

"wrongfully" appropriated at least \$46,226. It also suggested that his salary be docked \$1,000 a month (out of \$2,500), so that the easy-payment restitution would run into the next Congress.

Actually, the committee, chaired by Brooklyn Democrat Emanuel Celler, 78, "dean" of the House, settled for a compromise. All nine members signed it, but Florida Democrat Claude Pepper went on record in favor of excluding Powell, while Michigan Democrat John Conyers, a Negro, maintained that severe censure would be sufficient penalty. What Powell will do remains uncertain. At week's end he was at his Bimini hideaway, unwontedly subdued.

## THE ADMINISTRATION

### Pandora's Cashbox

With the disclosure that the U.S. National Student Association had been secretly financed by the Central Intelligence Agency for 15 years (TIME, Feb. 24), a Pandora's cashbox of CIA philanthropy sprang open to public view last week.

The convoluted pipelines of foundations used to distribute CIA dollars seemed to be almost as limitless as the curiosity of the newsmen willing to plow through public-record tax files. Recipients of CIA-suspect largesse made an encyclopedic grab bag of organizations ranging from the now defunct Institute of International Labor Research Inc. (headed by Old Socialist Norman Thomas) to the Billy Graham Spanish-American crusade, from the North American Secretariat of Pax Romana and the John Hay Whitney Trust for Charitable Purposes to the International Food and Drink Workers Federation and the Friends of India Committee.

And, despite the academic community's outcry over CIA "subversion" of students, among the organizations receiving money from apparent CIA conduits were several trusted by distinguished educators and scholars—including the Harvard Law School Fund. Even the National Council of Churches gathered a few dollars. More than a score of dummy fronts, such as the Gotham Foundation, the Beacon Fund, the Borden Trust, the Michigan Fund, the Edsel Fund, the Andrew Hamilton Fund, fed money from CIA into legitimate foundations such as the J. M. Kaplan Fund, the M. D. Anderson Foundation, the Hoblitzelle Foundation and the David, Josephine, and Winfield Baird Foundation, which, in turn, completed a supposedly secret "triple pass" by dispensing money to various organizations deemed needy—and worthy—by CIA.

"Evil Effects." Criticism of CIA's financial involvement—however innocuous it may have been—came from every corner of the world. Dan McIntosh, president of the Berkeley student body, cried that as a result of the N.S.A. affair, "the credibility of U.S. students abroad is greatly damaged." Robert A. Dahl, president of the American Political Sci-

ence Association, said "there are bound to be evil effects" from CIA's money funnel. Even George Meany, whose A.F.L.-C.I.O. international affiliates had long been richly endowed by the espionage agency's foundations, self-righteously proclaimed his "natural ingrained opposition to spy activities."

Talk was strong on Capitol Hill, too. Wisconsin's Democratic Senator Gaylord Nelson deplored "an alarming trend in this country toward the use of police-state tactics." Minnesota's Democratic Senator Eugene McCarthy introduced a resolution asking for a "select committee" to probe CIA. McCarthy's pro-

exempt U.S. foundations (upwards of 50,000), had come across a suspicious shortage of tax information on the Kaplan Fund. A committee investigation, he reported then, had shown that the Kaplan Fund had been "channeling CIA funds" and that this was the reason for its apparently cozy relationship with the Internal Revenue Service. That revelation made a small flurry of headlines, then died unnoticed until the N.S.A. furor put the agency back on Page One.

"Shame! Shame!" Last week's fulminations were by no means limited to academe or to liberal Congressmen. Vice President Hubert Humphrey cast as-



HELMs & RUSSELL CHAT BEFORE SENATE HEARING  
A convolution of turned-off pipelines.

posal drew support from Nelson and William Fulbright, but at week's end congressional leaders turned thumbs down on a probe, arguing that there was enough surveillance of CIA by Administration watchdogs and oversight committees in both houses.

"Hogwash!" The special Senate committee overseeing the agency heard testimony from CIA Director Richard Helms and learned that much of its funding to private organizations, particularly those involved in educational pursuits, would be canceled. The reason, as Committee Chairman Richard Russell of Georgia later told reporters, is that disclosures in the past week had made further aid so suspect that it was all but worthless. Snapped Russell: "All this clamor about impairing academic freedom or subverting youth is a lot of hogwash!"

Indeed, clamor on Capitol Hill seemed curiously belated as well as overheated, since CIA's *modus operandi* had been aired in Congress 2½ years ago. In August 1964, Texas Congressman Wright Patman, chairman of a House subcommittee investigating the maze of tax-

pensions on CIA's methods. Appearing at Stanford University, he said that he was "not at all happy about what CIA has been doing," and that the current situation amounted to "one of the saddest times in reference to public policies our Government has had. Out of this, I hope will come an agreement to keep CIA out of student affairs." Though that view reflects student-liberal opinion, Humphrey was rewarded by a post-speech protest in which angry antiwar demonstrators crowded around and all but knocked him down as they shouted, "Shame! Shame!" Other high Administration officials, notably Acting Attorney General Ramsey Clark and Health, Education and Welfare Secretary John Gardner, also expressed their doubts about the CIA-student arrangement.

It was as ironic as it was unfair for Administration men to be sounding off against the agency. As New York's Senator Robert Kennedy declared early in the controversy, CIA should not be made to take "the rap" alone, since the funding policy was a product of "all relevant Government agencies—and that includes the White House. If the policy

was wrong, it was not the product of CIA but of each Administration."

