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	DRW REDIECTO

26 MARCH 1977

The APSA resolution

To the editors:

The resolution of the American Political Science Association referred to in Diane Ravitch's article on the Selzer case at Brooklyn College ("Brouhaha in Brooklyn," TNR, Mar. 12) has faults which I hope will be corrected. I can perhaps put it in a more favorable light by saying that the resolution did recognize "the importance of the academic community's participation in the conduct of government and formulation of government policies" and did not condemn all participation by political scientists in CIA or other government intelligence activities but asked only that such participation be fully disclosed.

The resolution failed to define with any precision the kind and degree of involvement that should be avoided and, especially to be regretted, said nothing to insure due process for accused individuals or (in your words) to "warn against a relapse into civil-libertarian myopia." I should also point out, however, that the Council did not regard this resolution as the final word on the question but, at the same meeting, referred it to the Association's Committee on Professional Ethics and Academic Freedom which will, I am sure, in due course bring in a more carefully considered statement.

Samuel H. Beer President American Political Science Association

The CIA: Time to Come In fi

Question: "Under what international law do we have a right to attempt to destabilize the constitutionally elected government of another country?"

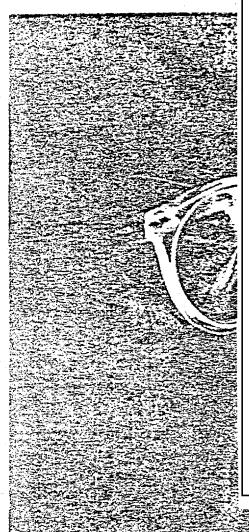
ernment of another country?"

Answer: "I am not going to pass judgment on whether it is permitted or authorized under international law. It is a recognized fact that historically as well as presently, such actions are taken in the best interest of the countries involved."

That blunt response by President Gerald Ford at his press conference last week was either remarkably careless or remarkably candid. It left the troubling impression, which the Administration afterward did nothing to dispel, that the U.S. feels free to subvert another government whenever it suits American policy. In an era of détente with the Soviet Union and improving relations with China, Ford's words seemed to represent an anachronistic, cold-war view of national security reminiscent of the 1950s. Complained Democratic Senator Frank Church of Idaho with considerable hyperbole: "[It is] tantamount to saying that we respect no law save the law of the jungle."

The question on "destabilizing" foreign governments followed Ford's confirmation that the Nixon Administration had authorized the Central Intelligence Agency to wage an S8 million campaign in 1970-73 to aid opponents of Chilean President Salvador Allende's Marxist government (see box page 21). Until last week, members of both the Nixon and Ford Administrations had flatly denied that the U.S. had been involved in undermining Allende's regime. They continue to insist that the CIA was not responsible for the 1973 coup that left Allende dead and a repressive right-wing junta in his place.

Congressmen were outraged by the news that they had once again been misled by the Executive Branch. More important, disclosure of the Chile operation helped focus and intensify the debate in Congress and the nation over the CIA: Has the agency gone too far in recent years? Should it be barred from interfering in other countries' domestic affairs? Where it has erred, was the CIA out of control or was the White House at fault for misdirecting and misusing the agency? Should it be more tightly supervised, and if so, by whom? In addition, the controversy spotlighted the fundamental dilemma posed by an open, democratic society using covert activity -the "dirty tricks" or "black" side of intelligence organizations—as an instrument of foreign policy.



CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY DIRECTOR WILLIAM E. COLBY "There's nothing wrong with accountability."

At the center of the storm was William Egan Colby, 54, the CIA's director for the past year. Shrewd and capable, Colby has sought from the day he took office as director to channel more of the CIA's efforts into the gathering, evaluation and analysis of information and less into covert actions—the "operational" side of the intelligence business. Says he: "The CIA's cloak-and-dagger days have ended."

Certain Actions. But obviously, not quite. It was Colby who oversaw the last months of the CIA activity in Chile as the agency's deputy director for operations in 1973, though this operation apparently ended shortly after he became director. But it was also Colby who disclosed details of the covert action to a closed hearing of the House Armed Ser-

vices Subcommittee on Intelligence last April 22. A summary of his testimony was leaked to the press two weeks ago. By the time Ford met with the press, Colby's revelations were more than a week old; the President had been briefed by Secretary of State Henry Kissinger and doubtless was ready to field reporters' questions. Said Ford: "Our Government, like other governments, does take certain actions in the intelligence field to help implement foreign policy and protect national security. I am informed reliably that Communist nations spend vastly more money than we do for the same kind of purposes."

Since so much had already leaked out. Ford perhaps had no choice but to make an admission. But his statement seemed to set no or few limits on clan-

Polifical Science Assn. braces for push

by New Left

By Tom Littlewood . | Sun-Times Bureau

WASHINGTON - None of The election will be decided caught up in, or agitated by, constitutional changes proposthe passionate social forces' swirling across mankind than for Popular Vote Amendalways stepped gingerly between the theoretical values and the subterranean practicalities of this most inexact at Rutgers University. science.

In recent years the profession in the United States has: been increasingly torn by doubts as to the relevance of and teaching research. How sacred, exactly, eare the democratic values and institutions?

Political Science Assn. holds ticipation in association at its annual membership meetng in New York City. A stormy session is anticipated as "New Left," consisting mainly of graduate students and junior faculty members, confronts the powerholders of for change. In response, the rick, for many years the execcontrolling forces will trying to amend the group's and part of what the dissidents about jobs, constitution in ways that would reinforce their dominance.

radicals warming up for another season on campus, will! endeavor to disrupt the proceedings in the Commodore Hotel. However, the leaders of the dissident "Caucus for a New Political Science" insist that any uprising of that sort would be limited to some of the younger firebrands who are fed up with their middle-aged colleagues.

Only about 850 of the 12,000 individual members - 6,900 of them teachers - usually at tend the annual meeting.

This year opponents. candidates for the eightmember executive council. The incumbents were willing to let political scientists were incens tion on social and political the caucus have two of the political scientists were incensifion on social and political Approved For Release 2005/12/14: CIA-RDP88-01315R000100260001-8

demurred, putting up separate slate.

the learned disciplines is more at the meeting, along with the ed by an "Ad Hoc Confimittee political science. Scholars have ments." The leader of this Donald committee is Herzberg, director of the Engleton Institute of Politics

approved.

fairs.

