I sum up the first year of a work on this project, I can see the first - very interesting and promising results. The chromosome number is in fact the fundamental genetic information and therefore important so far[as concerns] the fundamental knowledge of the rich flora in our country. Yugoslavia is, for its geographical, geological, and ecological character the most interesting country in Europe, because of its interest for the applicative fields of work: pharmacology, agriculture, forestry, etc. The first results are already published in scientific periodicals (six papers). Any interruption of this scientific work would entail a material, but an even greater moral, damage. In the present situation we would not be able to realize the project with our financial resources only. But probably somebody could say some critics [make some criticisms] on our account too. Some time ago I wrote about it to Dr. Schmetz. I mentioned [to] him that I will inform about the whole matter to you. As I have already said, our opinion is that the work on this project has to be continued. If we remain in [keep to] the standards of scientific relations it is impossible to change one of the principal investigators, without explanation what is the reason. Do they mean it as a [lack of] confidence to our work too?

EXHIBIT 6

Harlan Lewis to Askill Löve

October 3, 1972

Dear Askill:

Thank you for agreeing to review the enclosed manuscript. I would appreciate receiving your evaluation and recommendations concerning the manuscript within three weeks. I am enclosing a critic's checklist and stamped envelope for your convenience.

Thank you for suggesting another reviewer.

(signed) Harlan Lewis, Editor [Evolution]

Yours truly

P.S. [in longhand] I am unable to believe the material that has just arrived. You are undoubtedly the best person in the U.S. to conduct the project! I really don't understand what is behind the action to terminate. I can't look into the matter at the moment but I will try to find out what has been going on.

Cordially, Harlan

Harlan Lewis to Askill Löve

October 23, 1972

~~October 23, 1972~~

Dear Askill:

Thank you very much for your review of the manuscript on chromosome numbers of tropical trees. I could have rejected it out of hand but since the author states that it had been critically reviewed" by several prominent botanists, I thought he should have additional opinions. Thank you for your help.

I still find it unbelievable that your Yugoslavian cytotaxonomy project was terminated because they wanted "a better American scientist" when they could not possibly find anyone with better qualifications for this project. Obviously someone has sabotaged the project for personal (certainly not rational) reasons. I was trying to think of what constructive action could be taken when a copy of Bill Turner's [Billie Turner, Univ. of Texas] letter arrived. I agree with Bill that the best course of action is for Bill to make inquiries while he is in Washington because unless or until one finds out what the real problem is one does not know what steps, if any, are likely to bring positive results.

Cordially yours,
(signed) Harlan Lewis

EXHIBIT 7

Löve and Roark to Whitehead

6 April 1972

Mr. Kenneth D. Whitehead
Deputy Director
Foreign Currency Program
Office of International Activities
Smithsonian Institution
Washington, D.C. 20560

Dear Mr. Whitehead:

As agreed upon during a recent telephone conversation between yourself and Mr. Roark of the University, the previously announced support is to be adjusted upward to correct a misunderstanding of the salaries of the American participants. In addition, other details may also be useful in explaining our position concerning this project.

1) The American participants need to be five as last year, i.e. the two principal investigators and three student assistants, two of whom will complete collections of material for their Ph.D. theses and one to assist in processing material together with the P.I.s.

2) This would require five round trip air fares between Boulder and Ljubljana for the American team. From our standpoint, it is desirable that one Yugoslav be given an opportunity to come to Boulder next winter, to assist in the writing of the results of the research, but we leave this decision to the SFCP office.

3) All salaries requested for the American participants are commensurate with the regulations of the University for summer salaries of faculty and graduate students. If they receive a salary it must come from grant funds. However, we want to emphasize that since it is important that the team be given an opportunity to leave in the middle of May to collect the spring flora, and then stay for three and one-half months, the principal investigators agree to work that period of time in Yugoslavia for only two month's salaries, if the SFCP office regards this as appropriate, whereas the University does not feel it can ask the student assistants to work without pay for any part of the time, because of the discrepancy between the paid time for the P.I.s and the student assistants.

4) Mileage and rent for cars has been doubled from the sum allotted last year, for reasons explained earlier in the report for last year. It is more important than ever that this sum be maintained, since otherwise it will be difficult to complete the work during this limited time; considerably more travel for collection will have to be made if the work is to be properly completed, both the general investigation and the special studies by the graduate students, and this requires trips at the same time to various places by the different participants.

5) The per diem is the one given in the instructions from the SFCP and not that unilaterally reduced last year, an action that resulted in a considerable hardship for all the participants and an actual reduction of their salaries since they preferred that rather than to reduce their work. Although the P.I.s agree to work for a two months salary each though their actual time of work in Yugoslavia will be three months and one half each, it seems reasonable to ask for a per diem for three months for *all* the American participants, lest direct research costs be paid out of their own pockets.

6) The need for renting an office for the American participants was explained in the report. Last year the two P.I.s used their salaries to pay for such a facility.

7) The budget for the Yugoslav participants certainly is the minimum acceptable to them. It is largely self-

explanatory if compared with last year's budget.

We want to emphasize the importance of the participants being allowed to leave around the middle of May for the 3 1/2 months stay in Yugoslavia, so that they will be able to include the important spring flora of the mountains in their final work. Therefore, it is important that decisions on the budget be made as soon as possible and that the P.I.s be furnished with the necessary papers for authorization of official travel and other such documents as soon as possible, so that timely arrangements for the travel can be made through the TWA (preferably) or the PanAm office in Denver.

We sincerely hope that you can somehow arrange to fund the attached budget amounting to \$51,820. Similar to the arrangements made last year, we would like to request that the American Consulate at Zagreb handle the funding of this project.

We will be pleased to answer any further questions you might have.

Sincerely yours,

(signed) Askeff Love

(signed) Howard D. Roark, Operating Manager
Office of Research Services

BUDGET

I. Expenditures for international travel and transportation

1. Air fare, 5 round trips for the American participants, Denver to Ljubljana @936	\$ 4,680
2. Additional round trip for one Yugoslav participant	936
3. Excess baggage and air freight for books, equipment, and herbarium material and cytological collections	500
	<hr/>
	\$ 6,116

II. Expenditures in Yugoslavia.

A. For American participants:

1. Salaries and wages	
a. Askeff Löve (P.I.), 2 mos. @ \$2,060/mo.	\$ 4,180
b. Doris Löve (P.I.), 2 mos. @ \$1,800/mo.	3,600
c. Three student assistants, 3 mos. @ \$710/mo.	6,390
2. Mileage and rent for cars	3,600
3. Per diem: 450 man days @ \$17	7,650
4. Office rent for American participants (3 mos.)	1,000
	<hr/>
	\$ 26,420

B. For Yugoslavian participants:

1. Salaries and wages	
a. Franc Susnik (P.I.), 5 mos. @ \$500	\$ 2,500
b. Ernest Mayer (P.I.), 3 mos. @ \$500	1,500
c. Two student assistants, 2 mos. each, @ \$500/mo.	2,000
d. Special assistant, 12 mos. @ \$300	3,600
2. Local travel (mileage and vehicle rental)	4,000
3. Field maintenance and per diem	4,000

C. For cooperative efforts:

	<u>\$ 17,600</u>
1. Expendable supplies	
a. Laboratory supplies	\$ 1,300
b. Photographic and other supplies	500
2. Laboratory and office rent for Yugoslav participants	2,000
3. Publication costs	2,000
4. Administrative costs	2,000
	<u>\$ 7,800</u>

GRANT TOTAL \$ 51,820

EXHIBIT 8

Purchase order and voucher, Smithsonian to Belgrade

This is a standard Purchase Order, Receiving Report and Voucher filed as follows:

From: Smithsonian Institution

To: American Embassy, Belgrade, Yugoslavia, 6/9/72

Payee: Dr. Askill Löve, Designated Representative

c/o University of Ljubljana

Contract No. SFG-2-7626 dated 6/72

Paid by: James F. Brackman, USFO, Belgrade, Yugoslavia 6220

Funds made available for the maintenance and other expenses of the American project participants. Project title:
Cooperative Studies on the Cytotaxonomy of the Yugoslavian Flora". \$26,420.00 (ND 440,140.00)

This was duly approved by Dorothy E. Weirauch, Authorized Certifying Officer

EXHIBIT 9

This is a hand-written copy of a letter, nine pages long, written by Askeff Löve on University of Ljubljana stationery. It was sent from across the Austrian border. Receipt was never acknowledged. The following is a transcription prepared by Professor Weber.

July 2, 1972

Mr. Kennedy B. Schmertz
 Director, Foreign Currency Program
 Office of International Activities
 Washington, D.C. U.S.A.

Dear Mr. Schmertz:

We were disappointed when we arrived in Ljubljana in late May and discovered that, contrary to promises, no authorization for our funds had been sent to Belgrade from Washington. We have been told that the Embassy has, at the request of us and Dr. Susnik, repeatedly contacted your office by telephone or telegram for such an authorization in late May or early June. When the authorization at last arrived, I was informed by the scientific attache, Dr. Liimatainen, and his next in command, Mr. Barlovec, that even then nothing could be done because they needed a new approach by Zamtes, the Yugoslav Research Council. This looks to me as a plainly deliberate harassment, since Zamtes agrees (according to what has been told to Dr. Susnik, our co-investigator) that they had already approved our program and funds for five years last summer and so they do not believe this has to be done again. They also seem to feel that when your committee last winter summarily decided to cut short the funding after this summer this was unfair and not motivated, but that is a matter for you politicians to discuss. Whatever is correct, this situation is hardly conducive to scientific work as that for which we contracted, but we certainly are not those who are dragging feet. Also, I am wondering why all this negativism is needed now, when you actually have terminated the project after this summer because your committee finds us less competent than our Yugoslav colleagues are – and we certainly had lost interest in this brand of Smithsonian encouragement.

Since we trusted that our funds would be available on our arrival in Ljubljana, we brought with us a minimum of American dollars to use during our stops en route only. Therefore, when we had waited for two weeks, I asked the scientific attache, per telephone on June 9, if he could not advance us some money, in the safe anticipation of the evident approval of the funds by Zamtes. Astonishingly, he categorically declared that this he could not do because it was against some regulations. Dr. Susnik and the University had lent us some money for food and other absolute necessities when we arrived, but since I did not feel that I could ask him for more, and since Mr. Liimatainen also indicated that even that had been against some regulations about which we were and remain ignorant, we continued to restrict our activities and food purchases to a minimum and asked those, from whom we have rented living quarters, to bear with us, and explained why. That they did gladly, but with evident surprise. A couple of days later when nothing happened, I mentioned to the attache per telephone that we were seriously considering the necessity of returning home. Against that he advised strongly and said the money would become available, and then indicated that he knew that if we did leave, we would be required to refund personally all the travel costs and pay the salaries of the assistants, and I got the faint notion that he said that the University of Colorado would not support us. Why?

On June 14, according to a note in my book of transactions, etc., however, one of his associates, who presented himself on the phone as Mr. Stern (or Strm?), of the Office of the Scientific Attache at the American Embassy, phoned me in the morning when I had just arrived at the Institute of Biology. He told me that the attache, as he had indicated to me earlier, had informed him that it seemed likely that Zamtes would not act on our funds until in August after the vacations, and that Dr. Liimatainen therefore had proposed that he, Mr. Stern, help me to get an advance or loan, equivalent to the salaries of our group, through a Ljubljana businessman, Mr. Francodruz, who he said was well-known and trusted by the Embassy. When I asked if there were some conditions, I was told that since such a bypassing of Zamtes might be misunderstood by the very sensitive government, the transaction must

be kept absolutely secret as a "national security matter", and the lender would require that when we repay him immediately after receiving our funds from the Embassy, whenever that could be, he must be given also the sum intended as per diem for all five of us in the budget because of his high risk. I could not refrain from using the word extortion about this, and wondered if it would not be wiser and less expensive and more honest toward us and especially our assistants to ask the University to help us without such rapacity, since its authorities had clearly shown interest in doing so when lending us money without any interest on our arrival.

The answer to this was categorically negative, and it was at least indicated again that even that small loan had been against some serious "regulations". Mr. Stern advised me that they were only trying to help me, not to force me to accept this, but admitted that they saw no way out "because of the attitude of Zamtes." He regretfully warned me not to mention this to Dr. Susnik or to discuss it with anybody, especially not with my wife and co-principal investigator, and I believe some of his words, which I did not write down at once and thus cannot recall exactly, could, or perhaps should, be interpreted as threatening though not unfriendly. Naturally, I became upset when hearing this proposal which I found to be an outrageous and unfair reduction in our otherwise reasonable summer budget. I had qualms mainly because of the assistants, although I had not yet told them about the per diem and still believe their three months salary is reasonably good, even in this most expensive of Yugoslavian cities.

I pointed out to Mr. Stern that this was a serious deviation from and actually a drastic reduction in our budget which certainly must be approved by your office, and asked to be allowed to discuss it with the attache himself. I was told that he was out of town, but I was instead, after a few minutes (not seconds) connected with Mr. Barlovec, the second in command. (I must add within parentheses, that I have actually met only the former scientific attache, Mr. deClerck, last year, and that summer I talked only on the phone to Mr. Barlovec. I have so far this summer only talked on the phone to Mr. Liimitainen and his associates, Barlovec and Stern. I understand from some remarks by Dr. Susnik, that Mr. Liimitainen has already visited Ljubljana for a couple of days during the time we have been here this summer. Mrs. Kirk and Dr. Arp have told me that even Mr. Barlovec has visited them in our laboratory in the Botanical Garden and invited Mrs. Kirk out to a restaurant. Why neither of these gentlemen visited us at least rather than our assistants is a puzzle to me.)

When Mr. Barlovec at last came to the phone, he told me that the proposal presented by Mr. Stern had been discussed and found to be the only acceptable possibility out of our difficulties, and reminded me that the Embassy was authorized to approve or propose or even force upon us any changes in the budget, which later would be reported to Washington. Since I recalled that Mr. Whitehead of your office had, before we left for Yugoslavia in 1971, told me at least twice on the phone that if we needed an approval of even drastic changes in details of the budget, the Embassy was fully authorized to allow this, so far as it did not involve an increase in the total sum, I accepted this explanation. I also recalled that, when I asked Mr. Whitehead in the fall of 1971, if I should report on paper that the Embassy, through a phone call to me from Mr. Barlovec, had asked for an adjustment in the air fare for Mrs. Reid to be sent to him, because Dr. Susnik had told him that Mrs. Reid was not actually contributing to the project (which was correct), Mr. Whitehead told me that this would be reported by the Embassy and that I should not mention it to avoid confusion.