The President tried at first to duck the controversy by naming an investigative committee consisting of Helms, Gardner and Under Secretary of State Nicholas Katzenbach. Last week the Johnson Administration finally placed CIA in perspective. In a letter to Johnson, Katzenbach said: "When the Central Intelligence Agency lent financial support to the work of certain American private organizations, it did not act on its own initiative but in accordance with national policies established by the National Security Council in 1952 through 1954." Thus, said Katzenbach, CIA acted only after it had the approval of the Secretaries of State and Defense, as well as Presidents Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy and Johnson himself.



REUTHER

ers Union, but another place might be vacated if Reuther wanted it. Meany remarked dispassionately that the U.A.W. chief should register his complaints through "appropriate channels" within the A.F.L.-C.I.O., where they would get a fair hearing. Asked if that constituted leaving the door ajar for Reuther's return to the fold, George said: "I would accept it as that."

## POLITICAL NOTES

### Together Again

Just a year ago, George Meany sputtered a pledge of non-allegiance to the Democratic Party, "because they can't deliver." The delivery rate has changed very little, but the A.F.L.-C.I.O. and the Democrats seem to have become publicly re-encharmed. At the federation's ex-



MEANY

*Cooler heads and warmer hearts.*

## LABOR

### Open Door

One of the big sticking points in the 1955 merger of the A.F.L. and C.I.O. was building-trade union discrimination against Negroes. Last week the civil rights question still divided labor's leadership. Walter Reuther, who had quit the A.F.L.-C.I.O. executive council over this and other issues and may ultimately lead his 1.5 million-member United Auto Workers out of the federation, told the Congressional Joint Economic Committee that craft union leaders were "hiding behind pious declarations on paper." His "greatest disappointment since the merger," said Reuther, "has been the failure of the labor movement to solve the problem of minority groups in the craft union setup."

As a onetime Bronx plumber who became president of the A.F.L.-C.I.O., George Meany, 72, is the biggest craft union boss of them all. Yet, at a meeting of the executive council in Florida, Meany said: "We make no claim to perfection. I have always said there is discrimination in the labor movement. But we have made tremendous progress."

Reuther's seat on the council went to William Pollock of the Textile Work-

executive-council meeting in Bal Harbour, Fla., last week, a majestic array of high officials—six in all—accepted invitations to demonstrate the President's affection for Big Labor. In return, Meany pronounced: "We have made greater progress with this Administration than with any other in my experience—including Franklin Roosevelt's." It was almost indecently early to be endorsing Lyndon Johnson's 1968 candidacy, but then Meany is anything but coy. "I endorse him right now," he said. The explanation was not hard to find. Last year's argy-bargy was a permissible luxury only as long as the Democrats had massive majorities in Congress. The prospect of hard fighting in 1968 has cooled heads and warmed hearts with wondrous effects.

## REPUBLICANS

### The Two Romneys

For Michigan's Governor George Wilcken Romney, the six-state 8,270-mile western tour he concluded last week should have been a breeze. The territory was generally friendly, the audiences for the most part restricted to fellow Republicans and brother Mormons. No rivals have yet ventured out

on delegate-hunting safaris. At this stage, the not-yet-announced candidate for his party's 1968 presidential nomination needed only to make friends and influence local politicians—which Romney did with his usual energy and skill. But there was another chap along, with the same iron grey hair, rugged profile and strong delivery. This other Romney, petulant, portentous and contradictory, too often chilled the breeze.

The test, as for so many public officials these days, was Viet Nam. For months Romney had declined to take a definite stance, asking time for deep study of the problem that will include an Asian tour later this year (he first visited Viet Nam in 1965). Fair enough. But last week, with the conclusion of his ruminations still far off, Romney began to claw at Lyndon Johnson's Viet Nam policy without offering a hint of possible alternatives.

**No Pushing.** In Utah he declared grandiloquently that Johnson is being "ambivalent in a completely flexible situation." In Alaska and Idaho, on the other hand, Romney found Johnson "locked into his own mistakes and a rigid defense of his position." He also denounced the Administration's approach as "clumsy, ill-timed and poorly coordinated." In stop after stop, Romney called Johnson "sincere in his search for peace. I do not wish to be one of those who undermine his efforts." But at midweek in Pocatello, he pronounced Johnson guilty of "political expedience" concerning Viet Nam.

Reporters already sated with generalities asked him to cite examples of political expedience. "No," shot back Romney, "I will not." Why not? "Because I choose not to." Thoroughly angry now, Romney admonished the newsmen: "You are not going to push me into a decision."

The bombing of North Viet Nam, he said, had failed to accomplish its objectives. Does he want to stop the bombing? "No comment." As a general proposition, he argued that the U.S. should never have got into an Asian land war. "But now we must see it through honorably" by attempting to "establish a South Vietnamese government that would not be supported by forces outside South Viet Nam."

**Nose Rub.** Luckily for Romney, his resident hosts were far more enthusiastic about him than the itinerant press. Republicans crammed dining rooms and meeting halls to see him, and most of them paid. By Romney's count, 18,500 had turned out contributing a total of \$200,000 for state Republican organizations. Whether rubbing noses with Eskimo babies in Alaska or eating barbecue with elderly residents of an Arizona development called Dreamland Villa, Romney proved to be an attractive, energetic campaigner.

He delighted partisan audiences with his swinging attacks on Johnson. The Administration's domestic programs, he said, resembled a "20-mule team harnessed at night by a blind, one-armed