David Kettler, a professor at Ohio State University, calls it a defensive maneuver and a "Gaullist recourse to plebi-publics." scite."

A focal point of all the conthe association with demands troversy is Evron M. Kirkpatbe futive director of the association Crowd" in Washington.

> porations, the APSA leadership; is accused by Kettler and "liberal establishment."

Two years ago, Kirkpatrick former Vice President Hubert doing business with, among state legislators. other government bureaus, the This year, for the first times Central Intelligence Agency diate difference separating the there will be rival slates of At the time, Kempelman was rival slates is one that has Streasurer of the APSA.

reight slots, but the caucus ed when Humphrey and former issues, such as campus disor-President Lyndon B. Johnson der, the Vietnam war and the both received academic posi-imilitary budget. tions at universities after leav-i: "Ours should remain a pro-

ing Washington.

fessional association of Edgar Litt. and Philip scholars and not a debating so-Melanson of the University of blety," Herzberg contends. Connecticut prepared a paper, "We would have a difficult for next month's meeting time getting co-operation in which labels the profession as this town," added Kirkpatrick, "If we became partisan ac-"a peer group of liberals:" "Peer-group liberalism has tivists."

Future constitutional amend- become a remembrance of But the dissidents come back ments, contested elections and things past . . . of Hubert with the argument that the controversial, resolutions or Horatio Humphrey within the scholars are taking a stand other actions would all be Americans for Democratic Ac-every time they give a prize to decided by mail ballot of the tion . . . a sentimental a congressman. entire membership hereafter if store house of affectionate. One of the 1967-68 awards the Herzberg amendments are memories pleasantly divorced went to Rep. Melvin R. Laird from contemporary realities. (R-Wis.), now secretary of He describes this as an effort ... There is something amiss in defense, a coincidence that the The issue comes to a head on He describes this as an effort a profession that can research radicals find especially Sept. 3 when the American to broaden the base of part a profession that can research radicals find especially voting patterns from Salgon to distasteful.

Seattle but cannot com! Aroused by the threat from municate with students; the left, some of the more conblacks, the poor, the educated servative members have middle class and other formed their own "Conference

'Welfare agency'?

Litt and Melanson said the association has become a Georgetown University, refer to as "The Minnesota publishers. But they added that political institutions" it is also "very much a public paralyze the association. There is a possibility that a fin a period when more authority in which the alloca. After all the shouting at last minority of the militant, scholarly research is being tion of intellect, prestige, year's session, the middle-aged

> always "regime-serving" con- tial Kempelman — both friends of gressmen and journalists; hires out for services to public bodies and sponsors H. Humphrey — were disclost fellowships for congressional ed to be owners of an organization called Operations and interns and conferences for Policy Research, which was ireshmen congressmen and

On the surface, the immedivided other professional Many of the new breed association should take a posi-

for a Democratic Politics" within the association.

Led by George W. Carey of "mass-based welfare agency" group has voiced a fear that devoted to the cultivation of "obstreperous behavior" by a influence and information minority of "radical activists grants and who are trying to subvert our

financed by foundations, funds, and activities have regulars stayed on top by government agencies and cor- broad public consequences." about 2 to 1. A similar outcome about 2 to 1. A similar outcome For better or worse, the is likely this time, removing APSA is an important group in future showdowns from the to the Democratic Party's ciation gives merit awards to tion scene where a determined what the radicals contend are minority can be more influent

REBEL CAUCUS Approved For Release 2005/12/14 : CIA-RDP88-01315R000100260001-8

Political Science Miscovers Politics

David K. J. Morris

Mr. Morris is an Associate Fellow at the Institute for Policy Studies, Washington, D.C.

Washington, D.C.

In certain respects, and among some of its people, the United States is becoming increasingly sophisticated in its analysis of the evils of our society. In the early sixties. Bull Connor was the archetypal evil man, his dogs. and fire hoses the weapons of oppression. More recently, the evil has been McNamara, typical of the national security managers who use propaganda and the myth of democracy to oppress the people. It has become clearer that, as Hannah Arendt wrote, the worst evil resides in the banal bureaucrat who runs the system, that cosmically evil individuals are no longer in evidence.

We are obliged to recognize a new target of attack. Since the "system" has replaced individuals, we must now be concerned with the operators of that "system," with the technicians who provide the knowledge for its elites and who rationalize its existence. Thus the academic associations are coming under attack. Recently, the American Sociological Association and the American Psychological Association formed within their organizations caucuses of people, who are determined to debate the implicit values and assumptions upon which these associations rest. But perhaps the best example of this new trend occurred in the American Political Science Association, during its convention in Washington, D.C., during the first week of September.

Political science, notorious for its conservative stance, has become, over the past few years, a discipline to beavoided by activists or those concerned with policy making. [See "The Battle for Relevance" by Marvin Surkin, The Nation, September 2.] Two resolutions were proposed at the annual convention in 1967 to bring the association (if not its individual members) out of its somnambulence. One called for the dismissal of the APSA's executive director, Dr. Evron Kirkpatrick, and its treasurer-counsel, Mr. Max Kampelman, because of their involvement in Operations and Policy Research, a CIA-financed organization. A second resolution called on the universities to withhold from HUAC membership lists of campus groups.

However, both resolutions were side-stepped. The first was never discussed; instead, a report by four ex-presidents of the association concerning the officers' activities was adopted as part of an omnibus resolution setting up a committee to investigate ethical problems. The second resolution was ruled out of order as requiring a constitutional amendment. (The existing constitution prohibited action on political issues and in the context academic freedom was interpreted to be a political issue.)

The profound dissatisfaction caused by the failure of the association to act on either resolution, coming on top of discontent over convention programs, led to the creation of a splinter group within the association, called Caucus for a New Political Science. The caucus was given a mandate by the 200 people who participated in its founding to

set up a series of panels for presentation at the 1968 convention, to introduce a constitutional amendment that would permit the association to encourage the study of controversial issues, and to urge the association to poll its members on their attitudes concerning the war in Vietnam.

During the following year, and especially throughout the week of the annual convention, it became evident that the caucus had simply stated the obvious: it had declared the emperor naked, and most were quick to find him so. The majority agreed that the program was dull, irrelevant, often trivial. They acknowledged that it was ludicrous that a political science association had never held a contested election for president. They agreed that no association concerned with the study of politics should tolerate in its constitution a provision disavowing any organizational interest in the most divisive issues of the day.