When recalling also this, I felt more assured, although I asked Mr. Barlovec if he could inform you and get your approval — that he said had already been accomplished before I was contacted by his colleague. Since I am here with a group of five to accomplish considerable research work during a short summer, I must admit that I felt trapped and with a dagger pointed at me, but since I feel I must trust the diplomats at the Embassy, I reluctantly agreed to accept the proposal. I was then instructed how to contact Mr. Francodruz by telephone, but also strongly advised once more not to even mention this to Dr. Susnik or to anyone else, and then especially not to my assistants or to my wife. I believe Mr. Barlovec is a Yugoslav working at the Embassy, so I was astonished to have him warn that all this caution had to be taken because of the risks for persecution or worse "in this communistic police state", and this he dared to say by telephone from a foreign embassy to me, a foreigner whom he does not know.

I contacted Mr. Francodruz around noon on June 134, and found out through the desk answering the telephone that the number given me by Mr. Stern is that of one of the banks in the city; the girl hesitated somewhat

before we were connected. Mr. Francodruz told me exactly how I could recognize him near the entrance of another bank not far from his own, though he himself did not tell me that he spoke from a bank. Less than an hour later, when I had returned from lunch at home, I met him at the place agreed upon. He is a somewhat gaunt and thin man of my size, in his middle seventies I believe, and with some signs of high blood pressure. His face is pleasant and confident-looking, that of a man of evident affluence and culture. He speaks English well but hesitatingly and told me that he was more fluent in German. Mr. Francodruz and I sat down at a table in a corner, where he took out a thick brown envelope, without any writing or text, out of his naturally colored and clearly hand made leather briefcase. He gave the envelope to me and said that it included the sum agreed upon in dinars at the rate of the day. I counted that sum later. I offered him a receipt, but he turned it down saying that the officers at the Embassy were his security. I then offered to go out with him for a cup of coffee or milk, but he politely declined. I also asked if he would not sign his name and address on the envelope, but he smiled and said that even that was not possible. Then he rose on his feet and said, "since this is a communistic police state, perhaps we ought to depart separately, and almost at once he left the bank. I did not see him on the street when I myself departed.

I was back at the Institute half an hour before it closed at 2 p.m. for what I believe is the siesta though it is not so called here, and we ourselves work all the day as at home. There I met Dr. Susnik, who told me that he had again contacted the Embassy and, I believe, Zamtes, with the same lack of result. That did not disturb me now. Soon the phone rang for me, and I went to one of the offices at the back of the building to take it, because the street noise in the front office is deafening. It was Mr. Stern, who only said that he had heard from Mr. Francodruz that the transfer had been made, and congratulated me on behalf of the office, so that now our work could at last proceed without further interference. When I expressed my worries that I had received no written confirmation of the action, which I told him I did not find pleasant, he said that no receipts were needed because the Embassy was fully informed and would later furnish me with documents to be presented with my final report to the Smithsonian, or they would send such documents directly to you with a copy to me before I leave Yugoslavia. He also reported that your office was and would continue to be informed, I understood, either by telephone or teleprinter, though this last impression may be my misunderstanding. Before ending the conversation, Mr. Stern repeated what Mr. Barlovec had told me earlier, that now I should (not only could) pay the assistants their two months salary, but emphasized that I must ask them to sign two blank – and he repeated – two blank – receipts each, and advised me to carefully explain that the Embassy would later decide what ought to be written on these receipts "without giving them any reason for suspicion." These were his words. I followed this instruction when Dr. Arp and Mrs. Kirk came to my home later that day to get their money, but dated the receipt July 1, as Mr. Stern also had told me to do. Both the assistants and my wife, who got the impression that the real funds had at last arrived from the Embassy, were somewhat perplexed, but seemed to accept what I felt was a clumsy explanation.

This might all have been satisfactory if our funds had really been delayed until August, as indicated to me repeatedly by the diplomats. However, only nine days later, on June 23, Dr. Susnik told me that he had had a phone call from his friend Suklovic at Zamtes and also from Dr. Liimatainen at the Embassy, both of whom had told him that the transfer of the entire funds had been approved and that I would receive a bank cheque by registered mail – which was a great improvement from last year, when I was required to pick up the funds in person either in Belgrade or at the Consulate in Zagreb.

That letter arrived on Saturday, June 24, and on Monday, June 16, Dr. Susnik came with me to the bank where I cashed the cheque for 449,140 dinars and paid 150 dinars for the "service", which I thought ought to have been prepaid by the sender. This was the equivalent of \$26,420 at a rate of 17 dinars per dollar. I asked for the possibilities to open an account, but was told (as I knew from earlier occasions last year) that foreigners were not allowed to own a bank account in Yugoslavia. Therefore I had to keep the money at home and dispose as soon as possible of what had to be paid by others. Dr. Susnik received at once the sum he and the University had lent me earlier in the spring without interest and gave me receipts. All my dealings with him have been exemplary.

Before we left the Institute on Monday around 2 p.m., I contacted Mr. Francodruz at the same telephone number, and again the telephone clerk at the bank seemed to be somewhat puzzled before connecting us. We agreed to meet at the same place as last time at 10 a.m. next morning, Tuesday June 17, so that I could pay him back.

Naturally I was tempted to discuss this with Dr. Susnik and with my wife, because I felt that I had been forced rather than coerced to accept what I believed looked like dirty tricks by the Embassy people, since they must have known the status of the transfer through Zamtes already when they proposed their "arrangement". However, I am brought up never to break a promise however absurd. I met Mr. Francodruz at the correct time and place and handed over to him an envelope with his earlier loan plus the per diem budgeted that the diplomats had ordered me to pay for his "risks" and claimed had been approved by your office, the sums being written outside the envelope above my signature. He had required no receipt from me and gave me none, never wrote his name on a paper, never even said his name himself, and never himself mentioned his telephone number or address. And also this time he left [so] politely and quietly that I did not see him on the street when I followed him out.

Later that same day, June 17, I paid the salary for an additional month to Mrs. Kirk and Dr. Arp as instructed by the Embassy people, I believe by Mr. Stern rather than by Mr. Barlovec, and with the same arrangement of two blank receipts each. When I did this in the laboratory of the Botanical Garden, Mrs. Kirk made a short remark in passing that I understood as that Dr. Susnik had indicated to her that they ought to get more, so I wondered if he had made a slip and mentioned the per diem. If so, that shows that he knew nothing of the transaction and also that the Embassy people had abstained to mention it to him, but he has our budget with all its details. If the assistants should ask again later, I will try to explain without revealing anything important about what Mr. Barlovec and Mr. Stern call "national security", but will then tell them, also on the authority of Mr. Barlovec, that the three months salary remains their even if they should stay [a] shorter [time]. If they insist that they be paid the per diem, I will pay it out of my own salary rather than to reveal anything about the "transaction" because I have promised to keep quiet about it. Since I agreed to this matter against my conscience, I am not asking that the Foreign Currency Program refund our losses, although I would feel it would be proper to offer this to us. In dollars rather than worthless dinars.

I had been only a short while at the Institute on the morning of June 28, when one of the office people called me to the telephone. It was Mr. Stern, who told me that Mr. Francodruz was satisfied, and asked if I had paid the assistants for the third month. Then he added, somewhat hesitantly I felt, that because of some University - or was it Zamtes, or generally Yugoslav? - regulations (and he even mentioned that there had been substantial losses on the car rentals from the University car pool last year) he was forced to instruct me that it would be necessary to transfer the funds budgeted for our travels inside the country, and the costs of office and laboratory on our side of the budget, to the University authorities. I was puzzled that Dr. Susnik had never mentioned this and [said] that I would like to discuss this with him, but was again warned, and "national security" was again mentioned, that he must be kept outside of this; and instead, I was told that this matter would be taken care of by one of the administrative clerks or officers of the Institute alone (and the word *alone* was repeated). He was identified by first name only (though I knew his full name) and I [was] asked never to mention it, for reasons of "national security" again! I was told to pay him these sums without requesting a receipt at this time, but the Embassy would later see to [it] that I got a satisfactory documentation. The University would, instead, furnish us with gasoline coupons and other devices with which to pay our food and hotel costs when travelling up to or above the total sum of the mileage. I contacted the rather shy gentleman, who speaks little English and rudimentary German, immediately after this conversation, and the same afternoon I gave him the funds required. I asked for no receipt, but he pointed out that proper receipts would be produced when the Embassy had decided about their wording, before we would leave in the fall. I then received a bunch of the coupons.

In this context I may remind you that the funds mentioned in connection with our laboratory and office space as contracted to those on the Yugoslav side of the budget had been included at the request of Dr. Susnik, who had seen the first summer that the laboratory at the Botanical Garden and his small office at the Institute were insufficient for our use, so we proposed to work in one room in the house in which we lived. I told Mr. Stern about this and that I felt no such rent was needed more than the first summer, but he did not discuss that remark, but repeated that this sum must be given to the University, and that "appropriate" receipts would be forthcoming through his office. When I repeated my question, he proposed that these funds rather be refunded through the Embassy to the Foreign Currency Program; he said that that could be decided later when a decision on it had been reached by

the Embassy and the University.

It surprised me that, although the diplomats have emphasized the need not to discuss these matters with anybody, Mr. Barlovec mentioned when I spoke to him on the phone a couple of days ago, that when our date of departure had been decided, he would like to give Dr. Susnik some rudimentary information so that he could get his help as intermediary when vouchers, etc., needed to be collected from me for their scrutiny and completion, and also when all documents needed to be given to me before our departure. However, he still stressed that I should discuss nothing with him myself and give him or others (and here my wife was once more mentioned) no hints or information, since this could "endanger the security of these persons and perhaps others." I wonder if this is a threat of some kind or only a friendly advice? But it probably means that I will be able to use Dr. Susnik as my intermediary if some adjustments, corrections, or documentations are required after we have returned home.

Allow me to mention at last that this Smithsonian affair has upset me considerably, so that I am pleased to know that the project terminates soon, though it will take a year before the main parts of it are published. We had expected honest cooperation and encouragement but harvested clandestine treatment and roadblocks by outsiders. The Embassy has advised against my reporting anything separately to you, but I want this to be filed, confidentially, together with whatever reports it sends. And I sincerely hope that they keep their promises of perfect and honest documentation for our protection, but trust that you will assist us if needed at that level. But I believe I must admit that I have felt hunted and entrapped alone, and even as if the hangman's noose was being forced around my neck by those whom I believed were my protectors, in what they call a communistic police state which has done us nothing [wrong].

I beg your pardon that I write this letter for hand so that you may have difficulty in deciphering my European handwriting, and I apologize for not typing the letter. I am, however, writing it in the peace of the now-empty laboratory in the Botanical Garden where no typewriter is available to me and where nobody can read this confidential letter over my shoulder. In order to prevent that the letter may be intercepted in the Yugoslav mail, or come into the hands of those Americans which open letters from communist countries, I will bring it to Klagenfurt tomorrow when we drive to there for other purposes, and mail it from an Austrian post office. I hope the fact that the letter is composed during its writing from my memory and noted in my record books does not cause it to become confused or obscure. Despite the difficulties and worries, however, we believe we are doing a good work, though less than we had hoped for, not only because of the disturbances mentioned but also because even our colleagues here seem to have lost much of their enthusiasm after all the calculated delays and interferences from Washington, so even they seem to be relieved that this all will soon end. That I believe is a pitiful ending of an otherwise great dream.

Yours Sincerely,

[signed] Askill Löve

EXHIBIT 10
Askell Löve to Franc Susnik

Boulder, September 4, 1972

Confidential

Dear Franc:

When we left Ljubljana, I got a brown envelope with my name only in type, but I understood that it must be from the Embassy people though it was not said, but [I] was told that if something important was missing, it would be sent to me by air mail, but also that I ought not to open the envelope until I had arrived back home. Although I was tempted not to follow such a silly recommendation, we had so many other matters to attend to during our travel that I did not open it until the day after we returned to here. This letter is caused by the content, or perhaps rather lack of content, of that envelope, more about that below.

I am grateful that I also got the information about the plants from Milan at the last minute, although it is incomplete. I am sure that by aid of his earlier reports I will be able to complete the joint papers promised for your new *Scopolia* journal so that its printing will not be further delayed. The other papers and the computerized Atlas will be completed during the winter, I hope, or at least during the coming year, but we need the material that your computer center in Ljubljana promised to complete in early September, because that will save us time and money and make it easier to write some more interesting papers about the many results already collected. Naturally, we will keep you as co-author and send the manuscripts as soon as any one of them is completed.

When you read the continuation of this letter, you will appreciate that I am sending it to your Prevalje address as you suggested in case some correspondence was needed that should not get into wrong hands in Ljubljana. I am also sending it through our old colleague in Graz, as you suggested last year, and will ask him, both in an enclosed letter and in another letter to be sent separately tomorrow, to send it to you in Prevalje either by a personal messenger or at least mail it inside your border, and will then ask him to acknowledge its receipt. That arrangement should, as you said, secure that this letter will not be picked up by any wrong Yugoslav hands. It will also, I believe, make it unlikely that the letter will be intercepted by the American secret police, which seems to have a tendency to read and copy mail to and from so-called communist countries, especially when sent to and from immigrants, as we think we have observed since we came here. I will keep a copy myself in a secure place at home and will destroy it as soon as I get the material to be mentioned below.

I am sorry that because of the Smithsonian pressure for my report at once, I am forced to write this to you and ask for your help and thus endanger your peace of mind in what Mr. Barlovec repeatedly called "a communistic police state", although we observed little of the latter. But I hope that you feel that you can trust that we will keep all this very confidential as we ask you to do also, so that nobody here or in your country will be able to get it into hands that could hurt you or any others, especially since I believe that the Embassy people kept you completely uninformed about what they forced me to do and accept, and prevented me with threats from discussing anything with you and even Doris, in the name of "national security" and similar intimidations.

