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127-1

INVOICE CHECK LIST

MEULTRA Subproject

At Date of Original Authorization	Period Covered	Time Extended To	Allotment Number	Amount of Obligation
6 Oct 1960			1525-1009-1982	7490.00

Additional Authorizations	Period Covered	Time Extended To	Allotment Number	Amount of Obligation

Invoice Number	Date	Amount	Balance
1525-1009-1982 #1		7490.00	7490.00
21	28 Oct 1960	7490.00	- 0 -
REMARKS:			

TO: TSS/OC

1. Date of Obligation: N/A
2. Purpose of Project: To study open
f. voting records of registered
voters over a year period.

3. Progress to Date: Project being
initiated.

4. Expiration Date: N/A

5. Project Monitor: A

FROM: TSS/CD

Room B-10, G

127-09

28 October 1960

MEMORANDUM FOR: CHIEF, FINANCE DIVISION

VIA : TSD/Budget Officer

SUBJECT : Project MUKTRA, Subproject 127
Invoice No. 1, Allotment 1125-1009-1902

1. Invoice No. 1 is attached covering the above subproject. Payment should be made as follows:

Cashier's check in the amount of \$7,490.00 drawn on a bank, payable to the

[Redacted]

(B)

2. The check should be forwarded to Chief, TSD/Research Branch, through TSD/Budget Officer, no later than Thursday, 10 November 1960.

3. This is a final invoice. However, since it is anticipated that additional funds will be obligated for this project, the files should not be closed.

[Redacted]
Chief
TSD/Research Branch

(A)

31 OCT 1960

Attached:
Invoice & Certifications

1 COPY THAT FUNDS ARE AVAILABLE
84
1125-1009-1902

Distribution:
Orig & 2 - Addressee

> 1 - TSD/FASS

CHECK # 86223 THE AMOUNT OF \$7490.00 RECEIVED

NOV 1960

(A)

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

127-04

INVOICE

For Services

\$7,490.00

CERTIFICATIONS

(1) It is hereby certified that this is Invoice No. 1 applying to Subproject No. 127 of MQUltra, that performance is satisfactory, that services are being accomplished in accordance with mutual agreements, that a detailed agenda of the payments and receipts is on file in TSD/RB, that this bill is just and correct and that payment thereof has not yet been made.

Chief, TSD/Research Branch

Date:

(2) It is hereby certified that this invoice applies to Subproject No. 127 of MQUltra which was duly approved, and that the project is being carried out in accordance with the memorandum of 13 April 1953 from the DCI to the DD/A, and the extension of this authority in subsequent memoranda.

Research Director

Date:

127 05

March 6, 1962

CF

Accounting of

BS

I. Salaries of Coding Assistants	\$ 5,707.13
II. Travel	26.75
III. I. B. M. (25,000 cards)	1,194.64
IV. Office Supplies, paper, postage etc.	<u>591.85</u>
Total Expenditures	\$ 7,520.37
Total Grant	<u>7,490.00</u>
	\$ (30.37)

CF This is a true statement of the accounting of
as shown by the University.

A

C Prepared by:

I have examined and approved the submitted expenditures.

A
Chlor
TSS/Chemical Division

Dated

4/5/62

127

RECEIPT

Receipt is hereby acknowledged of the following check:

Treasurers Check No. 86223, dated November 7, 1960, in the amount of \$7,490.00, drawn on the [redacted], payable to the [redacted]

B

[redacted]

Date: Nov. 14 1960

C

17 October 1960

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE RECORD

SUBJECT : Conference with Chief [redacted] g
cf Regarding [redacted] Proposal cf

1. At 0945 this date I met with [redacted] Chief [redacted] support of [redacted] research proposal. [redacted] who had only incidental interest in the proposal, was obviously intrigued by the [redacted] and its [redacted] A B g

2. [redacted] mentioned that the [redacted] desks had been given increased responsibility for [redacted] He impressed me as a creative thinker, and began, during the talk, to spin a number of feasible operations that would use [redacted] A

A, E
H, F

3. [redacted] expressed the desire to write up some of his ideas in the form of projects. I offered the counter-suggestion that once he had his mental ducks in a row, it might prove useful for him to meet [redacted] and others from [redacted] here in [redacted] B B

C

A

TSD/Research Branch

[redacted]

[redacted]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
~~SECRET~~
~~TOP SECRET~~
DRAFT
6 October 1960

127 08

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE RECORD

SUBJECT : Project MKULTRA, Subproject 127

1. It is requested that Subproject 127 be approved to support the research work of [REDACTED] to study the open voting records of [REDACTED] registered voters over a fifty year period.