By the time the political scientists were converging on Washington, the association had begun to remove its more blatant irrelevant features. But the debate begun by exposing the surface problems of the association was not to be stopped. As one member of the council of the association said to me at the end, "This week has gone from bad to worse."

At the business meeting on Wednesday night the distance between how far the association had gone and how far it might go became evident. A constitutional amendment giving the association the fight to pass resolutions. concerning freedom of speech and academic freedom "by and within the association" was passed. But an amendment that attempted to eliminate that intramural phrase, thus broadening the impact of the resolution, was voted down.

On the other hand, the caucus' constitutional amendment asking that the APSA encourage "research in and concern for significant contemporary political and social problems and policies" passed overwhelmingly. In addition, a resolution to prohibit employees and officers of the association from engaging in covert activities also passed, although it was obviously aimed at the activities of the executive director and the treasurer-counsel, and in spite of the fact that the council had unanimously recommended referral of the resolution to a standing committee on ethics (which would have deferred action for at least another year).

The business meeting drew 900 people, an extraordinary number considering, as the president noted, that it has not been uncommon in the past for members to be pulled in from the hall to make up a quorum. A discussion of the previous year's budget and the rubber-stamp election of a president were not what interested the remarkably large group. It was expecting controversy, and was not disappointed.

The business meeting broke up during a discussion of several resolutions concerning the possibility of withdrawing the 1970 convention from Chicago, as a reaction to events there during the Democratic and vention. Although it was soon evident that the association would do so,

Unconventional

pick up promising young faculty members. And the formal program-droning research papers fated for encapsulation in dusty quarterlies-tends to regard anything since the Great Depression as too recent for serious discussion. At this year's round of meetings, however, younger scholars are calling for an adjournment of the all-too-dispassionate conventions of the past.

Last week, for example, about 250° members of the Caucus for a New Political Science effectively turned the American Political Science Association—once hesitant to deal publicly with controversial issues-to the problems of the day. After day-and-night lobbying, the new caucus persuaded the APSA at its annual convention in Washington to amend its constitution so that the association now actively encourages, in its membership and its journal, research in and concern for significant contemporary political and social problems and policies.

Bitter: The caucus then turned to APSA's ties to the CIA. At least until ear- 1. ly 1967, Evron Kirkpatrick, APSA executive director, and Max M. Kampelman, APSA treasurer and adviser to Vice President Humphrey, have accepted CIA research money as officers of their own organization, Operations and Policy Research, Inc. After a bitter floor debate, and a walkout of several dozen of the 900 political scientists present, the APSA passed a resolution prohibiting its officers from engaging in intelligence and other covert activities"-but it also expressed gratitude to Kirkpatrick and Kampelman for their services.

The APSA establishment then moved to appease the Young Turks. Kampelman resigned as treasurer, although he fessor and outgoing ASA president, promremained as APSA counsel. And APSA ised that the association will make president-elect David Easton, of the Uni- "special efforts" to include blacks in its versity of Chicago, went to the new nactivities and publications. caucus's headquarters and agreed that. Then, the ASA delegates voted to re"We've got to bring this professional as- move their 1969, 1972 and 1976 convensociation up to the twentieth century." A tions from Chicago. "Sociology," said the handed over five dollars and became a Maced lungs and burned corneas.

dues-paying member of the new caucus. The APSA was almost a replay of the internal revolt at the American Sociologischolars usually serve as flesh markets to tan two walls annual convention in Bossociologists, wearing black and red armbands to symbolize anarchy and syndicalism, walked out of a speech by Wilbur Cohen, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, protesting his presence as a member of the Johnson Administration. The ASA's Radical Caucus also passed out buttons asking "Knowledge for Whom?" The question, said Carol Brown, 29-year-old Columbia grad student, means that "we should put our knowledge at the disposal of those who are struggling for justice and equality.'

> Attack: At the session where Cohen' appeared, Martin Nicholaus, a 26-yearold instructor at Vancouver's Simon Fraser University, attacked "the big-status sociologist, the fat-contract ... jet-set sociologist, the book-a-year sociologist, the sociologist who always wears the livery, the suit and tie, of his masters." These scholars, he added, were "house servants in the corporate establishment, white intellectual Uncle Toms.'

> The radicals were not the only dissidents. A 25-member Black Caucus lodged a formal complaint to the ASA charging that black scholars "are substantially excluded" from leadership in the association, from publication in scholarly journals and from receiving research grants. They pointed out that the ASA's only session on race, called "On Being Black in America," consisted of all-white panels. But David Gottlieb of Penn State, chairman of the panels, did not agree that "you have to be Jewish to study Jews, or black to study blacks," although he reconized the obstacles facing blacks trying to make it through the "closed, star system" of the association. And Philip-Hauser, the University of Chicago pro-

few hours later, Kirkpatrick himself resolution, "must focus on cracked skulls,

S. Funds Seen as Main Suppor

By Willard Clopton Washington Post Staff Writer

The Federal Government Bundy said. will, within a few years, become the chief source of finanWednesday night, the Association." The Chicago
cial support for American ation, in a top-heavy voice Hotel Association has repert
college and universities, the vote, prohibited its officers
edly threatened to sue over

will become an increasingly a slap at APSA Executive Di-University hicago political important element in the funding of higher education and former treasurer Max M. ceeds Merle Fainsod of Harvwill be counted on to supply Kampelman. They head a ard University as head of the at least 50 per cent of univer-Washington - based research 15,000-member organization.

During the same period, he projects. said, income from endowments, gifts and other traditional sources is likely to become a declining source of college revenue.

Brademas, addressing the Association's 64th annual meeting at the Washington-Hilton Hotel, urged his audience to: give concern to the implicative, the Association's govern cago, for his "Parliament, tions of the shift.

"If the Federal Government is soon to become the largest financial supporter of colleges and universities," he said, "all The censure resolution, draftof us . . . have a responsibility to give much closer consideration to how the major national policy decisions affecting higher education are to be made in the years shead."

He suggested that political: scientists "can do much more than they have done to understand the present pattern of decision-making within and for American higher education."

Guides Lacking

"We do not have any intelligible set of national policies to guide future Government assistance to the colleges and universities," he said.