I must now, however, break my forced promise since they have apparently broken theirs, so that you will no longer be kept in the dark, because otherwise you cannot help me, but I will not, at least not yet, discuss it with Doris in order to save her the worries I have myself. Allow me to say that when I voiced reluctance to follow the "advice", those on the other side of the phone pointed out repeatedly that if I did not "cooperate", there were means to prevent me and my family to leave the country, "and more", and also even other threats that I do not want to mention, and also pointed out that then I would get no "protection" from the Embassy that I felt was harassing me. Without such compliance, we would at best have been forced by lack of funds to return without having accomplished any of the work planned, and the Embassy people did not hesitate to point out, when I mentioned that possibility when we had been without funds for three weeks, that then we would certainly be required to pay back all the international travel costs for all five of us, in addition to compensation to the assistants, etc. I did not break their repeated bans, until now, on discussing anything with you or even with Doris. Perhaps I ought to have asked you

to help me go to your police for protection, but I was afraid of the American reaction.

The first peculiar activity that I observed in connection with our project after all the initial hounding had been bypassed, was when I had to meet Mr. Schwartz "for instruction" on my way to Ljubljana after Xmas 1970. Because of a mishap in Denver, I had only a short time in Washington, where he met me at the airport. He talked generally about the trip, and I wondered why he could not have saved me a trip to Washington if it were only to listen to generalities that a seasoned traveller knows, and to explanations of how I should pick up my small travel funds in Belgrade at the Embassy rather than get them sent by mail to Ljubljana so that I could save two days of tiresome travel. Then he slowly got me to move with him to an empty corner of the hall, and began to mention meeting somebody in Slovenia. I got the impression that this ought to be near the Adriatic or at some research station though no place was mentioned. He said something like that I should indicate my willingness to assist the person in question by saying that I had "the best regards from Ken Schmertz", which he repeated twice and emphasized the importance of the shortened first name. I did not quite follow what he meant, but suddenly it dawned on me that he was perhaps proposing that I become involved in some gathering or transfer of information or some material for which the mail and the Embassy could not be used for some reason. So I reminded him that I am a foreigner both here and in Yugoslavia and that I would have nothing to do with activities other than research. He changed color slightly but kept his posture and said some meaningless phrases that I forgot at once, looked around, and then said that, since he had some other engagements, he hoped I would excuse that he left me before the plane should leave, shook my hand and wished me well on the trip, and asked me to give his best regards to Dr. LeClerck of the Embassy.

When I phoned Doris in the evening from New York, I told her that I had apparently been contacted for some spying but had declined, and she was clearly relieved. I never mentioned this to you and was careful not to mention Mr. Schmertz to anybody I met when going around in Slovenia that early January, 1971, although I had a feeling when we were in Portoroz that a certain colleague was trying to get "the regards" from Mr. Schmertz; this may, however, be my misunderstanding. At least you never indicated that you had been instructed by the Embassy or others to introduce me to any particular person except the deans, the rector, the minister of education, the vice-president of the republic, and some other officials.

When we at last arrived in Ljubljana in the summer of 1972, everything went as expected so we all had, I believe, reason to be satisfied with the substantial results of our energetic work. We felt generally comfortable, not least because of your attitude and help despite that the Institute kept you busy as had also been the case with me in Boulder when you were with us in 1968. When we returned to the States in the fall, we had no reason to be worried. Therefore, we were shocked when we received late in the winter, after numerous attempts by our Office of Research Services, a copy of a letter from Mr. Schmertz that had been addressed and sent only to our provost, without a copy to us, in which our work was condemned on basis of some "judgment" by, evidently, others than our peers; and the University was thus informed that our program was being terminated because of our incompetence, although we would get some nominal support this year, without any salaries for us! I sent you a copy of this letter, but I ought perhaps to have sent it to Dr. Ripley [Secretary of the Smithsonian] and asked for an investigation by my real peers, or to refused to go back at all, since this was still one more sign that our participation in this research that we had planned with you was clearly not appreciated by the Smithsonian powers for some reason other than our and your interest and qualifications and the interest of Yugoslav authorities.

Because I knew that you were expecting us to continue, I accepted an offer of help from our Office of Research Services. I ought to have been suspicious when only a little pressure from them caused that our entire budget was reinstated - without even the unfair cuts we had had to suffer at the last minute the first year. So we continued our preparations and left here soon after school ended in May, to be able to attend the *Flora Europaea* Symposium in Portugal, where we planned to discuss the problems to be worked on in Slovenia with several European colleagues. I have told you about this successful stopover.

I was again shocked when you showed me and gave me Xerox copies and translation of the letter that you

had received from the Yugoslav Embassy in Washington with the slander of me and my work from Mr. Schmertz, and the translation of your answer. But I was very much more troubled when we both seemed to be unable to get our funds through the Embassy which showed no interest in helping us, because I wondered if this might perhaps indicate that the American scientific attaché had also been contacted by Mr. Schmertz and that he felt that he must assist in at least making my life miserable during the summer. You know that story still better than we do since you carried the brunt of the efforts on our behalf with the Embassy and Zamtes for weeks.

The brown envelope and its contents are directly connected with the troubles with our funds. Although I realize that some of the threats with which the Embassy people forced us to accept their clandestine "solution" of our problem and also to promise not to discuss or reveal anything to you or Doris or anybody else may not be restricted to our stay in Yugoslavia but reach also to Boulder. I must take the risk and tell you the minimum background needed so that you can help us – if you feel you can also take the risk, if any? But perhaps I am scared for no valid reason? I have perhaps observed too much undercover activities against immigrants and liberals in Boulder?

When we had waited in Ljubljana for two weeks for our funds, and when both mine and your phone calls resulted in nothing, I asked Dr. Liimatainen on the phone if he could advance me some money in the anticipation of the approval by Zamtes. He categorically declared that that would be impossible because of some "regulations." When I told him that you and the University had already lent us some money to buy food, he became upset and claimed that even that was "against the regulations", and must not be repeated or reported – I did not understand to whom. A few days later, I contacted him again with your help and told him, as we had discussed, that if this continued we would have to consider returning home because we could not continue without money. That he strongly advised against, and warned that it would have "serious consequences" for us and certainly cause that we would be forced to pay back the cost of international travel and the salaries of the assistants at least. That was my last direct contact with Mr. Liimatainen.

On June 14, when I was in your office, one of the clerks in the administrative office asked me to come to the phone at the back of the building to speak to the Embassy. A voice that I had never heard before, in English with a slight foreign accent I believe, introduced itself as that of Ben(?) Stern (or Strn?) of the office of the scientific attaché at the American Embassy in Belgrade." (I am not sure that I got the first name right, but got the impression that the pronunciation of the latter name was German rather than Serbian, but I may be mistaken.) He told me that he was phoning because the scientific attaché felt that Zamtes would probably not act on our funds until in August after the vacations, and that this worried him very much.

Therefore, he had proposed that Mr. Stern should try to help me to get an advance or a loan, preferably equivalent to the entire salaries of our group, through a businessman in Ljubljana who is well known and trusted by the Embassy. The conditions, however, that were said to be necessary because this gentleman would be taking great risks, were that the entire sum intended for per diem in our budget had to be given to him whenever we would repay him the loan immediately after the release of our funds by Zamtes. I believe I used the word extortion when I reacted to this proposal, and wondered why we could not ask the University for a better loan, since our first loan was free of interest. That was not only categorically denied but I was warned not to mention such a possibility to you or anybody else again because it was definitely "against the regulations."

I am tempted to refrain from mentioning the name of the gentleman, whom I met in a bank after having contacted him through a phone call to a number which I found out was that of another bank, because I do not want to hurt him. However, since this may help you to help me, Mr. Barlovec (who supported Mr. Stern through other phone calls to convince me of this necessity) and Mr. Stern gave me his name as Mr. Francodruz' he answered to that name but never said it himself, and I could not find it in the telephone directory so perhaps it is fictional. Does it not simply mean Franc's friend? He is a pleasant man in his seventies, evidently used to affluence and highly cultivated, somewhat bluish in the face perhaps because of high blood pressure? I once saw him as a passenger in a car that left the Institute's parking lot when we drove in, so perhaps you know him, that was in July? He had the loan in a large envelope that he handed over to me without formalities and refused to accept a receipt from me

before he left the bank in a hurry. That very same day I followed instructions from the Embassy and paid the assistants their first two months' salaries; I was told to ask them to sign two *blank* receipts and explain that this had to be done so until the Embassy had decided about the text required. That I did hesitantly and I believe very clumsily.

Only nine days later, on June 23, you told me that your friend Suklovic at Zamtes and Dr. Liimatainen had informed you that the entire funds were being transferred, and the next bank day you brought me to the bank where I cashed the cheque. I paid you back the loans and got a receipt without asking for it, of course. I contacted our lender soon after and paid him back his loan with the additional per diem funds, as instructed, although I admit that I had protested mildly to Barlovec because of the short time of the loan; he mentioned "national security" and some other words that I understood as intimidations. The Embassy had instructed me not to ask for a receipt since they would arrange that mater to my full satisfaction later in the summer, so I did not mention it, though I did ask him if he could write his name on the envelope, which he declined.

A week or less after I had received the funds from the Embassy, one of your office people called me to the telephone in the business office, and Mr. Stern was again on the phone. He said that they had been made aware of that everything now was under control and in full order, and recommended that I now should pay the assistants for their third month "to make it easier for them to transfer (or exchange?) their money, and told me to follow the same arrangement with two blank receipts each. After some hesitation he then added that some University of Zamtes regulations apparently required that I must transfer the funds budgeted for our travels inside the country, and also the cost of office and laboratory on our side of the budget, to the University, which would instead furnish me with plenty of gasoline coupons and later with satisfactory receipts as last year, covering the entire sum budgeted, despite [the fact] that we were using our own car as I told him, and would have vouchers for the mileage needed. I wanted to discuss this with you but was seriously warned against mentioning it to anybody.

I then added that I felt that since we were working mainly at home, the sum for office and laboratory which was originally put on the budget because you had insisted upon it, should rather be returned to the Smithsonian; that he did not answer but repeated what he had said earlier, and told me to pay the entire sum to a gentleman in your administrative office with whom I had difficulties in communicating because of his limited knowledge of the languages I master well or somewhat. I followed his instructions and received a lot of coupons for which I insisted I give him a receipt, which I wrote by hand on a sheet of Institute paper, addressed to the Institute, and asked for none, since I had been told by Mr. Stern not to, because receipts would be furnished by the University through the Embassy later. I had no reason to doubt that the Embassy would do this before we would leave.

Although both Mr. Stern and Mr. Barlovec had told me everything done was being reported to Washington that had approved this action, and said that I did not need to report it to the Smithsonian, I felt that I ought to file my version of the matter with the Foreign Currency Office. Therefore I wrote a long letter, by hand, to Mr. Schmetz on July 2, when I could sit alone that Sunday afternoon at the Garden laboratory, and told him more details than I am telling you, and asked him to file the letter. I sent it from the post office in Klagenfurt the next day. Naturally, I have heard nothing from him about it, as I did not expect an acknowledgement of such an explanation of matters that he evidently knew from the Embassy.

Here I must mention that although I met Dr. DeClerck when I got my small funds for the first short visit in January 1971 in Belgrade, I have never met any of the three present Embassy gentlemen in person, but only have been introduced to them and their voices by telephone, two of them by you and one, Mr. Stern, by himself and confirmed by Mr. Barlovec. You have never mentioned Mr. Stern, so perhaps you do not know him? However, you said once in June that Dr. Liimatainen had been in Ljubljana for two days, but he did not show interest in meeting us then; perhaps he was too busy? Mary told me at least once that Mr. Barlovec had visited her and Gerry [Arp] with you in the Garden laboratory and that he had invited her out - but you did not tell us about that visit, and when I asked you about it, you clearly did not want to talk about it for some reason. But I believe that visit was somewhat later, in July, though I apparently did not make a note of it.

You may recall that Gerry never felt well after his bad stomach infection early in the summer, and around July 20, he expressed his wish to return home earlier than planned. So did Mary also a day or so later, as I then told you. The day after we returned from the long trip south, July 27, Mr. Barlovec contacted me per telephone at the Institute, and told me that he knew about this decision (how, he did not say; I had not told him), which he [said] should make no difference to the assistants, who could keep their three months' salaries. However, he said that now the Embassy needed all – and he emphasized *all* – our records, vouchers, and bills connected with finances and travel, even certain food bills, and the books in which I had written such records, even my own personal notes other than scientific, so that they could "evaluate" them and "arrange" our documents satisfactorily. I wondered why he needed "everything", but then he said firmly and sternly that it would be wise, "because of national security", not to ask but follow instructions, and it astonished me and actually frightened me to hear him say specially, that if these were not followed, and also if I discussed these or other related matters with anybody – and he repeated *anybody* – then there were means to prevent us from leaving the country – and more. (I thought of course [of] discussing this with you and Doris even if I had not mentioned anything before to either of you, but refrained in the fear that the family then might suffer. Later I have wondered if I ought not to have done so and asked you to help us get some protection, but that could perhaps also have endangered our return to America. . . "or more"). Then he told me to write down the following "instructions", which he read slowly to enable me to get them complete, and I jotted them down on a sheet of Institute paper that was on the desk where I sat:

"Fill out signed receipts for the full salaries of A.L., D.L., and L.L.K., dated July 1; also for full per diem for all three.

"Fill out one of the signed receipts each for G.A. and M.K. for their salaries for three months, same dating. Also for their full per diem.

"Since Gerry and Mary want to return home earlier than planned, other receipts must be made out as if they had received salaries and per diem for only two and a half months, May 26 - August 12. (These receipts are to be dated July 1, but not signed. The Embassy will get their signatures, if needed, and will later furnish me (A.L.) with proper documents to show that their instructions have been followed throughout. So not use already signed receipts except as mentioned before, but send them to the Embassy; they will be returned if proper.

"Because unsigned receipts will, leave 1 1/2 months of funds unaccounted for, the Embassy requests that I fill out *one* receipt for ND 10,740 as a salary (\$710) and per diem (\$510) for Michael Fisher, Mary's guest. Print his name below in parentheses for identification only. (A. reacts: This is very wrong...B.: Do you want to return, or . . . ? A: I will conform, but under duress). The Embassy will get Fisher's signature, if needed. These are all formalities to satisfy Washington, which is fully informed. I (A.) will be furnished with 'fully satisfactory receipts and other explanatory documents', what kind not said.

