



Yarmolinsky

A British View:

Harvard Enclave

Henry Fairlie, a British journalist now residing in Washington, wrote this article for today's issue of the Sunday Telegraph in London.

By Henry Fairlie

Money moves in these times in mysterious ways its wonders to perform. There is no longer any reason for it to be openly corrupt or for those who accept it to be openly venal. It operates through bodies, whether foundations or trusts, whether endow-

ments or grants, which are not only legal but respectable.

When it is Kennedy money, or Kennedy-controlled money, which is involved, one would expect to find this new system of wealth working with both exceptional directness and exceptional subtlety. When one gets to Harvard University, at Cambridge, Mass., this is exactly what one finds.

What follows is not the exposure of a scandal or a racket. It is the ex-

Post 1/15/67

Turns Into Kennedy Power Center

posure of the way in which, under the most discreet and respectable and legal arrangements, money today wields power and wields it expertly and deliberately.

The story needs to be told carefully, for it is a story in which the small qualifications, the small arrangements, matter. Big wealth operates today in the pages which are printed in small type. It is with the small type that we must be concerned.

In its issue of Oct. 29, 1966, the Harvard Alumni Bulletin ran a story with this lead paragraph:

"A glittering company foregathered on the top floor of Holyoke Center the evening of Oct. 17 to celebrate the creation of the Institute of Politics. Among 80 guests of the president and fellows of Harvard were eight members of the Kennedy family, four Senators (two of them Kennedys),

more than a dozen former officials of the Kennedy Administration."

Before this glittering company foregathered, there had been at Harvard a perfectly chaste Graduate School of Administration, which could boast the kind of scholars one expects a university like Harvard to attract and encourage.

Suddenly, as a result of an assassi-
See KENNEDY, A22, Col. 1

P. 1



Neustadt

nation, there appeared in Harvard an organization which carries the title, The Kennedy Library Corporation. This is the governing body of the fund which has been collected, and is still being collected, to establish a memorial in Cambridge to John F. Kennedy.

The short description of its composition is one which was given to me in Cambridge by someone who has had dealings with it: "It's chairman is Eugene Black, of the Chase Manhattan Bank; it includes men like George Meany, of the AFL-CIO, and for the rest, it is really Arthur Schlesinger Jr. and the family." The family, of course, is the Kennedys themselves.

This body then decided to move in—there is no other phrase—on Harvard. It decided to rename the Graduate School of Administration, and attach to it a quite new body, the Institute of Politics. It is here that the plot thickens. I am probably the only member of the general public who has seen the letter in which the Kennedy Library Corporation laid down its terms to the Harvard Corporation, which is the governing body of Harvard University.

It is worth noticing that the letter from the Kennedy Library Corporation to Harvard Corporation was, in fact, a letter from one partner of an established Boston law firm to another partner. "In these matters," said someone who should know, "New England is really much worse than old Enkland."

Items of Agreement

Three items of the agreement should be noticed. First, there was the insistence that the Graduate School of Administration should be renamed the John F. Kennedy School of Government. Harvard has never before named any department or school after any donor. Indeed, it had to go to court in order to get permission to make the change which the Kennedy family demanded, but there, in the final letter of agreement, are the strict words: "Harvard Corporation shall go to court . . ."

It is worth reporting the comment of one of the best scholars within the School of Government. "If we accept this as a precedent we will become like Brandeis College, where even the lavatory seats have inscription which say, 'In memory of * * * * *'" Harvard, in fact, degraded itself by accepting this condition.

Secondly, in the agreement, there was the firm condition that the newly established Institute of Politics should have its own "advisory committee." Again, in black and white, there was the strict statement that a member of the Kennedy family should be a member of this advisory committee and that while they live it should be either the widow of the President or one of his brothers. The present representative on the committee is Jacqueline Kennedy.

\$10-Million Endowment

Thirdly, the agreement stated the amount and the form of the endowment. To put it briefly, the total endowment of the Institute of Politics will be \$10 Million. The total endowment of the John F. Kennedy School of Government will be \$3.5 million. The Institute's income from this endowment will rise from something over \$300,000 this year to something over \$500,000 by 1976. But the point to notice is the discrepancy between the endowment of the school, which is the established scholarly body, and the endowment of the Institute.