Another speaker, McGeorg Bundy, former White House aide and now president of the Ford Foundation, voiced agree ment with Brademas,

"A continuing and increasing role" in higher education "will have to be played by funds from the U.S. treasury,"

At . its business meeting American Political Science and employes from "engaging the cancellation.

sity budget needs by the year firm that in the past has re-Karl W. Deutsch, Harvard ceived CIA funds for research University professor of gov-

> pressing "no confidence" in next year. the two men was also submit-ted, but reportedly got en-son Foundation book award to tangled in a procedural snag Duncan MacRae Jr., professor

> ing Council voted unanimous- Parties and Society in France, ly to seek its defeat and in 1946-1958." stead reaffirm confidence in Kirkpatrick and Kampelman. ed by David Morris of the Institute for Policy Studies, also criticized Kirkpatrick and Kampelman for allegediy "using partisanship in arranging special panels in the Association's meetings."

Other Business

In other business, the APSA:

- Approved a declaration that despite its nonpartisan character, it has no intention of remaining silent on threats to academic freedom and freedom of expression at the Nation's universities.
- Set up a standing ethics! committee.
- Voted to pull its 1970 convention out of Chicago, where it had been scheduled, and hold it in another city with "an atmosphere conducive to

of Colleges instal

Association was told last night, inintelligence and other cover The new president of the Rep. John Brademas (D-Ind.) activities."

APSA installed at this week's predicted that Federal money The decision appeared to be convention is David Easton, a predicted that Federal money The decision appeared to be convention is David Easton, a predicted that Federal money The decision appeared to be convention is David Easton, a predicted that Federal money The decision appeared to be convention is David Easton, a predicted that Federal money The decision appeared to be convention is David Easton, a predicted that Federal money The decision appeared to be convention is David Easton, a predicted that Federal money The decision appeared to be convention is David Easton, a predicted that Federal money The decision appeared to be convention in David Easton, a predicted that Federal money The decision appeared to be convention in David Easton, a predicted that Federal money The decision appeared to be convention in David Easton, a predicted that Federal money The decision appeared to be convention in David Easton, a predicted that Federal money The decision appeared to be convention in David Easton, a predicted that Federal money The decision appeared to be convention in David Easton, a predicted that Federal money The decision appeared to be convention to the predicted that ernment, was named presi-A resolution specifically ex-dent-elect and will take over

of political science and soci-Before it disappeared, how ology at the University of Chi-`\ {``

Approved For Release 2005/12/145 GERS 8-01315R000100260001-8 POLICAL SCIENTISTS To Act on Ethics

By Ward Just Washington Post Staff Writer

tists moved yesterday to adopt president of a Washington-ernment, Reischauer said, he based firm called Operations found a "law", existed that proa report that would establish a and Policy Research, Inc., restanding cimmittee on ethics, ceived CIA funds for research and set forth guidelines defin-projects. An ad hoc committee ing the proper relationship be of APSA in 1967 found that is given to it." tween government and indus- the contract "violated no con-

The American Political Sci-Kampelman's ence Association, whose 4000 patrick's) responsibilities to delegates are assembled at the APSA" but the disclosure their 64th annual convention was widely regarded as an here, last night also voted to embarrassment. adopt an amendment to the APSA constitution designed friend and adviser of Vice to involve political scientists President more directly with current nounced last year he would

Political Science.

The adopted amendment calls on the Association to "actively encourage" in its membership and its journal research in and concern for "significant contemporary political and social problems and politics."

The Caucus group, which of controversial issues.

Another demand - that a voted to discussion of the war overthrow Castro. in Vietnam-was turned down.

the Bernstein Report, a docutween the political science policy shows a "psychological' community and the govern incapability of admitting a ment, particularly the Central mistake." Intelligence Agency, in the funding of research projects.

in the report is the notation said the U.S. failures in Vietthat "officers and employes of the association have special ward planning in a U.S. govbetween their position as so huge the best advice never political scientists and their has a chance to reach the Presformal responsibilities within has a chance to reach the Prestident or the Secretary of State. ference to the activities of; Executive Director Evron Kirkpatrick and Treas-

The Nation's political scien. man, as president and vice try and the political scientist. fliot of interest with their

Kampelman, who is a close Humphrey, problems of American society. not run again for the post of called the Caucus for a New It was understood that the of the Vietnam panel. nominating committee wanted to propose him for treasurer again, but Kampelman declined reportedly citing his involvement in Humphrey's presidential campaign.

In other developments at the convention:

University of Chicago Prof. has the support of some 300 Hans J. Morgenthau told an APSA members, has been afternoon panel on Victnam waging a long fight to get the that the Johnson Administra-Association to drop its tradi-tion is as ignorant of the revotional nonpartisan, nonpoliti- lution now going on in Vietcal stance in favor of discussion nam as the Kennedy Administration was in thinking it could land 1000 Cuban refugees at the Bay of Pigs and exday of the convention be de- pect the Cubans to rise up and

"We are using South Viet-The standing committee and nam as a kind of easily manthe guidelines are proposed in aged substitute for a war ment compiled by a committee which we are unwilling to headed by Princeton Prof. fight against China, the major Marver H. Bernstein and threat to the balance of power eleven colleagues. The com- in Asia," Morgenthau de-mittee was formed after the clared. And, without naming disclosure of close ties be President Johnson, he said his

Harvard University Prof. Edwin O. Reischauer, a former. Among other proscriptions U.S. Ambassador to Japan, nam illustrate a lack of forobligations to avoid confusion ernment that now has grown

From his experience in govi vided: "The more important the decision, the less thought

A third member of the panel, Kenneth T. Young, former U.S. Ambassador to Thailand and now president of the Asia Society, attributed part of the failure of U.S. policy in Vietnam to a "Eurocentric" attitude that leaves U.S. policy makers very ignorant of conditions in Asia.

Prof. A. Doak Barnett of Co-The changes had been sug- treasurer. But he retains the lumbia University, a leading gested by an insurgent group post of legal counsel to APSA, expert on China, was chairman









Photos by Charles Del Vecchio-The Washington Post

Political Science Association panel, from left, Kenneth Young, Doak Barnett, Hans Morgenthau, Edwin Reischauer.

urer Max M. Kampelmobroved For Release 2005/12/14: CIA-RDP88-01315R000100260001-8

Inside Washington

Each year the American Political Science Association selects about 40 bright young journalists, instructors, graduate students and government workers from across the U.S. and gets them jobs as Congressional fellows on Capitol Hill. They are assigned to everything from answering mail to writing speeches and drafting legislation in the hope that they will return to their old jobs with a better understanding of how Washington really works. In this hectic-and violent-election year a few fellows have landed squarely into history.