"Tear out and keep receipts for A., D., & L., but leave duplicates or copies in the receipt book which must be sent with other papers. Add above and later data and information behind other transactions on separate pages in record book, which must be sent intact.

"Mileage costs: ordinary receipts from receipt book, no duplicate, dated Ljubljana August 7, my name, and 'ND 63,750 (and in letters) for rent of three cars from car pool, 75 days each, with free gasoline and no mileage limit, at ND 8500 (\$500) per month each'. No signature, only a formality, correct receipt from University through Embassy. (I protest; this is very wrong; B: same "warning"). B: Came to think of that full mileage records must be sent with other documents, also such vouchers as verify mileage or places. This is approved by Washington, the procedure, that is, no mentioning of Schmertz, but I get the feeling that he has approved, by telephone or teleprinter, but that may be my mix-up).

"Undated receipt, my name, no duplicate, ND 18,360 (and in letters), text: "for rent of laboratory and research space

for three months at \$360 (ND 612) per month." No signature; this is "only a kind of guideline" because the University will furnish proper documents through the Embassy. (I object: Why not return these funds to the Embassy and the Smithsonian, because we work in a room in the house where we live. B: This is according to regulations (requirements?), would advise to comply, if not "might delay departure or ...").

"This must all be done at once so departure will not be delayed. Put everything in a large University of Institute envelope, write 'Mr. B.' on the outside, nothing else, seal properly and sign over sealed part, also on bottom seal of the envelope. Deliver to business officer at the Institute who accepted the funds earlier. The Embassy will copy all the material, also for the University, and return together with additional documents that may be incomplete that will be air mailed to us after our return home.

"Finally, words of thanks for this time, welcome next year, remember, no discussion with anybody, and destroy the paper with these instructions when they have been followed."

I brought the entire collection of vouchers, papers, documents, receipts, and receipt books as well as two record books to your office next morning, July 28. Fortunately, you were not there so the office was empty, so I could arrange everything into some order in peace. Then I went over to the business office, where I met the gentleman mentioned, and he seemed to have been waiting for me. We said only very little because of the language difficulty, but he clearly understood that the sealed envelope was to be air mailed or sent to Mr. Barlovec at once. Then I went back home with my duodenal ulcer that had been troubling me unusually much this summer, I believe for evident reasons.

I heard nothing from the Embassy the following week and refrained from phoning them even the day before we should leave, because I trusted that the envelope would be handed over to me not later than when we said good-bye, as also was the case. You brought me to visit the lady who is the new Vice President of the Republic, Dr. Komhauser, on Friday morning, August 4. Later that day Gerry left and you insisted that you should drive him to the airport, not we. During the weekend we were busy with various matters, but on Monday morning, Mary's landlady, from the house next to Stina's, came over rather upset and told us that Mary had left with you and Gerry with little or no luggage on Friday without mentioning that she would not return in the evening, and she still was not home. She knew that Mary had a reservation with JAT some of the next days to leave for America through Germany. Now her worries became ours, since we also were unaware of Mary's whereabouts. We wondered if we should go to the police in case she had met with some accident or foul play.

Therefore, I went to see you at the Institute and asked for your help and advice, but you said that we could wait since she would probably return "today". But when I asked you where you had left her when you returned from the airport on Friday, you were evidently startled that I knew that she had gone with you, and said that she had wanted to walk around at the airport and return later by bus. I became suspicious because this was evidently not true, so when I left the Institute for home, I went first to JAT where the girl Irène told me that Mary had flown to Belgrade on Friday, as far as I understood, with Gerry, who would continue to America from there, whereas Mary should return with the afternoon flight, as you actually had indicated. So she did and you picked her up. As you once observed, Mary is promiscuous so I can guess her errand, but why did Gerry go to Belgrade without telling me? And I still wonder why you did not tell me about this when I came with my worries to you in the morning, at least to calm me down.

Perhaps Barlovec, for some reasons unknown to me, had asked you to arrange this visit without my knowledge. Mary told me that he had invited her south and arranged that she could live for these three days in the apartment of one of his friends who was not there, and then showed her around the city. But I did not ask her about Gerry; why should I tell her that I knew? I wonder if their visit to Belgrade is not most clearly confirmed by the fact that the four receipts that were unsigned when I sent them were signed when they were returned to me, because I doubt that the Embassy has equipment to transfer so skillfully the signatures from the blank receipts I sent? Perhaps Mary brought the envelope that I received at my departure the next morning? Perhaps she also knew about the contents of the envelope and somewhat more. Gerry mentioned once that she had been writing to Mr. Schertz,

whose address she had not gotten from me. Is it possible that she knew him before leaving the States?

To return to the envelope mentioned at the beginning of this letter and later. I had wondered why it was so much thinner than when I sent it to Mr. Barlovec. When I opened it at last in Boulder, I was disturbed to find out that it contained only one record book, not two, and that all the pages containing what Barlovec had instructed me to add had been torn out (it is a spiral book), and that the only salary and per diem receipts were those that he had told me to write, under threat, but now they were signed by Gerry and Mary (but not by her friend). There was no document from the University and no explanation from the Embassy, but both the receipts for the office and the cars that he had forced me to write according to "instructions" were now signed by what I believed was Stina's signature, although I cannot be sure about that because her receipts for our personal rent were missing. So were all our other documents and verifications of travels, etc., that Barlovec had said he needed to "copy" and would return.

But if the signatures really are Stina's, they must have been transformed in some way or another from the missing receipts, because she was in Ljubljana all this week, and I do not believe that such a devoted communist would cooperate in such clandestine activities for a foreign embassy against us or any others. There was, however, a half of a sheet of white paper on which was typed in capital letters that I suppose are from some special typewriter because they differ from those on our typewriters both here and in Yugoslavia. It said: "Base your financial report on this selected material, which you ought to file at your University business office. We will send explanations and copies of your other material directly to Washington and air mail copies and originals to you in due time. Embassy. *Destroy when read.*"

I am writing all this to you because I have still seen nothing of the promised air mailed material, and because the Smithsonian people have been pestering me for my financial report since we returned to Boulder, although I believed that it could wait until your final report has been received by me around the end of the year. I wonder what they are up to, or if they want to continue the coercion and at last follow the old Colorado rule to "give him a fair trial and hang him." I am beginning to wonder what kind of people we have been dealing with at least Mr. Schmertz has belonged to the CIA according to his second in command Mr. Whitehead. But let me summarize the points on which we need your help as soon as possible, since I want to give only a correct financial report, whatever recommendations the Embassy gives.

1) I need back the record book that disappeared and, especially, the pages that had been torn out of the record book that was returned.

2) I want back the correct receipts for the three months' salaries paid to Gerry and Mary. If the Embassy prefers that receipts for their full per diem ought to be included, although incorrect, I can include them, but then must have an explanation attached from the Embassy, and from myself.

3) If the last condition is not adopted, I must ask that the Embassy furnishes me with the promised receipt for the entire per diem funds paid to their Mr. Francodruz. Also, I then need a proper explanation of this "transfer" from them, to present at least to the University here and probably also to the Smithsonian, although the latter are said to have approved the entire transaction.

4) I expect to get valid receipts as promised from the University, or at least from the administrator involved, but am sorry that his name evades me and I never jotted it down. With this ought to be an explanation from the Embassy.

5) I would appreciate a bona fide explanation of the entire affair from the Embassy, although I trust that they told me the truth when they said that everything was being discussed and reported to Washington. Because of the latter, I could perhaps waive that request if the others are honored, for that I would appreciate your recommendation.

6) If nothing of this is done, I wonder what is up their sleeves, but then I am forced to follow their last

"instructions" and send in their false receipts, which I fear were "arranged" to complete the witch hunt with my own innocent and naive help received under threats. In that case, if an explanation should be requested by the University or other authorities, then I would feel free to show at least the copy of the slanderous letter that Mr. Schmertz asked the Yugoslav Embassy in Washington to send to you, your translated answer, my copy of the handwritten report to Mr. Schmertz that I mailed from Klagenfurt, a copy of this letter, and other similar documents, though I realize that only the first is properly documented as is also the condemning letter to the University of Colorado. But I would hesitate to show more of these latter letters than what pertains to the matter, and would delete parts that might put you or your assistants and other assumed innocent people mentioned or indicated in some jeopardy, because I would rather suffer myself than hurt those who are guiltless or under my direction, whatever their misdeed if any, and I will do anything, however foolish from my own point of interest, to Protect Doris and Loá, so do not mention them.

If you find this entire story is dangerous or too hot for you to handle because of entanglement about which I know nothing, I would understand your reluctance to become involved, and then also your possible destruction of this letter and a categorical denial of ever having received it, if somebody should ask. In order to secure that possibility, I do not register it here, and I promise to destroy all possible letters from our colleague in Graz that confirm its receipt and delivery, though perhaps not at once but certainly during this winter. But if you, as I expect from what I have observed about your fortitude, should decide to help us in this, openly or secretly, you are permitted to show this letter to respectable Yugoslavs, for instance Dr. Kornhauser, who is both a renowned scientist and trusted politician and who could advise wisely on proper actions, if any. You may also copy it in its entirety or in part, provided that it will not be used to hurt more or less innocent people here or in Yugoslavia, if that is possible.

I must say at the end that I find this entire story to be a distasteful sign of a miscarriage of justice and rottenness that I had heard of but never believed could occur in those high institutions that I have always trusted. But I hope those who are guilty of possible mistakes do not have power to prevent necessary corrections without force, and that even here we will find people with fortitude who will be willing to help their friends if needed. But whatever happens, we will complete the *Atlas* and other basic parts of the project irrespective of Smithsonian support. Of course, we are disappointed as I know you are too, and sorry to have to learn once more that the reward for good and progressive scientific work will fare well when judged by the generation of our grandchildren, as Linnaeus suggested for his great *Species Plantarum* that his contemporaries did not understand. I wonder how many American or even European colleagues could have accomplished as much under duress for two summers only.

We would like our Slovenian Atlas to be published in the series of the Slovenian Academy if possible, and the smaller papers in your *Scopolia* journal. However, we would also like to find other support, without any political interference, to continue with you the entire Yugoslav and Balkan cytotaxonomical dream, since we do not believe that you want to exchange cooperators as us for some "better American botanists" as suggested by the incompetent slanderers.

With the best regards and thanks from us all to you and the family, your two brothers and your remarkable father in Prevalje.

As ever

(signed) Askill

EXHIBIT 11

Handwritten transcript of conversation of A. Löve with Barlovec, 20 July 1972. This material is identical to that reported in Exhibit 11. A photocopy of this is in the master file and is not repeated here.

EXHIBIT 12

This is the "Destroy when read" message that is cited in paragraph 3, page 71. The only item that was not given there was the note that it was printed on non-watermarked paper. Ed.

EXHIBIT 13

Susnik to Löve

Ljubljana, 19 February 1973

Dear Askell and Doris:

The letter of Dr. Schmertz took my breath away, specially the telephone information of D. LeConte, Executive Director, Smithsonian Research Foundation. Mr. LeConte was in Beograd, but we have contacted only by telephone. He asked me about the laboratory in Velika Colnarska and who was Mr. Kapo[ojr]. My answer was very short and I am not familiar with it.

I think that the people of Smithsonian Institution decided to finish with it.

I enclose the new Chromosome List; separately I send the material which we prepared in the Computer Center in Ljubljana. Some days ago I received the budget from Sarajevo, which I also enclose.

We will see how the program PL-480 will continue when Vice-President Dr. Sirotkovic will come back from U.S.A. For the time being the whole matter is very unclear. I myself had so many talks with the ZAMTES and Embassy, that it becomes a little tiring.

I am waiting for the second correction of *Scopolia*. That should be a satisfaction. Milan and Blanka are busy and soon you will get the new Chromosome List. From Czechoslovakia I got the application for a visit in August. They would like to see our chromosome work. I answered them positively.

Ernest is asking me, that you like to know what is the matter with the official letter to your University. More I think about the Project, more I am angry and such an end.

Write me, what an official letter do you need.

as ever
(signed) Franc

EXHIBIT 14

Löve to Susnik

Boulder, April 2, 1973

Dear Franc:

Quem Jupiter vult perdere dementat prius, said the Romans, and I cannot but think so about Mr. Schmertz, who apparently continues his witch hunt. We have just been informed by our administration that he now has "disallowed" \$7,750 of our funds from last year, and accuses me of all kinds of misuse of the funds, among that overpayment to the students! I have, of course, never been asked about any of these points, so the University is astonished about the methods, but orally we are told that this all is based on information from you! Of course, I do not believe that and am sure that you would be as shocked as ever if you knew all the methods that the Smithsonian utilizes. I am sorry that we ever came into contact with them, but glad that we got into contact with you, and I am sure we will find some other methods to continue and complete our cooperation which has already resulted in something great – despite all the troubles from these small minds without scholarship.

You mention in your last letter a letter from Mr. Schmertz that shocked you much. Since we have not seen such a letter and you forgot to send me a copy of it, would you please xerox it and send it to me at once so that I can keep it in the collection of documents? This may be important as an evidence of the witch hunt, which we will get the authorities to look into sometime. Please, send the copy at once and see that it gets to my home address, 473 Harvard Lane, Boulder, CO 80303.

I am enclosing a list of plants that the students determined last summer and need to get completed. Would you be able to ask Milan to add the pertinent information as soon as possible so we can publish the numbers in the August number of *Taxon* which goes to the editor in late April or early May?

I also hope that your new list, which you mentioned in your letter, is so complete that you can send it at the same time, because if it comes to me later than late in this month, I will not be able to get it into *Taxon* until the November number. And the more we can get into print the better for the continuation of the fight with the witch hunters, which I still am fighting alone because you never wrote that letter to [Dillon] Ripley which you spoke about last summer, so he still is unaware of the defamatory letter through the Embassy.

We have at last succeeded to complete all the references, correct taxonomic and other mistakes and clean the list from at least major printing errors and are putting it on tape so that we can make up the long bibliography. I will try to send you a microfilm for reproduction as soon as possible.

All the best, and react at once!