It is obvious, then, in the Institute that the Kennedy family — or, more formally, the Kennedy Library Corporation — is most interested. But it was the endowment and the renaming of the School of Administration which gave it its foothold. Without this endowment and renaming, it would have been very difficult to establish the Institute within Harvard.

Why this interest in the Institute? One must look first at its composition.

Neustadt Is Director

At its head stands its director, Prof. Richard Neustadt. He is the archetype of that strange American phenomenon, the man who crosses, backwards and forwards, from the world of scholarship to the world of politics, without being too disturbed by the possible conflict.

He has been an adviser to President Truman, to President Kennedy and to President Johnson.

Would he be an adviser to another President Kennedy? Probably not in Washington, I suspect. But it is idle to pretend that his role in the Kennedy circle is insignificant.

He is an operator, this is one thing which makes his conversation and his writings about politics both entertaining and instructive. He knows perfectly well the nature of the operation which he has been invited to conduct, and if anyone can guide the Institute to some satisfactory activity it is he.

Beneath him are the members of the Institute, who are also on its Planning Committee. All of them are professors at Harvard. But this only shows how immaculate was the original conception of linking the Institute of Politics with Harvard's established faculties and schools. The respectability of the Institute is, in this way, built in, just as it itself has been built in.

All Served in Washington

They are all men who, at some stage in their careers, have served in Washington, and who, except for the more elderly of them, might expect to be invited back to Washington one day. Two of them stand out, and help to tell a little more of the story. It is

precisely because they are both exceptionally able men that they should be noticed.

The first is Prof. Adam Yarmolinsky. He left Washington last year to become a professor of law at Harvard, a member of the Institute of Politics, and the chairman of its fellowship committee.

Close to McNamara

As Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense, he was close to Robert McNamara, and remains closely associated with him. He left President Johnson's Administration with a considerable, if justified, personal grievance. He would certainly like to return to Washington some day, under a suitable President, and the most suitable in sight is Sen. Robert Kennedy.

The second name worth noticing is Prof. Daniel P. Moynihan. He was in Washington—and still is at Harvard—one of the most gifted minds in public life in America. Passionately serious without being heavy or earnest, his first interest is the Negro in the city. Again, there is not the slightest doubt that he would like to return to Washington—under a President Robert Kennedy.

To these, it is perhaps worth adding a third name: Prof. Cary Kaysen. Director of the Institute of Advanced Study at Princeton, he has visiting-member status at the Institute of Politics in Cambridge. Again one meets a former member of the John F. Kennedy Administration likely to be called upon in any future Kennedy Administration.

Posts They Have Held

From the members of the Institute, to its fellows: these are youngish men, largely drawn from inside the Administration in Washington, who spent a year at the Institute. Their former posts are worth listing:

Carl Alperovitz, Special Assistant to the Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs.

David Filvaroff, Special Assistant to the Attorney General.

Stephen Horn, Administrative Assistant to Sen. Thos H. Muckel R-Calif.).

Andres Lowenfeld, deputy legal adviser in the State Department.

Jonathan Moore, legislative assistant to former Sen. Leverett Saltonstall (R-Mass.).

John G. Palfrey, formerly of the Atomic Energy Commission.

John G. Stewart, special assistant to Vice President.

Richard Tuttle, director in Jackson (Miss.) of the office of the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights.

John G. Wofford, staff assistant to the deputy director of the Community Action Program.

To these may be added the rather

surprising name of a British citizen, Sir Eric Roll, who retired on Oct. 1 as permanent Under Secretary to the Department of Economic Affairs.

But, this month, there has been one more addition. A distinguished Washington journalist, Philip Geyelin, is in the process of leaving his former post as diplomatic correspondent of the Wall Street Journal for a key appointment on the editorial page of The Washington Post. In the month between jobs he has been made an extraordinary fellow of the Institute.

Others to Be Brought In

There is a group of men in public life who are going to be brought to the Institute periodically throughout the year. This group includes Alan Otten, of the Washington Bureau of the Wall Street Journal, and Max Frankel of the New York Times.