Hugh McDonald, a former reporter

for Long Island's Newsday, was assigned

The APSA started the fellowships in 1953. About 150 candidates apply for the jobs-they must survive regional and national screenings by former fellows, journalists and political scientists. There is no formal recruiting process: typically applicants learn of the program from APSA bulletins posted in a professor's office or from former fellows. Most of those selected are between 27 and 33 years old. The fellows, says Earl Baker, assistant director of the program, have been out of undergraduate school long enough "to digest their education." The program starts each November with a six-week orientation, a series of 50 seminars with congressmen, senators and Washington observers ranging from David S. Broder, political reporter for The Washington





Antevil and HHH, McDonald with RFK: You can't go home again

as a press aide in Robert Kennedy's office. Last year, he says, "I was covering town meetings in Smithtown, Long Island. This year, the experts were calling me to ask what I thought the senator's next move would be." McDonald, 30, campaigned with Kennedy from the day he helped set up the news conference in which RFK announced he would run for President to the night when McDonald tore off his coat and folded it as a pillow for the dying senator's head.

Idealists: Jeff Antevil, 27, a former reporter for The Miami Herald, is now handling press relations for Vice President Humphrey. Benjamin Shore Jr., 30, a reporter from The Riverside (Calif.) Press-Enterprise, helped prepare a fact sheet for Idaho Sen. Frank Church to use in his re-election campaign against Rep. George Hansen. Most fellows usually work on the Hill, where they learn the give and take of the legislative process. "Many of us came to Washington as idealists," says Shore, who also works for the House Subcommittee on Foreign Operations and Freedom of Information.
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difficult to get good legislation passed.

Post, to Andrew Biemiller, lobbyist for the AFL-CIO.

The fellows finish in August but by then they may have Potomac fever: once they've been at the center of power, they don't want to go home. About 25 per cent stay on. In 1960, for example, John Stewart came as a Ph.D. candidate from the University of Chicago. He is now preparing position papers for Humphrey in such fields as employment and anti-poverty. Richard Moose came. to the program two years ago. He was a Foreign Service officer in Cameroon; now he is a White House aide assigned to the National Security Council. Hugh McDonald may get involved in a book about Kennedy's campaign. "I couldn't go back now," he says.

3

31 Jan 1968

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

SUBJECT: Projected Rampart's issue "CIA and the Universities".

SOURCE: "New Left" oriented Faculty members at University of

Southern California.

- 1. The recent visit (late December 1967) to the USC campus by San Francisco State free-lance writer Rick Riemer, is part of a series of assignments by Ramparts magazine for a forthcoming issue on "CIA and the Universities". Several staff and free-lance writers were reportedly dispatched during the Christmas holidays to prepare material for the issue.
- 2. Younger political science faculty members in the Los Angeles area remain angry over the "whitewash" of the charges of conspiring with CIA made against American Political Science Association Executive Director Evron Kirkpatrick and Treasurer Max Kampelman at the APSA Convention in Chicago in September. Christian Bay's letter of protest in the December 1967 issue of the APSA Review has found a ready audience in this group, and there is much talk of another more determined assault against the "establishment".

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made for the EOB, and though the panel emphasized that Approvined Fior Release 2005 bt 2/14: CIA-RDP88-01315 R000100260001-8 plan as a supplement, rather than replacement for, the many existing arrangements for financing higher education, it is not at all improbable that a vigorously promoted EOB might rapidly become a financial mainstay of college finance.

Since the Zacharias plan emanated from the White House science advisory apparatus, it might have been expected to benefit from the tradition that the advisory core does its hassling in private and unites in public to amplify its impact. (Formally, the Zacharias group was constituted as the Panel on Educational Innovation of the President's Science Advisory Committee, and its report was addressed to the U.S. Commissioner of Education, the Director of the National Science Foundation. and the Special Assistant to the President for Science and Technology.*) But, from the moment it was formally unveiled by Donald F. Hornig, the special assistant, at a press conference beginning at 2:30 p.m. 7 September, it was obvious that EOB would have to fend for itself in the jungles of education politics and the Johnson administration's currently deep preference for dampening domestic spending.

Standing before some 40 reporters,

Hornig said the EO viously interesting:

however, that "we posing establishment Opportunity Bank. that it has interesti is worthy of considera......

Hornig then introduced Zacharias, who briefly outlined the EOB. Hornig observed the proceedings for a few minutes and then left the room, shortly after which Zacharias stated, "It is not enough to say here's an interesting thing. . . . It should be pushed through."

Question: Would he describe the status of the report in the administrative hierarchy?

Replied Zacharias: "I feel we ought. to establish an EOB of some size. . . . But this is not a report out of the President's office. It's just a report of a panel. Hornig felt it would be a good thing to get a first-class public debate of this [proposal]."

If a howl of opposition can be classified as debate, the goal was swiftly achieved, for at 4 p.m., in a hotel a few blocks from the Executive Office building, two groups, representing more than 300 publicly supported educational institutions with over half the nation's higher-education enrollment, somewhat emotionally set forth their objections. These groups were the National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges and the Association of

_nel should seriously take the position that our society cannot afford to continue to finance the education of its young people, and must therefore ask the less affluent to sign a life-indenture in return for the privilege of educational opS

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portunity."

The underlying principle of the plan, it said, is that "this generation of our society should largely abandon responsibility for the higher education of its young people and shift the cost to the students." And, in comments afterward by representatives of the associations, it was suggested that the EOB was simply a scheme cooked up by representatives of private institutions to get to the public treasury. Motives aside, it turns out that the Zacharias panel did not include any representatives from tax-supported institutions. The members were Frederick Burkhardt, chairman of the American Council of Learned Societies; Andrew Gleason, Harvard; Jacqueline Grennan, Webster College; John Hawkes, Brown; and George G. Stern, Syracuse.