(signed) Askell

EXHIBIT 15

Crowe to Löve

March 27, 1973

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

Dear Professor Love:

I am attaching copies of material recently received from the Smithsonian Institution. As you can see, the auditors have recommended a disallowance in the amount of \$7,575 on Grant No. SFC-2-7626 for which you were responsible. I shall be grateful, if you will let me have your response in writing at your earliest convenience.

Yours sincerely,

(signed) Lawson Crowe
Provost

* * * * *

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION
Washington, D.C.

February 22, 1973

Mr. Thurston E. Manning
Vice President for Academic Affairs
University of Colorado
Boulder, Colorado 80302

Dear Mr. Manning:

The Smithsonian Institution has received and audited the interim financial report on Grant No. SFC-2-7626, which was awarded by the United States Government, acting through the Smithsonian Institution, to the University of Colorado on May 17, 1972.

As shown on the attached report, the auditors have recommended, and I concur, that \$7,575 of reported expenditures be disallowed. Please forward a refund of \$7,575, or the equivalent in Yugoslav dinars, to the Treasurer, Smithsonian Institution, as soon as possible.

You may write me at the above address or call me at (202) 381-5924 should you have any questions regarding this matter.

Sincerely yours,

(signed) F. G. Barwick
Chief, Supply Division

cc: attachment

Audit Report attached to Smithsonian letter to Manning

Audit Report on
Interim Report on SFCP Grant No. SFG-7626
For the Period May 16, 1972 to September 1, 1972

Expense	As reported on Interim Report	Amount Audited and Allowed	Amount Audited and Disallowed
Salaries and wages	\$14,170	\$12,750	\$1,420 (1)
Living Allowance	7,650	6,010	1,640 (2)
Rents, Comm., Utils.	4,600	85	4,515 (3)
Total	\$26,420	\$18,845	\$7,575

Notes: (1) Amounts reported are in excess of actual payments as follows:

Gerald Arp	\$355
Mary Kirk	355
Michael Fisher	710
Total	\$1,420

(2) Amounts reported are in excess of actual payments as follows:

Gerald Arp	\$365
Mary Kirk	565
Michael Fisher	510
Total	\$1,640

(3) Lab and office space were not rented. Rental payment of \$1,080 was for Dr. Love's living quarters, for which he received a living allowance. Cars were not rented from the University of Ljubljana.

* * * *

Reply by Löve

Provost Lawson Crowe
Regent Hall
University of Colorado

Dear Provost Crowe:

Although nothing ought to astonish us as to the methods and double standards of the lower non-scholarly echelons of the Smithsonian Institution after our experience through contacts with them since 1968, your letter of March 27 with a copy of their letter of February 22 took me by surprise. It is evident that in addition to their consistent unfairness in judging our scholarly work by aid of certainly unqualified so-called "peers" and their sending defamatory letters to our Yugoslavian colleagues through their Embassy, they now directly accuse me of some other wrongdoing to the price of \$7,550, which is more than we could save from our salaries from inflation and black market exchange for two summers, during which we and our assistants worked at least 12-14 hours all the days of

the week in order to accomplish what we had planned before the plants developed too far for our study of them.

The present claim is apparently based on the preliminary financial report required from us (but not from our Yugoslav colleagues) immediately after our return last fall. Although their evidence and reasoning are concealed, as previously, I can see that at least some of their claims must be caused by the fact that I have not been consulted for explanations. It is also significant that our fine Office of Research Services, which has handled these matters for us and the University, also has been ignored. I had expected an acknowledgement of receipt of our impressive scholarly report for the second summer and for the considerable printed and computer printout results which we have sent to the Smithsonian long ago, but it is apparent that they prefer to ignore these essentials from the project, for which European real specialists have expressed considerable admiration; nothing like it has been done previously even there.

Since all our contacts have been through the Office of Research Services, may I suggest that you refer the matter directly to Mr. Howard Roark of the ORS; we have all reason to trust that his judgment, fairness, and abilities will guarantee that his handling of this will be in a manner typical of what that office is known for in connection with research at this University.

Yours sincerely,
(signed) Askell Löve

EXHIBIT 16

AGREEMENT AND RELEASE

THIS AGREEMENT AND RELEASE entered into this 31st day of May, 1973, by and between Askell Löve, hereinafter referred to as "Löve" and the University of Colorado, hereinafter referred to as "the University".

Löve herewith tenders his unqualified resignation as Professor of Biology and Associate Curator Phanerogams, University of Colorado Museum, effective upon the signing of this agreement. It is mutually agreed that this resignation has been agreed upon by the parties at the request of Löve, which request was necessitated by personal reasons.

The University agrees to provide Löve with all employment benefits now due and owing as a result of his employment service and tendered resignation.

Upon satisfaction and execution of this Agreement and Release the parties hereto each agree to release and forever discharge the other from all and all manner of, action and actions, causes and causes of action, suit, debts, dues, sums of money, contracts, damages, judgments, claims and demands of whatsoever kind and nature arising from Löve's resignation and financial grant obligations.

The parties to this Agreement and Release mutually covenant and agree that no public notoriety shall be given by either party to this Agreement and that the contents hereof are a matter of mutual confidence and are not to be made public by either of said parties.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, the parties hereto have set their hands and seal this _____ day of May, 1973.

(signed) Askell Löve

UNIVERSITY OF COLORADO

By (signed) Lawson Crowe
Provost

EXHIBIT 17

Smith to Löve

Department of Environmental,
Population and Organismic Biology

June 1, 1973

Dr. Askeff Love
Ramaley 219
Campus

Dear Askeff:

Acting upon administrative directions which I am obliged to effect, it is my unpleasant duty to implement the following decisions:

1. That your appointment for the 1973 summer session be cancelled;
2. That Doris' appointment as Research Associate be terminated at once, since her continuation at the University would in effect allow you to access to facilities from which you have resigned;
3. That all of your and Doris' personal belongings be removed from Ramaley *before* June 8;
4. That *all* keys (yours, Doris') to your Ramaley quarters, and to the building, be returned to the key office *before* June 8;
5. That all University-purchased equipment, whether on external or internal funds, grant or budgetary in source, to our departmental stockroom, or left in Ramaley 219, *before* June 8; and
6. That you at once instruct all correspondents to send your mail to your home (or other) address (although we shall continue to hold your mail for you in the departmental office, where you can pick it up as usual during office hours).

An administrative check will be made *on* June 8, so I am advised, to assure that these decisions have been effected.

I am very sorry that there must be such an abrupt halt to your research activities, and to our academic association, but it is at this point inalterable.

Very sincerely,

(signed) Hobart [Smith], Chairman

EXHIBIT 18

Smith to Löve

Dear Askell:

June 12, 1973

Thank you for returning the material indicated on our list of June 5. We have checked that list out completely and acknowledge receipt in full. Items 4, 5, 7, and 8 (movie camera, 8 mm projector, tape recorder, still camera) we find on the CU equipment inventory, pp. 460, 415, 460, and 449, respectively.

Very sincerely,

(signed) Hobart [Smith]
Chairman

cc: Briggs, Crowe

EXHIBIT 19

From the desk of William E. Briggs

To: Bill Love

Here's a dandy example of my concern over University-wide review of research associate salaries. Doris Löve is proposed (page 12) for \$1,800/month salary, which is quite an increase over her last salary. It is easy to say O.K. if some agency will fund it, but should we try to maintain equity. (Incidentally, she may be well worth it.)
B.

Bill Love to Lawson Crowe

9/28/71

Lawson Crowe:

I see no problem in the research salary for Doris Löve. It seems in line with her total experience. I would therefore leave it up to the agency to decide if she is worth it. I am against imposing any University-wide policy on Research Associate salaries. We should object only if they seem incompatible with the amount of expenses.

(signed) Bill Love

EXHIBIT 20

MEMORANDUM

TO: Members of the faculty of the Department of Biology
FROM: W. E. Briggs, Dean
SUBJECT: Departmental Problems
DATE: May 16, 1969

This is my sixth year in this office. The first major problem that was thrust upon me on beginning my tenure in this office was that of the Department of Biology. The problem in various states of disarray has existed until the present time. In this sense both I as dean, and you as the departmental faculty, have failed in whatever attempts we have made to provide a climate in which an appropriate level of academic enterprise can be maintained. I have recently been made aware of the dissatisfaction on the part of some of you with the manner in which Professor Löve is carrying out his responsibilities as chairman of the department. I profoundly regret that any reaction to these views on my part could be interpreted as my lack of confidence in him or as a feeling of inability of the chairman to present accurately and forcefully the needs of the department or to work constructively with this office. This is far from the case. I do not know who might constitute a wholly acceptable chairman of the Department of Biology, but, in my view, Professor Löve has been a long way from inadequate in acting in the best interests of the department. Unfortunately, the department has not been a participant in the HSAA or SDP programs. In spite of this, through working together with limited resources, I believe we have made progress in adding both well-established and promising young scholars to the faculty, in developing research programs and facilities, and in providing a departmental reorganization which has much potential. This progress is severely hampered, however, by actions on the part of individuals or groups of individuals which tend to be divisive and to undermine the efforts of the department as a whole. I have always stood for departmental autonomy and for the incumbency on me to respond to the needs and desires of a department as they are determined by appropriate groups of colleagues in accord with established procedures.

Even after six years I have not abandoned the hope that significant progress can be made in the department. This is not easy even in the best of circumstances. It is almost impossible if attitudes of pettiness and self-interest prevail. I continue to stand prepared to support you and your chairman in any constructive way I can.

You may or may not approve of this manner of communicating with you. I trust you do approve of my concern about *your* department and that you are willing to examine carefully and objectively constructive ways in which it can be improved.

EXHIBIT 21

Deposition of Bertil Hanström

To Whom It May Concern:

At the request of Dr. Askeff Löve and Dr. Doris Löve of the University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, Canada, I am pleased to give the following statements:

(I) Dr. Askeff Löve, who was born in 1916 in Iceland, entered the University of Lund in the fall of 1937 after having undergone his maturity examination at the Reykjavik College in Iceland. He attended courses in zoology, botany, cytogenetics, and geography, and received his Filosofie Kandidat degree in January 1941. As special subject (honors) he had cytogenetics, and his published thesis was named *Cytogenetic Studies in Rumex*. Besides this paper he had already published six other scientific papers in botanical cytogenetics or taxonomy in internationally recognized periodicals. Already in May, 1942, he was examined for his Filosofie Licentiat degree in cytogenetics, in which he received the highest marks attainable. His thesis discussed the cytotaxonomy of the group *Acetosella* of the genus *Rumex* on 148 pages, but besides this he had published six more papers during the same year. In May, 1943, Dr. Löve got the permission to publicly defend his 136-page printed paper on *Cytogenetic Studies on Rumex subgenus Acetosella* (*Hereditas* 30, 1943), for which the University bestowed upon him a Filosofie Doktor's degree. The cost of the printing of this thesis was supported by the British Council. During this same year Dr. Löve had published still four other scientific papers.

(II) Dr. Doris Löve, who is born in 1918 in Sweden, entered the University of Lund in the fall of 1937 after having undergone the maturity examination at the College of Kristianstad in Sweden. She attended courses in zoology, botany, cytogenetics, and geography, and received her Filosofie Kandidat degree in May, 1942, with cytogenetics as a special (honors) subject. Her thesis was published under the title *Some Studies on Sex Determination in Melandrium rubrum*, but she had also published two other papers in internationally recognized periodicals. In May, 1943, she was examined for her Filosofie Licentiat degree in cytogenetics and received the highest marks obtainable. Her 100-page thesis was named *Sex Determination and Intersexuality in Melandrium*, but besides it she had published six more scientific papers. Already the year afterwards she was permitted to defend publicly her 90-page thesis *Cytogenetic Studies in Dioecious Melandrium*, for which the University bestowed upon her the Filosofie Doktor's degree in May, 1944.

(III) As to the quality and meaning of the degrees of the Swedish universities and their comparability to British degrees, the following is stated:

In order to be accepted as a student at a Swedish university, the student must have passed a maturity examination from a Swedish college (gymnasium) or have a comparable knowledge from schools abroad. All Scandinavian colleges reach this standard. Besides his own language (grammar, literature, history, composition), the student is required to master (speaking, reading, and writing, grammar, and literature) everyday English, German, and French (and in the language lines also Latin and/or Greek, Spanish, Russian, etc.). Other subjects taught include History, Geography, Biology, Physics, Chemistry, Mathematics and geometry, including elementary and higher algebra, differential and integral calculus, and coordinate geometry.

The teachers at a Swedish college must have at least a Filosofie Licentiat degree in their subjects, but preferably and usually they have a Filosofie Doktor's degree, and the final examinations are passed under the personal supervision of University professors. At this time the students are usually 18-20 years old. Swedish maturity examination is, therefore, comparable to the first two years of a British or American university.

The degrees presented by the Faculty of Science of the Swedish universities are the following ones: Filosofie Kandidat (Fil. Kand.), Filosofie Magister (Fil. Mag.), Filosofie Licentiat (Fil. Lic.), and Filosofie Doktor

(F.D. or Fil. Dr.). The teachers teaching the students for these degrees all hold the highest degree and are elected for their posts in a strong and official competition with other candidates. Their application, published papers, and scientific ability is scrutinized by specialists in the subject (Swedish as well as foreign) and by several higher instances of the University itself and the Chancellor of the Swedish Universities before the Government can make its decision. The professors are supposed not only to teach their subject but also to undertake scientific research works and guide the research by their students. The graduate division of all the Swedish universities is a very strong one.

The degrees are received in the following way:

(1) Filosofie Kandidat (Fil. Kand.) requires that the student takes a full course in at least three different subjects and receives six marks as a total. The mark 2 is given for a general course, and can be increased to 2 1/2 if the student shows a special ability in this subject. If a student wants to receive three marks (honours degree) he has to widen his knowledge of the subject considerably and also present a thesis based on personal research in a special field of the subject. The field is chosen by the student himself or by the professor, but the research work and its results are usually carried out by the student himself. There is no time limit for any degree at a Swedish university, but the average time in Natural Sciences at the University of Lund with one three-marks (honours) subject seems to be about 3 1/2 years.

(2) Filosofie Magister (Fil. Mag.) degree is the degree required for teachers at a Swedish high school. The student has to select his three subjects from a variety of combinations, and must add a course in Psychology and Education. Otherwise the requirements are the same as for Fil. Kand.