It should be obvious by now that the Kennedy Institute of Politics provides the most convenient opportunity for attracting under the Kennedy name men who are at present serving in the Johnson Administration, who are hoping to be employed by, and would be useful to, another Kennedy Administration, and who, as influential political journalists, have valuable services to offer in the future.

If there is any doubt about this, it is about to be removed. In the White House today, there is one special assistant to the President of exceptional quality, Francis Bator. Although it has not been announced, he has accepted a professorship within the John F. Kennedy School of Government, and the post of Director of Studies within the Institute.

The assumption is that he will return to Washington one day.

Motive and Intent

Prof. Yarmolinsky, made a nice distinction between "motive" and "intent" when he was talking of those who are brought to the Institute. Certainly, neither motive nor intent is being attributed here to those who accept the Institute's invitations, offers, and hospitality.

But the fact remains that one cannot examine the list of members, or the list of fellows, or the list of faculty associates, without recognizing that within Harvard's boundaries and constitution, there now exists an apparently respectable body which is precisely organized to attract men out of the public service until they may, at a convenient time, be returned to it.

One must return, at this point to the original endowment and constitution. The first point is that very little of the money collected by the Kennedy Library Corporation is actually Kennedy money. But the control of the



McGEORGE BUNDY



ARTHUR SCHLESINGER JR.



DANIEL P. MOYNIHAN



EUGENE BLACK

... cited as members of Kennedy group at Harvard

Kennedy family over the funds is assured.

Far more significant is the fact that, of the endowment of \$10 million of the Institute of Politics, \$2.5 million came directly from the Ford Foundation, technically as part of the Kennedy Library Corporation's gift. Who is head of the Ford Foundation? None other than McGeorge Bundy, formerly special assistant to both President Kennedy and President Johnson.

Bundy's Ambition

Bundy's close association with Sen. Robert Kennedy is no secret. Nor is his ambition to be Secretary of State. Again, this is not to attribute motive or intent. One is merely illustrating how large wealth in these days, through endowments and foundations, becomes entangled in, and itself entangles, the operation of political power.

The only Kennedy who has any formal relationship with the Institute is Jacqueline Kennedy, as a member of the Advisory Committee. The other members of the Committee are a fairly representative group of what for want of a better term, one may call America's Eastern Establishment.

This Committee is to meet as a group once a year. But it has an executive secretary, Michael Forrestal, and its members can be contacted at any time.

Still, to my perpetual question: Why should there be an Advisory Committee at all if the Institute is a genuine part of Harvard University responsible to the Harvard Corporation?—I received only one direct and convincing answer. "The Advisory Committee will come into play when the President's widow decides it should come into play."

The Advisory Committee, with the firm condition that one Kennedy should be a member of it, is the formal sanction which underlies the informal but continuing interest that the Kennedy family takes in the running of the

Institute. That interest is displayed actively and strongly by Sen. Robert Kennedy.

Head of the Family

"It is an Irish family," said one leading figure at Cambridge, "and there is head of the family." Indeed, at one meeting concerned with the affairs of the Institute some time ago, when Sen. Edward Kennedy offered an opinion, his brother interrupted: "Now, Teddy, remember what father said, that I am head of the family."

It is, of course, impossible to get any confirmation of the Kennedys' influence on appointments. One leading member admitted to me that there were certain problems which were taken to Robert Kennedy. But one hardly needs more confirmation than the list of the main appointments themselves. Whether past members of the Kennedy circle, whether aspiring members of it, or whether men the Kennedys would like to attract into it, they are all potential members of any future Kennedy Administration.

By means which are entirely legal and respectable and discreet, the Kennedys have established, with funds collected in memory of John F. Kennedy, a recruiting college. That valuable work may be done there is beside the point. It could have been done without the formal and informal connections which the Kennedys have insisted on retaining with the institute.

If they did not insist on these connections for the purpose which seems apparent one can only ask why the John F. Kennedy School of Government and the Kennedy Institute of Politics were not endowed in the simple manner which most donors have found adequate in the past.