Thus, in something less than a blaze of glory, EOB has been launched for public consideration.—D. S. GREENBERG

Political Science: CIA, Ethics Stir Otherwise Placid Convention

Chicago. The American Political Science Association (APSA) held its annual meeting here from 5 to 9 September, and most of the program followed a well-established, accepted pattern. There were panel meetings in the morning and afternoon for presentation of papers; cocktail parties in the early evening for renewing old friendships; and plenary sessions at night for the presidential address, a discussion of politics in developing nations, and the announcement of awards. The gathering of more than 2500 political scientists

also had its commercial attractions, and dozens of publishers spread displays across most of the second floor of the Pick-Congress Hotel, where the APSA

But for a brief fragment of the convention, there was a bitter reminder of last winter's disclosures that the CIA was covertly financing educational and cultural organizations. The uneasy moment came at the usually routine business session, when a motion was offered to prohibit the APSA's executive director and treasurer from also · holding office in another organization, Operations and Policy Research, Inc. (OPR), which was identified last winter as a recipient of funds from CIA-supported foundations. The fact that Evron M. Kirkpatrick, the APSA's executive director, and Max M. Kampelman, the treasurer, were then, and still are, president and vice-president of OPR caused concern among some political scientists, and prompted APSA president Robert Dahl of Yale to appoint a special committee to determine whether APSA's independence and integrity had been compromised. In April the committee reported that none of OPR's research was classified, that Kirkpatrick and Kampelman were not involved in a conflict of interest, and that they should, in fact, be commended for their long service to the association.

Not everyone was satisfied with this outcome. The challenging motion, sub-

SCIENCE, VOL. 157

[·] Copies of the report, Educational Opportunity Bank (21 pages), are available for 15 cents from the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

At a meeting on April 7, 1967, the Executive Committee of the American Political Science Association considered questions that had been raised as a result of information in the press on February 19, 1967, and later, that Operations and Policy Research, Inc. (OPR) had received some funds from foundations said to have received funds from Central Intelligence Agency sources. Evron M. Kirkpatrick, Executive Director of APSA, and Max M. Kampelman, Treasurer and Counsel of APSA, are President and Vice-President respectively of Operations and Policy Research, Inc. In the discussion that follows it should be kept in mind that the two officers of the Association do not hold parallel positions. As you doubtless know, the post of Executive Director of APSA is a fulltime, appointive office. The Treasurer is nominated and elected annually, receives no pay, and must therefore be someone who donates his time to the Association.

On February 22, 1967, the President of APSA invited four past Presidents of APSA to serve as an ad hoc committee to inquire into (1) questions arising from the fact that Kirkpatrick and Kampelman hold office both in APSA and OPR, and (2) the broader and extremely complex problem of standards of behavior for all political scientists in their relationships with government agencies. This ad

hoc committee consisted of:

Gabriel Almond, Chairman, Department of Political Science, Stanford University

R. Taylor Cole, Provost, Duke University David B. Truman, Dean, Columbia College, Columbia University

C. Herman Pritchett, Department of Political Science, University of California at Santa Barbara (committee chairman)

The ad hoc committee reported to the President of APSA on March 30. At our meeting on April 7, we had that report before us, as well as letters and other communications from APSA members to various members of the Executive Committee.

We are announcing the results of our deliberations in this report, which, in letter form, is also being sent to every member of the Association.

As to the first problem, the members of the ed hoc committee found that:

1. The American Political Science Association has received no funds directly from any

intelligence agency of the government it carried on any activities for any intelligence

agency of government.

2. The Association has received no funds indirectly from any intelligence agency of government, with one possible exception. The Asia Foundation stated on March 21, 1967, that it had been the recipient of money from foundations named as conduits for CIA funds. The APSA has received grants from the Asia Foundation to finance memberships in the Association for a small number of Asian political scientists, subscriptions to the AMERICAN Political Science Review for a few Asian libraries, and travel grants to the APSA Annual Meetings for a few Asian political scientists studying in this country. Most other social science associations received comparable grants from the Asia Foundation. In addition, a small number of fellowships have been financed for Asians to participate in the Congressional Fellowship program. All of these programs were approved by the governing bodies of the Association, completely under Association control, reported and advertised in the RE-VIEW, and widely known by our members.

3. All grants, gifts, donations, and other income of the APSA have been reported in full detail annually in the Treasurer's Report, which is made available to all members of the Association at the annual business meeting. An independent audit of the financial affairs of the Association has been made every year by an established auditing firm of high reputation and the audit report has been made available

to all officers and Council members.

4. Operations and Policy Research, Inc. is a small non-profit research organization created in 1955 by a group of social scientists, lawyers, and businessmen. It is completely separate from the American Political Science Association both organizationally and in physical location. OPR is governed by a Board of Trustees and has always had a full-time Executive Director as its principal administrative officer. Since its creation, Evron M. Kirkpatrick has been President and Max M. Kampelman has been Vice-President of OPR. OPR has done work on grants from government, business, and foundations. As stated in press reports, OPR's foundation grants included, among others, grants from foundations reported to have received money from CIA. These grants supported unclassified research completely under OPR control and a large part of the research under these grants has been completed and

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By William Chapman

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Coundations used by the CIA. Kirkpatricks with all the limit for, and Kirkpatrick are close by Research for a flow \$23,000. The four scholars were appeared by this week but said he had blend and one-time advisors state Department comment to pointed to a special panel as become convinced that it has it lies a resident Rubert Friedrand the experience of pointed to a special panel as become convinced that it has it lies are resident Rubert Friedrand the experience of the become convinced that it has the resident Rubert Friedrand the experience of the beautiful the beautiful the experience of the beautiful the beautiful the experience of the beautiful the beautiful the beautiful the experience of the beautiful the beauti once teachers as the University on its finding to the U.S. sity of Minnesota.

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Approved For Release 2005/12/14: CIA-RDP88-01315R000100260001-8

Group Probing

Washington Post-Los Angeles Times

WASHINGTON - R. Taylor Cole, provost of Duke University, was one of four leading political scientists picked Wednesday to investigate the Central Intelligence Agency's penetration of the academic community.

The four scholars were appointed to a special panel established by Robert A. Dahl, president of the American Political Science Association, who said he is "sickened and alarmed" by news accounts of CIA activities.

Cole Wednesday night declined to comment on the CIA-student situation, organizations noted that he had accepted the invitation to serve on the panel.

The panel will investigate the CIA's contribution of funds to several student organizations and will also look into the affairs of a Washington-based research firm that received funds from foundations used by the CIA.

Named to Dahl's panel, in addition to Cole, were Gabriel Almond, professor at Stanford. University; C. Herman Pritchett, professor at the University of California in Santa Barbara; and David B. Truman, dean of Columbia College, Columbia University, in New York.

The Washington firm is Opcrations and Policy Research, Inc., officers of which are both officials of the American Political Science Association.