(3) Filosofie Licentiat (Fil. Lic.) degree. A student who wishes to study for a Fil. Lic. degree starts after having received three marks in a Fil. Kand. or Fil. Mag. subject and goes on to specialize in this subject by comprehensive courses and literature studies. He has to pass a rigid examination and must present a thesis which demonstrates that he is fully capable to undertake independent scientific research and describe, interpret, as well as defend his results. This degree allows (licentiates) the student to go on towards his Fil. Dr. degree or, if he possesses a Fil. Mag. degree, to teach in a college. A student with a Fil. Lic. degree is generally titled as a doctor. The average time for acquiring a Fil. Lic. degree in Natural Sciences is about 3 years beyond the Fil. Kand. degree.

(4) Filosofie Doktor (Fil. Dr., F.D.) is given by the University of Lund only for outstanding research work published in one or more papers of remarkable quality. The thesis has to be publicly defended in the presence of representatives of the Academic Consistorium and is then criticized by at least two eminent specialists in the field, Swedish or foreign, one of them appointed by the University, and the other by the candidate himself. Criticism *ex auditorio* is common in many subjects and the meeting is usually attended by a considerable public. The average time at which a Fil. Dr. degree is received at the University of Lund in the Natural Sciences is about 9 years, and it takes as an average 2-3 years beyond the Fil. Lic. degree to receive this stage. This degree seems to me to be fully comparable with a Sc.D. from Oxford or a D.Sc. from Cambridge in England.

(IV) In translating the Swedish academic degrees to English it is generally accepted that they should be comparable as follows:

Fil. Kand. (general courses): B. Sc.

Fil. Kand. (specialized): B. Sc. (Hon.) or M. Sc.

Fil. Mag. (not met with in England) therefore given as B. Sc., B. Sc. (Hon.), or M. Sc., according to specialization.

Fil. Lic.: Ph.D.

Fil. Dr.: D. Sc. or Sc. D.

This all as to the standards of the English universities at Oxford and Cambridge.

Lund, 3rd July 1953

(signed) Bertil Hanström
Prorector of the University of Lund
Professor and Director of the Department of Zoology

EXHIBIT 22

This is a standard University of Colorado printed form dated June 1, 1973, indicating that Doris Löve, Research Associate in the Department of E.P.O. Biology, Account Number 1708-01, Position number R-3, is to be terminated as of May 31, 1973. (signed) Hobart Smith, Department Chairman.

ADDITIONAL DOCUMENTS NOT MENTIONED IN LETTER TO JACK FOGG

T. Koyama to Löve

The New York Botanical Garden
Bronx, New York 10458

December 21, 1971

Dear Professor Löve:

As response to your letter of November 27th I am sending you under separate cover those previous reprints which did not reach you, except for three papers of which I could not have reprints.

Thank you very much for your encouragement for my prospective project. I appreciate very much also your frank opinion concerning the PL-480 project and related matters.

I also have a very unpleasant experience already in participating [in] a PL-480 project in Ceylon. Although I was the actual initiator and organizer of the Ceylon Flora Project, I was used as a "foot soldier" on a ridiculously low per diem of less than 2/5 or 1/3 the usual U. S. Government per diem applicable to Ceylon. My conscience and devotion to science were thus misused.

Your last remark applies not only to the PL-480 programs but also in general how we immigrants are treated in this country. I feel that we, immigrant scientists, are always prejudiced and segregated by improper rating of our scientific ability and by being intentionally separated from the societies of born Americans, even though such segregation seems to me to be unconstitutional! I have long been feeling that we immigrant scientists should be united and should form a league to protect ourselves. I thought that such an organization could be formed if we can find a lawyer with a strong sense of justice.

Our Chinese students from a former British colony, where English is their mother tongue, could not get a job in any college after his obtaining a Ph.D. for the reason that his English is not good. This is ridiculous, especially when we think that a number of American-born cannot even spell English properly. I know that a large number of immigrant scientists must end up in a junior position such as associate professor or research associate simply because they are not American-born. As such I do not have any possibility here. We ought to do something to protect ourselves and preserve our rights, don't we? U. S. sciences couldn't have made such an enormous progress without our immigrant scientists' contribution.

All good wishes, sincerely yours,

(signed) T. M. Koyama

* * * *

Roark to Smithsonian Office of Audits

Office of Audits
Smithsonian Institution
900 Jefferson drive SW
Washington, D.C.

Attention: Mr. Pat Stanton

Gentlemen:

Enclosed are three copies of an interim financial report under Grant No. SFG-2-7626, reporting the expenses of the American team during this summer in Yugoslavia. We were under the impression from the spring that we had been permitted to send in this report later than stipulated in the official letter, for the simple reason that our team

would not return from Yugoslavia until very late in August, just at the time when our school started, so we felt the reminder by Mr. Stanton, by telephone to Dr. Löve on September 1, was somewhat embarrassing though certainly correct in every respect. We would, however, like to record our discontent with the fact that although our team was allowed to leave already in the middle of May on basis of a letter that indicated that the funds in Yugoslavia would be available at their arrival, it required two reminders through the Embassy and waiting until the end of June before these funds were available to the group. In the meantime they had to live on loans from the University of Ljubljana and were highly restricted in their work during this most essential period of time.

We are unable to include the report from the Yugoslavian team for the simple reason that they did not receive their part of the funds until the end of July, so they did not feel they had anything to report for the period when the funds were not in their hands. We will do our best to get their interim or final report as soon as they feel it can be completed.

Sincerely yours,

(signed) Howard Roark
Office of Research Services

* * * *

Susnik to Löve

University of Ljubljana
Institute of Biology

Digitized by Hunt Institute of Botanical Documentation

Dec. 24, 1972

Dear Askell and Doris:

As always I hoped to write to you having the things clear but.... I am sorry both general things (*Scopolia* and Project) are in "preparing". The Project is completely in the hands of the Americans. From [the] Yugoslav side our project was presented to the Smithsonian Institution as a 5 years project. Therefore [there] is no reason to present it again (these are official instructions).

After your departure there was a lot of talking and writing about our work – the visits of the American Embassy were not only casual. More about it when you come. When you will send the new financial program, please let me know the situation of the Yugoslav part. I personally think that the American side will be covered only by the family – without students. I have some reason for [saying] that. It is clear that all depends on the Smithsonian Institution, who will decide in his own way.

Today I have been in the Computer Center where I have got the distribution lists of areas. In one of these days you will get also the new Chromosome List. The *Scopolia* paper (Ernest was not delighted to be with us, so I leave out his name). I am waiting for the first proofs every day.

At home is nothing new. The house in Prevalje has its roof and windows (without installations).

The mother is always the same – all others are well. Tomaz is in first steps of the puberty. Marjetka is every day noisier. At the Institute they have persuaded me to be director for the next period (my promise for only one year). Milan [has] become quieter. In spring he will go to Dr. K. Jones for 2-3 weeks (some weeks ago Dr. Jones was in Ljubljana). In March he can go with Tine to Central Africa where one of [the] Slovenian enterprises cuts the wood. He will fix and collect material, of course. What do you mean? I enclose the picture of *Favargera*.

Blanka is finishing the chromosome counts of *Luzula sloveniana*.

A few months ago we had some political (positive) shakings. But of course nothing like to make big exchanges. Excuse me for my silence – to all my best regards and successful 1973.

(signed) Franc [Susnik]

* * * *

Letters of Recommendation, 1964

Cronquist to Pennak

New York Botanical Garden

May 19, 1964

Dear Dr. Pennak:

Your circular of May 13 regarding an opening for a plant taxonomist at the University of Colorado is at hand. I would like to recommend a man whom you may not realize is available. That is Dr. Askeff Löve, now at the University of Montreal. He was born in 1916 in Iceland, and I believe he remains an Icelandic citizen. In spite of his age and a long list of publications, I believe you can get him as an Assistant Professor.

Dr. Löve is a very able, extremely enthusiastic, hard-working, productive, and opinionated botanist. He attaches considerably more importance to chromosome number as a taxonomic character than the majority of taxonomists (including myself) now do, and this results in his reaching conclusions, in some instances, which are not in accord with those of most of his colleagues. However, I have a considerable sympathy for heretics; there is always a chance they might be right and the rest of us wrong. Some of my own views on other taxonomic-evolutionary matters are considered heretical by some of my colleagues.

Dr. Löve got caught in a meat-grinder at the University of Montreal (figuratively speaking, that is). Tenure as we know it in the states apparently does not exist there, and I could name two other very well-known botanists who lost their jobs at the University of Montreal during the past decades under conditions which would have made the A.A.U.P. scream bloody murder if it had happened in the United States. So Askeff finds himself out of a job, and overqualified for most of the jobs available. The top jobs, on the other hand, go to people who are a little more orthodox, or are unorthodox in approved ways.

Dr. Love is a good field man, as well as knowing his way around a cytological laboratory and a good herbarium. He knows plants as they grow. He is a real naturalist in the best sense of the word.

Most of Dr. Love's work until now has been on boreal plants, but he is beginning to feel a bit cramped in the relatively impoverished arctic and subarctic flora, and he is extending his interest to other groups as well. You may be assured that if he comes to the University of Colorado he will quickly learn the local flora and start to add to our knowledge and understanding of it.

Dr. Löve's appearance is rather striking, and in some respects reminiscent of the cartoon image of a college professor. He has high cheekbones, deep-set eyes, and slightly hollow cheeks. He wears his hair long and combed straight back. There is nothing in all this, however, to cause any embarrassment to his colleagues in the department or to the University. I don't doubt that some of the students will make fun of him behind his back, but that does not disturb me. I think that this combination of enthusiasm and knowledge of his subject will go over well with the

students, and that he will be an effective teacher.

I should point out that Askeff's wife, Doris, is also a Ph.D. in botany. She is very competent, and indeed there are those who think she is the better botanist of the two. Some of Doris' work is done strictly independently, and some in collaboration with Askeff. She is very careful not to get in Askeff's way and not to criticize him. I get the impression that she values her marriage more than her professional career. To my mind that is all to the good. If you hire Askeff you will get two for the price of one.

If you want to avoid all controversy and hire someone who is safe, sane, and dull, then Askeff is not your man. If you want someone full of spirit and ideas, who may stumble sometimes but who brings life to the group and gets things done, then he is as good as anyone you will find, and better than most. I hope you take him.

(signed) Arthur Cronquist
Curator

* * * * *

Turner to Pennak

The Department of Botany
The University of Texas
Austin, Texas 78712

May 21, 1964

Dear Dr. Pennak:

I understand that Dr. Askeff Löve, a cytotaxonomist with an international reputation, is currently looking for a position in a western university of the United States. His situation is so desperate that it appears that he could be induced to leave with an offer of an Associate Professorship or even Assistant Professorship.

His knowledge of the Colorado Flora should be superb; his teaching ability is reportedly excellent; and his professional competence is of the highest. If he were added to your staff, this would give the University of Colorado, overnight, an international reputation in the area of angiosperm systematics.

Dr. Harlan Lewis, Department of Botany, UCLA, knows Dr. Löve personally and he could give you any background you might want as regards his personal attributes, etc.

For what it is worth, if we had such a position open at this university, there is no question but what we would give him number 1 consideration.

Most sincerely yours

(signed) B. L. Turner, Professor

* * * * *

Harlan Lewis to Pennak

Dear Dr. Pennak:

Thank you for the notice of a position in taxonomy in your department. I do not have a student to recommend at this time, but I would like to suggest that you give very careful consideration to the appointment of a somewhat senior man, namely Dr. Askeell Löve, 4525 Kensington Ave., Montreal 28, Canada. He has a very envious international reputation and many outstanding publications in the application of cytological data to taxonomy. He is a very dynamic individual who would add prominence and stature to any biology department. I know that he is available for a new position, and I think it will be a very fortunate department that appoints him. Colorado is ideally situated for him to continue his outstanding work on arctic and alpine plants, and for this reason you might be able to attract him at a level below that which he would normally command.

Sincerely yours,

(signed) Harlan Lewis
 Professor of Botany and Dean,
 Division of Life Sciences
 Univ. of California, Los Angeles

* * * *

Weber to Pennak

12 June 1964

Dear Bob:

Digitized by Hunt Institute for Botanical Documentation

I was able to meet with Dr. and Mrs. Askeell Löve in Aspen yesterday evening and talked with them for two hours. I have known the Löves through their publications for some years, but I did not quite expect the fascinating people they turned out to be. I would strongly urge that he be offered an appointment at the highest rank available, for he is one of the leading minds around in biosystematics today. It happens to be a fluke that we are able to get first crack at the opportunity. I'd summarize my impressions of him as follows:

1. Löve is one of the leaders in biosystematic thought in the world. He is articulate, has an infectious enthusiasm, is in active contact with the people in the field, contributes by good publications, essays, symposia, etc., is respected by the profession.
2. He has been a leader in organizing symposia of international scope and in organizing biosystematic groups and serial publications in the cytotoxic field.
3. He, like many European taxonomists, operates from a broad base of knowledge of all groups of plants, and would bring to the Rocky Mountains an insight into the taxonomic problems which abound here. The area has long needed an active man of his type to relate the Rocky Mountain biota with the broader circum-polar one.
4. Doris Löve is a superior student in her own right, and the productivity of the family is almost evenly divided between the two. They are a very effective team. Their children are grown, so that they enjoy freedom to pursue their research more effectively than ever before. The Löves are in the prime of their careers and from what I have heard from former students, they are extremely stimulating to graduate students. I also feel that he would bring to the Field Botany course a splendid background and the right kind of enthusiasm to make a fine thing of it.

(signed) William A. Weber

* * * *

Del Wiens to Pennak

June 11, 1964

Dear Bob:

Several days ago I agreed to give you my candid appraisal of Askell Löve. These are my impressions.

Frankly, I found Professor Löve to be considerably different than I had imagined previously. While I had not met the man personally prior to today, many of my colleagues had. I received the impression from them that Dr. Löve was a very tense and somewhat difficult man to be around. From my brief encounter with him today, I do not consider these reports to be completely valid.