They are Evron M. Kirk-patrick and Max M. Kampelman, president and vice president respectively of the research firm, and executive director and treasurer respectively of the political science asso-

Operations and Policy Re-

from the Sidney and Esther, ing the possibility of an ex-Rabb Charitable Foundation tremist coup against the gov-and the Pappas Charitable criment.

Trust, both of Boston.

Dahl also warned that the

nelled funds to the National . Students Association from CIA cover foundations. The Pappas trust has given funds to other organizations which received funds from CIA conduits. Kirkpatrick has acknowledged

receiving funds from the two foundations but said he knew of no programs carried out at of our scholarly affairs from the behest of CIA.

Dahl, in his letter to the four investigating political scientists, did not mention Kirkpatrick, Kampelman or their private, tax-exempt research foundation. but it was understood that the political scientists would look înto its affairs.

Dahl, in Palo Alto, Calif., said he had never heard of Kirkpatrick's firm but said he has become convinced it has no with the direct connection American Political Science Association.

Dahl told the panel members he was alarmed by stories saying "that the CIA has penctrated academic and cultural circles through foundations and pseudo-foundations to which they channelled funds. There are bound to be evil effects from such practices."

Even if no improper CIA influence is proved, he said, the standing of U.S. scholars, their relations with foreign leagues, and their chances for research "will suffer grievously as they did after the sorry business of 'Camelot,' " he said.

He was referring to "Project

search, which receives substantial grants from the United Department program of collect-States Information Agency, re-portedly has received funds call and social situation, includ-

Trust, both of Boston.

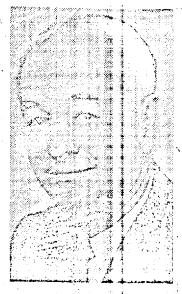
The Rabb Foundation was addended a "McCarthyism-in-renelled funds to the National verse" situation which might arise if the public views as "equally quality of deceit" those who were willing accomplices of the CIA and those who were impocent recipients of funds from foundations they trusted.

He said scholars must find ways to "protect the integrity over zealous governmental agencies, particularly the CIA, whenever they seek to inspire conduct markedly different from and sometimes flatly at odds with our own codes of profes-_sional_behavist."

The Washington - based firm headed by Kirkpatrick and Kampelman has engaged in wide-ranging activities varying from the mere packaging of books sent abroad for foreign Fulbright scholars to the re-viewing of books destined for United States Information Service libraries overseas.

Both Kampelman, now a prominent Washington lawyer, and Kirkpairick are close riends and one-time advisers of Vice' President Hubert H. lumphrey, whom they first raliled around as political science leachers at the University of Minnesota.

Kirkpatrick issued a statenent which said in part, "Professor Robert Dahl and I are equally concerned about the integrity and welfare of our association in its relationship to our government.



COLE

"I believe the committee of former presidents of the American Political Science Association . . . will perform a useful! and valuable service

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INTERNATIONAL

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(RESEARCH)

WASHINGTON-THE PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSO-CIATION TODAY ACCUSED THE CIA OF DAMAGING THE FOREIGN REPUTATION OF U.S. SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCHERS.

GABRIEL ALMOND, ASSTANFORD UNIVERSITY POLITICAL SCIENTIST ALSO ZEROED IN ON THE STATE AND DEFENSE DEPARTMENTS DURING TESTIMONY BEFORE THE SENATE GOVERNMENT SUBCOMMITTEE.

MEADED BY SEN. FRED R. HARRIS, D-OKLA., THE PANEL WAS LOOKING INTO CONNECTIONS BETWEEN THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND ITS FINANCING OF SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH ABROAD.

ALMOND EMPHASIZED THAT HE WAS NOT SPEAKING FOR THE 15,000 MEMBERS OF POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION. BUT HE SAID MANY AGREED THAT THE PENTAGON AND INTELLIGENCE AGENCIES WERE INJURING FOREIGN RESEARCH BY

HE CITED THE CONTROVERSY SURROUNDING "PROJECT CAMELOT," AS A RESULT OF FEDERAL MISHANDLING. THE STUDY, CONDUCTED IN CHILE BY AMERICAN UNIVERSITY, WAS HALTED WHEN CHILEAN OFFICIALS LEARNED IT WAS FINANCED BY THE PENTAGON.

THE TROUBLE, SAID ALMOND, WAS HEAVY-HANDED USE OF LARGE SUMS OF FEDERAL MONEY. BY DANGLING BIG MONEY, INDIVIDUAL RESEARCHERS, "SOME OF THEM SCRAPED FROM THE BOTTOM OF THE BARREL," JUMPED TO GET IN ON THE

ONE SOLUTION WOULD BE TO INSURE THAT FEDERAL PROGRAMS FOR RESEARCH ABROAD WERE CHANNELED THROUGH INSTITUTIONS INSTEAD OF TO INDIVIDUAL

WITH PENTAGON CONTRACTS MASKING CIA ACTIVITIES, ALMOND SAID THERE HAD BEEN "TOO MUCH CLUMSY AND SHORT-SIGHTED USE OF SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH ABROAD."

THE STATE DEPARTMENT HAS BEEN BACKWARD IN FAILING TO USE SCIENTIFIC STUDIES OF POLITICS AND MOTIVATION ABROAD, ALMOND SAID. HE SAID IT WAS STILL MAKING FOREIGN POLICY WITH A SORT OF VAGUE INTUITION BASED ON INTERNATIONAL LAW AND WORLD HISTORY.

"IT HAS BEEN UNDULY SLOW, CONSERVATIVE AND SKEPTICAL IN USING SCIENCE AS A TOOL IN MAKING FOREIGN POLICY," HE SAID.

PROFESSOR CHARGES

APSA Officers Tied To CIA

An attempt to impeach two top officials of the American Political Science Association was dismissed last night as "premature" by Yale's Robert Dahl, political scientist and president of the APSA.

Dr. Frederick J. Fleron, a political science specialist at the University of Kentucky, instigated the ouster attempt because the APSA's director, Evron Kilpatrick, and its treasurer, Max Kempelman, are also serving as officers for Operations and Policy Research, Inc.

According to the Kentucky Kernel, "government sources" say that this group has been receiving funds from the CIA.

Fleron claimed, "At least eight of my colleagues share my opinion that to have Kilpatrick and Kempelman continue in their APSA positions would be intolerable."