I found Löve to be fairly relaxed and even possessing a cryptic sense of humor. Professionally, he is rather outspoken on certain matters, and a lot of people do not agree with him, including myself. In fact, when I came here, one of my prime interests was to attempt to refute one of Löve's ideas about the distribution of polyploids. Nonetheless, it is valuable to have heretics around who do not follow the general field in their thinking. The teaching duties did not seem to bother him, although we did not discuss it in too much detail. My only real doubts about him would concern the teaching problem, especially in Field Botany, since it is one of the few courses there we can attract Botany majors at an early stage of development. He should be excellent in the graduate courses, however, because of his great depth of knowledge in the field and his considerable experience in the various floras of the world.

There is no doubt that his name would increase the stature of botany in this department. No one can work in the cytotaxonomy of the floras of the north temperate region without encountering his (and her) ubiquitous presence. The man is unquestionably a leader in the field, and might help the graduate program in Botany considerably. His presence would lend a continental flavor to the department which might add just enough heterogeneity to make him really worthwhile. Furthermore, one should not neglect his wife in the overall consideration. I personally found her to be a charming person, and it must be remembered that she is also a Ph.D. in Botany. In fact, I have heard it stated that she is possibly the best of the two. The two of them would certainly contribute a great deal to our knowledge of the flora.

Personally, I would be flattered to see a person of Löve's stature assume my position in the department. One could ask for little more in terms of a successor. I recommend him most highly, and hope that it is possible to offer the position to him at as high a rank as possible. In many ways it would be a travesty to offer him less than a full professorship, but this is another matter entirely.

(signed) Del Wiens

LOG OF THE APPEAL TO A NEW ADMINISTRATION

On October 23-24, 1978, five years after the fact, Professors Patrick Webber and William A. Weber visited Dr. Löve in his home at San Jose, California, and decided to try to reverse what we felt was a gross miscarriage of justice, believing that a new administration might review the evidence afresh.

1. Letter from Prof. Löve to Patrick Webber and William A. Weber, October 31, 1978

"Dear Bill and Pat:

First of all, thanks for your visit, and especially for the friendship behind it. We needed it, and appreciate it, and realize that it is my fault that it did not materialize years ago, but I know that you both understand. I am sending this letter separately to both of you, but the material that I promised to send is enclosed with the letter to Bill and sent registered. We retain our originals, of course, but are following your advice as to their being kept in a safe place, and have also put copies elsewhere, although we doubt that this is needed. But who knows?

I have reread several times my long letter of explanations that I had planned to send to Jack Fogg, and made efforts to change it and to concentrate in it only the essential points. However, I gave up, since that would have made it a dead letter of the type lawyers appreciate, and not a letter in which I am involved, so I am sending you a copy of it as it stands. Naturally, I have not sent it to Jack and will at least wait doing that until if your optimism fails, because I believe the story ought to be kept to as few as possible so that it does not hurt others too much. Instead, I will try soon to write him another and much shorter letter without details – if you have not contacted him and told him that you are in on the matter more directly thanks to his consideration?

I let you decide how to handle the matter and with whom, but I would appreciate it if the letter itself is left uncopied or copies made of only selected parts, and the three letters that were never acknowledged (exhibits 3, 9, and 10) not further copied and only shown to others under conditions that prevent unauthorized copying. Specially, I would like to plead that if somebody feels forced to contact Lawson Crowe [then chancellor], he be not allowed even to see any of the material except from a distance, following his own methods when accusing me. I have a better reason to distrust him than anybody else whom I have ever met.

I am sensitive to the copying of the letters in the exhibits mainly because in them I accuse, in good faith of course, some people who were introduced to me per telephone but never in person. Although I relate the matter as I still see it, that does not mean that I am not aware that others may interpret it differently and still correctly. I have not worked in science for four decades without learning about the relativity of what we want to call truth, even when the things can be directly touched, cf. the story of the blind men and the elephant.

If you read critically the letter to Hobart [Smith, chairman of the Dept. of Biology], (exhibit 3), you may perhaps be able to see that even then I seem to have anticipated that something was going to happen, but later I apparently forgot this and may have become unreasonably innocent again – but that is, I believe, also typical of me from as long as I can remember. As an irreligious Christian who detests all kinds of revenge, I want to avoid hurting others, although I believe the institutions involved owe us more than an apology for their evident laxity in counteracting administrative crooks. And I trust you both.

I have added some documents not mentioned in the letter, in case you may feel they add some information. And you may find it useful to ask for at least a copy of the letter I mentioned regarding the university lecture in the spring of 1973 that ought to be with the Council of Research and Creative Work or in my file in the department. I believe the judgment there was sincere and also not far from being correct, although the administrators ignored it. And you also have my permission to ask for copies of any files on me and my more or less suspect activities wherever they are housed in the country of files.

Many things that might have been said in the letter still remain in my mind and will probably do so until

I succeed in forgetting them, except if I am in some way or other forced to write about the American Dream that for some time turned into a nightmare. One point might, however, perhaps be worth mentioning in case of a further discussion: the good auditor apparently overlooked the essential discrepancy between the fact that we both worked for almost three and a half months on the project in Yugoslavia in 1972 but received only salary for two months, whereas the students got more than three months' salary in fact, and then that we actually worked on it for the entire year – and for two more years until it was completed, without such funds. But auditors and administrators in this country are peculiar breeds who only look for factual or imaginary overpayment, never underpayment except their own, and their interest in knowing if you have actually accomplished something is nil, if only the bookkeeping is in order. And diplomats are probably everywhere different from us and interested mainly in methods of hiding the fact that they are official spies and collectors of clandestine information that even has to be fabricated if otherwise unavailable. Their world is very different from that of the scientists.

Again, I trust that you will treat the material with the same care as I have done so as not to hurt others or even us, and I must repeat that we are grateful for your friendship for the many years that we have known each other. And I sincerely hope that your optimism will prove to be real, so that we may soon be able to burn these documents, purge copies of them and related material from official and personal files, and plainly forget about the fact that all Americans are not as we wanted to believe they were.

As ever, [Askell]

LOG OF ACTIONS SUBSEQUENT TO WEBBER-WEBER VISIT TO LÖVE

- Oct. 24-35, 1978. Visit of Webber & Weber to Löve.
- Oct. 30. We arranged to meet with Russell Nelson, Chancellor. Nelson insisted in having his legal assistant, Holloway, the University attorney, present because of legal implications. [Mr. Holloway drew up, and was one of the signers of the Agreement and Release, q.v. Ed.]
- Oct. 31 (?). Visit by Weber to Personnel Office to examine Löve personnel file. Found that it had been checked out to Holloway's office. Inquired about protection of files when they go to Regent Hall. Told there are no precautions taken, no numbering of pages or items either. [Subsequent attempts to find the Löve files in the Personnel record were fruitless, since they were never returned by counsel. Ed.]
- Nov. 14. Contacted Holloway at University Club at noon. He said he had not yet examined the files but would check and call back.
- Nov. 14. Weber briefed Howard Roark (Office of Research Services) on the matter in Henderson 216.
- Nov. 15. Weber briefed William Briggs (Dean, Arts & Science) on the matter superficially at University Club.
- Nov. 16. Called Holloway's office. Not ready yet.
- Nov. 16. Weber briefed Hobart Smith on the matter in Henderson 216.
- Nov. 17. Went to Holloway's office. He was not in yet, but was called at home (?); promised to call me at noon.
- Nov. 17. Went to Graduate School to examine Löve file regarding nomination for Research Lecture. Found that it was listed on the Table of Contents, but the file had been taken and not returned.

THE APPEAL

On December 12, the following appeal from Professors Webber and Weber was directed to Chancellor Nelson and Mr. Holloway:

J. Russell Nelson
Chancellor
Regent 301

John P. Holloway
Specialist Assistant
Regent 203

Dear Chancellor Nelson and Mr. Holloway:

Consequent to our meeting of November 21 with both of you, we have drafted the following résumé of the Askill Löve situation as we see it. First of all, we should say that we are concerned about Professor Löve as a member of our University family. He came here with an international reputation. Along with his wife, he had impeccable credentials of education and research from the best Swedish universities. There were no clouds over his previous performance. He performed here at the University with distinction and served a full term as chairman of the E.P.O. Biology Department. We do not know all of the circumstances of his resignation. We have only recently learned his side of the story, but we find it plausible and harmonious with what we know of him as a person, and we consider that he never should have left the University.

You have asked us to present to you a condensation of the documents which Dr. Löve has entrusted to us, and we shall try to do this as briefly as possible although there are many complicated aspects in the story. Our principal objective in doing this is to enable you to explore possible actions which might provide some remedy to what seems to have been a miscarriage of justice which paradoxically could not have been avoided wither by Dr. Löve at the time nor by the officials of the University. It seems to us, though, that your job now is to compare this statement with the official University records, which we have not been privileged to see. We sincerely hope that out of this some restoration can be made of Dr. Löve's reputation and his chances of obtaining employment.

Very briefly, here is our assessment of the Löve case.

1. Askill Löve is a scientist with an international reputation, a long and illustrious history of publication of papers and books. He was an asset to this University simply by his being here. He was very popular with students and saw several through to advanced degrees. He was chairman of the E.P.O. Biology Department and his service was very much appreciated by the dean although he did make enemies among some of the factions of the Department, and evidently among some members of Regent Hall administration. His botanical library was in many ways more extensive than that of the University and was greatly used by the faculty and students. His resignation represented a real and irreparable loss to the science of Botany at the University of Colorado. Nevertheless, out of a job and living very frugally, he continues to publish actively and carry on some research.
2. Löve was a victim of a ruthless and relentless conspiracy, probably beginning when he came to America and was on a McCarthy blacklist because of his socialistic (not communistic) philosophy shared by a majority of Icelanders. For some time he was unable to receive a visa to visit the U.S. from Canada.
3. This conspiracy developed a highly active and final stage when Löve began to carry on a cooperative research program on PL 480 funds in Yugoslavia, concerning the chromosome numbers of Yugoslavian endemic plants. We believe that there is strong evidence that enemies in the Smithsonian Institution/State

Department (these cannot really be separated under the circumstances) wanted to take him out of the Yugoslavian project and replace him with an American citizen. When they found that this was going to be difficult, they arranged, through delay of his funds, followed by secret agreements for temporary funding combined with extortion, later by providing falsified records to Washington and confiscating his original journals and receipts, to destroy his career in this University and ensure that he would never get another job. In this the University administration was the unwitting pawn, and personal enmities made the task easier.

4. We believe that this punishment was carried out without regard to due process and that restitution ought to be made. In the least, the University ought to acknowledge its error; at most, perhaps the conspiracy ought to be exposed publicly. Somewhere between these points might be a solution that would help to mend the terrible damage that has been done to Professor Löve and his family.

The situation may be very briefly and incompletely outlined by the following chronological account.

1962. A project on the cytology of Yugoslavian endemics was discussed with Professor E. Mayer, Ljubljana and a NATO funding was planned, but political problems made it necessary to shift the site of research to southern Spain and northern Italy. This research was conducted and the results were published.

1968. National Research Council asked Löve to accept an exchange scientist from Ljubljana, Dr. Franc Susnik. Susnik came to Boulder and the two discussed the possibility of a Yugoslav project. Susnik had learned of availability of PL 480 funds.

Spring 1969. Proposal submitted to Smithsonian for a five-year program in Yugoslavia.

February 11, 1970. Smithsonian reports that the project is unacceptable, but a new proposal would be entertained, but with geographical restrictions and on different substantive topics. (Because of Susnik's objections, however, these requirements were dropped.

Spring, 1970. New proposal was submitted and was accepted with enthusiastic recommendations by peer reviewers. However, funding was not made in 1970.

Spring, 1971. Project was funded and research was conducted in summer of 1971.

September, 1971. Löve filed interim report to Smithsonian. This was subsequently reviewed and found to show "inadequate progress" (see our comments, Postscript No. 1).

February 10, 1972. Kennedy Schmertz (Smithsonian) notifies Crowe that program will be terminated. (Löve did not get notified of this communication until late April or early May!) Smithsonian agrees to fund a terminal field season.

March 17, 1972. Embassy informs Susnik that program is to be terminated, that Smithsonian desires it to continue with a "better, American scientist" but warns that "Dr. Löve is known as a very persistent man, so they expect that his removal will not pass without any difficulty." Susnik answers Mladenovic (Scientific Attaché) asking if there is implication of lack of confidence in the Yugoslav side of the work as well, and insists that the team must not be broken up.

April 6, 1972. Office of Contracts and Grants negotiates with Smithsonian for an adjustment upward of the 1972 budget, and this is approved.

Late May, 1972. Löve party arrives in Ljubljana to find that no authorization for funds has been sent to Belgrade from Washington. Löve borrows small amount from University of Ljubljana at no interest to tide them over.

June 9, 1972. Applied to Embassy for advance, told it was impossible. Repeatedly tried to obtain advance, to no avail.

June 14, 1972. Embassy, through a Mr. Strn, informed that funds would not be forthcoming until August and that Embassy would help Löve to get a loan from a local businessman, as a highly secret arrangement, and required interest in the form of the per diem line in the budget because of the "high risk" to the businessman. This was offered as the only remedy, and assurance was given that Washington would be informed all the way. Löve reluctantly agreed, and transaction was done. No receipts were exchanged, the whole operation done in a secretive manner. This was the beginning of the extortion plot which ultimately resulted in the final denouement.

June 23, 1972. Notification from Embassy that U.S. funds had arrived. Löve obtained check on June 24 and cashed it following Monday, June 25. Repaid University of Ljubljana loan.

June 25, 1972. Löve repaid the businessman, plus the additional interest. Again, no receipts but assurance that Smithsonian was aware of transaction. Löve paid additional month salary for assistants as instructed by Embassy. Forced to write blank receipts.

June 18, 1972. Embassy requires Löve to transfer funds for internal travel, office and lab costs, to University of Ljubljana authorities. No receipts. University would provide gas coupons, etc., for field costs, which was done.

(All arrangements with Embassy were done under telephone instructions not to mention these with members of his party, Yugoslavs, or Mrs. Löve, under threat. Always assurance was made that Washington approved and would be kept informed.)

July 2, 1972. Löve writes Schmertz a letter setting out all the events in exhaustive detail (9 pages hand-written legal size). Schmertz never acknowledged receipt of this letter.