HE ADDED, "There is enough trouble already in doing research in foreign countries. This act raises the integrity question to everybody in the ASPA."

Fleron suggested a nationally circulated petition might be the best method for impeachment, because it would give Kilpatrick and Kempelman a chance to resign their ASPA positions.

His announcement came two weeks after Yale's Dahl, currently on sabbatical leave in California, revealed he had appointed a panel of political scientists to investigate the extent of CIA involvement in the academic community. Dahl had said, "The CIA has penetrated a cademic circles through foundations and pseudo-foundations to which they channeled funds."

BUT, CONTACTED in Palo Alto last night by phone, Dahl warned against 'rushing to conclusions with undue haste."

ing to conclusions with undue haste."

'I doubt," Dahl told the NEWS, "if
the panel will investigate Operations and
Policy Research, Inc. They may examine
to see whether Kilpatrick's and Kempelman's positions are consistent with their
duties in the APSA."

Dahk added his panel would investigate the APSA. "only if it found the need to do so."

Kilpatrick has served as executive director of the APSA since 1954. Kempelman has been treasurer and general counsel to the organization since 1956.

Yale Daily News 7 March 67 E. 124,301

FEB 23 1987.

Political Science Team Assigned To Investigate C. I. A. Donations

Acceptation of the academic community, including the affairs witios of a Washington-based research firm that received funds from foundations used by the C. I. A.

(By The Record Wire Bervices). The four scholars were application of Sieles, County, and said, and their worst foreure he

They are Evron M. Kirkpatrick and Max M. Kampelman, president and vice-president respectively of the research company, and executive director and treasurer respectively of the Political Science Association.

Operations and Policy Research, which receives substantial grants from the United States Information Agency, is reported to have received funds from the Sidney and Esther Rabb Charitable Foundation and the Pappas Charitable Trust, both of Boston.

C. I. A. FUNNELS

The Rabb Foundation was dentified as one which funnelled funds to the National Students Association from C. I. A. cover foundations. The Pappas Trust has given funds to other organirations which received funds from C. I. A. conduits.

Meanwhile Arnold Zander, former president of the American can, the Wisconsin Democrat

Washington - A team of lead- pointed to a special panel estab- Municipal Employees, revealed says, is "The victims are our political scientists was dent of the American Political yesterday that for 6 years the

vities.

The Washington concern is Operations and Policy Research, ists, said the C. I. A. subsidy Inc., whose officers are both began in 1958 at the rate of officials of the American Politi- about \$7,500 a year. By 1964, cal Science Association. said Zander, the agency was putting \$60,000 a year into the operation through one of its dummy conduits, the Gotham Foundation in New York.

NELSON BLAST

Zander said he was unaware at the time that the money came from the C. I. A., that he had never inquired about the source of the funds, and that he still sees nothing improper in the arrangement. He said he learned that Gotham was a C. I. A. front only in the last few days as a result of newspaper stories.

On the subject of C. I. A. subsidies, Senator Gaylord Nelson (D., Wis.) charged today that they show a drift toward policestate tactics in America's free society.

Nelson also condemned Government wiretapping and widespread use of detective agencies, in a similar vein.

Such practices are un-Ameri-

own citizens and in many cases they are completely innocent of any wrongdoing."

He called for a full congressional investigation of what he labeled this whole sordid business.

In his prepared Senate speech, Nelson called attention to these practices: The Central Intelligence Agency's financing of the National Student Association and other private groups; Government wiretapping and cavesdropping; the United States Information Agency's subsidizing book publishing and writing, and the use of private detective agencies by corporations and some Government units.

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M - 475,000 FEB 2 3 1967

A Probe of CIA And Academicians

Washington

A team of leading political scientists was picked yesterday to investigate the Central Intelligence Agency's penetration of the academic community, including the affairs of a Washington - based research firm that received funds from foundations used by the CIA.

The four scholars were appointed to a special panel established by Robert A. Dahl, president of the American Political Science Association. The Washington firm is Operations and Policy Research, Inc., whose officers are both officials of the American Political Science Association (APSA).

They are Evro nM. Kirkpatirick and Max M. Kampelman, president and vice president respectively of the research form, and executive director and treasurer respectively of the APSA.

Operations and Policy Research, which receives substantial grants from the United States Information Agency, reportedly has received funds from the Sidney and Esther Rabb Foundation and the Pappas Charitable Trust, both of Boston.

The Rabb Foundation was identified as one which funnelled funds to the national Student Association from CIA cover foundations. The Pappas Trust has give funds to other organizations which received funds from CIA conduits.

Kirkpatrick has acknowledged receiving funds from the two foundations but said knew of no programs car-

ried out at the behest of CIA.

Dahl, in a telephone interview from Palo Alto, said he had never heard of Kirkpatrick's firm but said he has become convinced that it has no direct connection with the American Political Science Association.

Named to Dahl's panel are r. taylor Cole, provost of Duke University; Babriel Almond, professor at Stanford University; C. Herman Prtchett, professor at the University of California in Santa Barbara, and David B. Truman, dean of Columbia College, Columbia University, in New York City.

Dahl told them he was alarmed by stories saying "that the CIA has penetrated academic and cultural circles through foundations and pseudo-foundations to which they channelled funds. There are bound to be evil effects from such practices."

Times-Post Service

M - 225,742S - 333,011 FEB 2 8 1967

Frank

Impeachment

Effort Planned

By UK Group

Special to The Courier-Journal

LEXINGTON, Ky. - An attempt to impeach the two highest ranking officials of the American Political Science Association will be started in the near future by a group of University of Kentucky political science professors, the Kentucky Kernel said yesterday in a copyrighted sterve. righted story.

The action stems from the recent con-

troversy over the channeling of government funds to private organizations by the Central Intelligence Agency.

The two officials involved, Dr. Evron M. Kirkpatrick and Max M. Kampelman, are also the highest ranking officers of Operation and Policy Research Inc., an organizaton which government sources say has been receiving CIA funds

for some time, the Kernel reported.

Dr. Kirkpatrick is executive director of APSA and Kampelman is treasurer of the organization.

The UK professors charged that the involvement of the two men with the CIA reflects on the integrity of all APSA members, the Kernel reported.

Dr. Kirkpatrick is scheduled to speak to the Kentucky Political Science Associ-ation Saturday in Danville. Kampelman is a former aide and personal friend of Vice President Hubert Humphrey, the Kernel said.