July 27, 1972. Embassy gave further instructions as to how all final reckonings, receipts, etc., would be handled, under threat of difficulty of leaving the country, or implied worse results. Assurance given that Smithsonian would make records compatible with the granted budget. Embassy also required all physical evidence of transactions from Löve with promise that all would be returned. Details very complicated, and recorded by Löve at the moment.

Late summer, 1972. Löve returns to the U.S. He is given an envelope presumably containing his returned records upon departure which must not be opened until arrival in Boulder. Much of the material was missing and never was returned. Smithsonian demanded necessary documents through Susnik, who never replied.

February, 1973. Smithsonian auditor visits Boulder to examine records, declines to allow Löve to be present to discuss. Audit report disallows \$7,575.00 of the expenditures.

May 24, 1973. Lawson Crowe confronts Löve with the disallowance and forces repayment and then requests resignation. Löve not given time or opportunity to have legal advice.

May 31, 1973. Formal signing of resignation in Crowe's office.

June 1, 1973. Hobart Smith gives Löve until June 8 to vacate campus.

June 7, 1973. First of anonymous phone calls: "Your decision (or agreement?) not to fight was wise, but the friend who offered help is in a bind and does not dare. We know that you know Thomas Riha. He reneged (?) so he and the woman he talked to had to go (leave?). If you do, we will deport you without warning, or... Don't forget the fate of Thomas Riha." Similar calls through 1976 in Boulder (to July 23). Further resumption of calls May 2, 1977, at San Jose. irregularly on through May 26, 1978.

1974. Publication, *Cytotaxonomical Atlas of the Slovenian Flora*, by Askill Löve and Doris Löve. 1,241 pages. J. Cramer Verlag, Lehre, West Germany. This work was accomplished in Boulder without the support of the PL 480 grant through enormous effort on the part of the authors and is the definitive result of the work they accomplished on the grant.

Postscript

It remains a puzzle to us why the events told to us by Löve should ever have happened. The following seem to be the unanswered questions in the puzzle.

1. Why should the Smithsonian Institution have questioned Löve's ability to do the research? First year reports are usually a formality. The Löve report by our standards was adequate and showed no evidence that the research program would not be a success. Löve's record of productivity is outstanding and he has since published the results of the Yugoslavian manuscript as a major monograph. An active conspiracy to discredit Löve is suggested.
2. Why were the funds not available on Löve's arrival in Yugoslavia? Surely a quick cable between countries should have solved the problem within 24 or so hours. An active conspiracy to discredit Löve is suggested.
3. Why were the loan and the loan conditions made possible with the clandestine and extortive aura? Surely this is further evidence for conspiracy to set up Löve for ultimate betrayal and character assassination.
4. Why did Schmertz never acknowledge Löve's letter. If Löve sent the letter, and we do not doubt his honesty, there is only a one in a million chance or less that the letter was not delivered. Further evidence of conspiracy?
5. The circumstances leading to Löve's dismissal, that is, unusually short deadlines for financial reporting, refusal of the auditor to accept Löve's offer of clarification, and Dean Crowe's rush to prosecute without fair hearing, all suggest some sort of early decision and conspiracy to eliminate Löve from academia.
6. The continuing harassing phone calls also seem designed to threaten Löve into submission and secrecy concerning the entire affair.

Our only conclusion can be that Löve is a victim of a deliberate conspiracy to dishonor, discredit, and destroy him. Whoever is responsible was very successful.

(signed) Patrick J. Webber
Professor
Institute of Arctic and Alpine Research

(signed) William A. Weber
Professor
University of Colorado Museum

THE VERDICT

University of Colorado at Boulder
Office of the Chancellor

January 2, 1978

Professor Patrick J. Webber
Institute of Arctic and Alpine Research

Professor William A. Weber
Museum

Dear Colleagues:

Thank you for your December 12 summary of the Askeff Love situation. John Holloway and I will review the summary with care, in light of other information available to us, and will be in touch with you in the near future with our view of how to proceed.

Very sincerely

(signed) J. Russell Nelson
Chancellor

Digitized by Hunt Institute for Botanical Documentation
University of Colorado at Boulder
Office of the Chancellor

FebruaRY 2, 1979

Professor Patrick J. Webber
Institute of Arctic and Alpine Research

Professor William A. Weber
Museum

Dear Colleagues:

Mr. Holloway and I have completed review of all files in our possession pertinent to the unqualified resignation of Dr. Askell Löve on May 31, 1973, and have decided to share with you copies of some of the relevant documentation which apparently led to his decision to resign, numbered as follows:

1. The demand letter of the Smithsonian Institution dated February 22, 1973 against the University of Colorado. [this document is already included as Exhibit (). Ed.]
2. The audit report specifying items disallowed. [See Exhibit (). Ed.]
3. Dr. Crowe's letter of March 27, 1973 to Dr. Love enclosing said audit report, and requesting a written response to the disallowance. [See below. Ed.]
4. A letter dated April 3, 1973 from Dr. Löve in reply to Dr. Crowe, but hardly responsive to the disallowances in the audit report. [not found. Ed.]
5. The sworn affidavit dated May 21, 1973, of Mr. Gerald K. Arp, one of Dr. Löve's students on the project,

which addresses the issue of the disallowances.

6. A check dated May 25, 18/973 payable to the University of Colorado from Dr. Löve in the sum of \$7,575.00 – the amount of the exact disallowance.
7. An Agreement and Release dated May 31, 1973 signed by Dr. Love and Dr. Crowe, on behalf of the University. [already included. See page (). Ed.]

I trust that after you have had an opportunity to read this material you will agree that, notwithstanding your carefully documented assessment of the Löve case, there is no evidence of any miscarriage of justice that would justify that we either "acknowledge its error" or publicly expose the "conspiracy" which you suspect.

In my judgment, the documentation clearly discloses misrepresentation, falsification of documents and misappropriation of public funds. Dr. Löve was confronted with these facts and was afforded an opportunity to deny, rebut, or explain the disallowed items. He declined this invitation, even when confronted personally and given the opportunity to examine it in Dr. Crowe's office. The record, incidentally, contains further substantiating documentation from Mary Kirk, his other student Research Assistant and from Michael Fisher, a friend of Mary Kirk's. He was informed by Dr. Ives of his right to seek counsel to challenge the matter in the courts, and by Dr. Crowe of his right to a hearing before a committee of his peers internally before termination proceedings would be initiated. He accepted the University's invitation to resign, a courtesy we did not have to extend, and made restitution, with the understanding that the entire matter be treated as a matter of mutual confidence without public notoriety. The University, and Dr. Löve have observed their commitments.

Very sincerely

(signed) J. Russell Nelson
Chancellor

AFFIDAVIT

State of Colorado
County of Boulder

Dr. Gerald K. Arp, of lawful age, being first duly sworn upon oath, deposes and says:

1. That he was employed during the months of May, June, July, and August, 1972, as a graduate research assistant to perform certain professional services under the direction of Prof. Askeff Löve on a botanical project in Yugoslavia supported by Grant No. SFC 2-7626 from the Smithsonian Institute. That the only other person known to him to be employed in like capacity was Mary Kirk. The duration of the project was to be approximately three (3) months, but affiant was never informed as to any specific salary or other stipend he would receive before leaving the U.S.A.

2. That after two or three weeks in Ljubljana, Yugoslavia, affiant and Mary Kirk took a five-day trip to the island of Bab to botanize the flora. Immediately upon return to Ljubljana, affiant and said Mary Kirk were confronted by Prof. Löve with the information that he had obtained salary money for them whereupon he requested and directed that they sign two (2) receipts each, or a total of four (4) receipts. Upon executing said receipts, which were completely blank as far as amount or name, they were each given \$1,420.00 in Yugoslavian dinars, without any receipts, invoices, or copies thereof. Affiant and the said Mary Kirk were advised by Prof. Löve that this amount represented their total compensation for the entire period at the project.

3. That the following day affiant and said Mary Kirk went to the office of the principal Yugoslavian investigator, Franc Susnik to inquire about the financial arrangements and met Prof. Löve who advised them that they were entitled to more money, whereupon he gave them each \$710.00 in Yugoslavian dinars, without any receipts, invoices, or copies thereof.

4. That one Michael Fisher was not employed on the project in any capacity; that he has no botanical credentials or experience and that he came to Ljubljana, Yugoslavia solely to be with Mary Kirk as her friend.

5. That to the best of his knowledge and information, the project did not rent any vehicles - Prof. Löve had his own private vehicle - a late model blue Volvo.

6. That neither the affiant, nor to the best of his knowledge and information, Mary Kirk, received any supplemental "living allowances" - all expenses for such items were paid as personal expenses by affiant and Mary Kirk.

7. That affiant is unaware of any laboratory or office space rented for this project - limited utilization was made of the facilities of the University of Ljubljana and that Prof. Löve worked out of his apartment.

Further affiant sayeth not.

(signed) Gerald K. Arp

Subscribed and sworn to before me, a Notary Public, in and for said County and State, this 21st day of May, 1973, by Gerald K. Arp.

My Commission expires November 30, 1974

Sandra J. Lincoln
Notary Public

THE REIMBURSEMENT

A personal check written on the account of Dr. Aspell and Dr. Doris Löve at the United Bank of Boulder, to the University of Colorado, dated May 25, 1973, in the amount of \$7,575.00.

THE REBUTTAL

Letter to Professor Weber, cc to Dr. Patrick J. Webber

San José, February 15, 1979

Dear Bill:

Many thanks for the papers from the Chancellor; they arrived on Tuesday, without a letter from you or Pat, but I understand. I would also like to meet them with silence despite my shock, though the circumstances require that I at least acknowledge this fine gesture by you and add some of my reaction.

I was astonished that nothing in the papers is actually new from what I had included in the report I gave you in the fall, and also that Dr. Nelson apparently chose to ignore your brief and other information. I was even more astonished to read Dr. Nelson's outburst against me as a criminal, since I do not know him personally, and if he has only looked at the old "evidence" from another point of view than that of the cold neutrality of an impartial judge, to cite Burke, then he goes a step too far in being unfair.

However, I became very much more astonished to see that he included a copy of the affidavit by Gerry Arp that even Crowe refused to show me except from a distance of 3-4 meters in 1963. I had been told, by Crowe on May 24, 1973, in his office which I am convinced was wired for taping our conversation without my direct knowledge, that he had with much difficulty succeeded in getting *copies* of affidavits from my research assistants and several Yugoslavs, as I understood not from the Smithsonian but from some secret contact at the Justice Department to where the Smithsonian had sent these for prosecution of this great criminal. He waved a bunch of papers at me from a distance of 3-4 meters and said that these were the affidavits, but neither "confronted" me with them nor was willing to let me read them and never offered me copies of them, as I told Jack (yes later the same day and have always maintained.

When I thus see this single affidavit for the first time, the only one of the "several" affidavits that Crowe claimed to have in his hands that Dr. Nelson wants us to see, I have observed that it was taken from Gerry Arp *by Holloway* on May 21 and notarized by his legal secretary! In other words, this has nothing to do with the Smithsonian conspiracy but is instead a University administration conspiracy which followed it because certain Boulderites wanted us hung since long [ago]. I wonder why the other affidavits, by Mary Kirk, born Frost, and Michael Fisher and by the Yugoslavs remain secret, even so that the latter are not even mentioned in the letter by Dr. Nelson? Are the Yugoslav ones non-existent and do the two others include intemperate utterances and perjuries so the University feels it must protect the signers? That I would find to be fair, even their destruction would be correct in that case, provided that they are never again used as a kind of slander against me as I understand the mentioning of them in the letter from Dr. Nelson.

Although I still want to believe that Dr. Nelson is the fair and logical man you told me he is, I found peculiar his outburst about me as a criminal, because for that he has no reason in the disallowance letter or other reports from Washington known to me in the affidavit from Arp. However, now I understand why Arp has avoided me ever since, because he must feel as the creep as this makes him in my eyes, after all I helped him to get his degree and also his position in Texas and never have done anything to him that anybody would regret. Actually, in his affidavit he could and should have told only the two things about his salary and lack of per diem, the report on which is in conformity with what I reported in the papers that I gave you. What he says about this is essentially true, except for small deviations in dates and places and people present during these transactions, which also conformed to what I was instructed to do as mentioned in the papers you got.

But other parts of his testimony I like to look upon as results of his ignorance and misunderstanding of matters of which he knew nothing first-hand and of lapse of memory rather than as intended misrepresentation of

facts that he could not know except if I had told him, which I never did and never would have been required to do; he was only my assistant, not cooperator now co-investigator. Though I am sorry to see that some of these statements may border on what I believe others might call perjury or allusions meant to damage. This was just what I was afraid of when Crowe claimed that he had these affidavits and the reason why I told him that I would rather pay the unfair claim than protest in any such way that could hurt my students or the Yugoslavs, although I did not imagine that Crowe and Holloway had planned to play further and stop at nothing but a hanging, Colorado style.

The essential point, however, that what Arp tells truthfully about the finances (with some minor deviations as to time and place and others present) is distinctly *contrary to the report of the Smithsonian auditor*. not in support of it as intended when the University took his testimony. So the logic behind the action and brutality against us and behind the last outburst by Dr. Nelson are all clearly inconsistent with either his, Arp's, affidavit or with the disallowance report of the auditor, so one of these is not in conformity with the truth. I know that Arp told the truth in this matter, though his knowledge of other details was limited and therefore of little value as proof of my criminality that caused the outburst and false conclusion, or, as you preferred to call it, a clear case of miscarriage of justice (unfortunately not the first or only one since we originally experienced American peculiarities already when asking for our Canadian visa in 1950.

I could add more, but want only to add that Mr. Nelson apparently is unaware that Crowe violated my civil and human rights and the constitutional privileges that are even those of detestable immigrants by not only neglecting to advise me about my right to a legal counsel upon the presence of whom he ought to have insisted after all the persecution and unfairness he had shown us for years, but no less or perhaps more seriously by telling me, when I asked about the desirability of such advice, that it was not necessary because *he* had discussed this with the president and the University legal counsel, both of whom had agreed that the procedure he was following was correct. I cannot see how that neglect (or should I say prevention) can have changed by the fact that later the same day, when I told Jack Ives about the matter, he insisted that I give him permission to look for some lawyer – although he did not succeed, for reasons that it is his privilege to describe if it might be of some interest to the matter.

[Several additional paragraphs are omitted as being of a more personal nature]

(signed) Askell