2. This study of voting is an attempt to do a longitudinal study of the factors that affect the voting of people over a considerable period of time. The results of the study could contribute to [REDACTED]

H [REDACTED] In addition the data represents a unique gold mine of information to study some of the fundamental behavioral characteristics of people.

B [REDACTED] This project will be funded through the [REDACTED] for security and cover purposes. The accounting for funds expended shall conform to the established procedures of that organization. Title to any permanent equipment shall remain with the [REDACTED] in lieu of overhead charges.

B, F 4. The total cost of this project for a period of one year is estimated to be \$7,490.00 as indicated in the attached

budget. Charges should be made against Allotment Number 1525-1009-1902.

5. No cleared or witting persons are concerned with the conduct of this project.

A [Redacted]
Chief
TSD/Research Branch

APPROVED FOR OBLIGATION OF FUNDS:

A [Redacted]
Research Director

Date: 08 08 1960

Attachment:
Proposal

Distribution:
Original only

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

C, B, F

B

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Gentlemen.

Enclosed please find 10 copies of the outline for our project "Voting" for which we ask you for a support to the amount of dollars 7,490. If you find it possible to finance this research it will be executed by my research assistant [REDACTED] as principal investigator under my supervision as head of the [REDACTED]

C, F

The present research project is different from, although related to, the one presented briefly to you earlier. The reason is that we have in the meantime discovered the existence of this unique documentary material, which is described in the outline, and we think that an analysis thereof should proceed and hence benefit a study of contemporary political changes. I may note that we have not asked any other foundation to support this project. So far our experience with [REDACTED] foundations has been that they react unfavorably to research in the field of political sociology.

f

I remain at your disposal for any further information you might desire regarding the present project.

Sincerely yours,

C, F

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

127-10

6 October 1960

MEMORANDUM FOR: COMPTROLLER

ATTENTION: 1 - Finance Division

SUBJECT: 1 - MKULTRA, Subproject 127

Under the authority granted in the memorandum dated 13 April 1953 from the DCI to the DD/A, and the extension of this authority in subsequent memoranda, Subproject 127 has been approved and \$7,490.00 of the over-all MKULTRA project funds has been obligated to cover the subproject's expenses. This obligation of funds should be charged to Allotment 1525-1009-1902.

A

~~████████████████████~~
 Chief
 TSD/Research Branch

27 OCT 1960

APPROVED FOR OBLIGATION OF FUNDS:

I CERTIFY THAT FUNDS ARE AVAILABLE
 OBLIGATION NUMBER: 811
 CHARGE TO ALLOTMENT NO. 1525-1009-1902

A Original signed by
~~████████████████████~~

Research Director
 28 OCT 1960

AUTHORIZING OFFICER

Date: _____

Distribution:
 Orig & 2 - Addressee

- 1 - TSD/CC
- > 1 - TSD/PASS

~~████████████████████~~

28 September 1960

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE RECORD

SUBJECT S : Approval of Funds to Support Study of Voting Behavior

ATTENDANCE A : Drs. [redacted]
C : Messrs. [redacted]

SUMMARY 1. Request for \$7,490.00 to support the proposal of [redacted] to study [redacted]

B, C, F

2. This study of voting is an attempt to do a longitudinal study of the factors that affect the voting of people over a considerable period of time. The results of the study could contribute to [redacted]

H

In addition the data represents a unique gold mine of information to study some of the fundamental behavioral characteristics of people.

B

3. Funds will be affected through the [redacted] mechanism. Project participants will remain unwitting of true sponsor.

A
TSD/Research Branch

Distribution:
Orig & 2 - TSD/RB

A
TSD/RB/[redacted] (29 Sept 60)

[redacted]

[redacted]

127-~~B~~¹² Dine

September 15, 1960

MEMORANDUM TO: Sid G.

C, F

SUBJECT: Project Proposal, Category B.

C, F

Attached is a proposal from [redacted] which we encouraged during our visit there last October. You will note in the comment from [redacted] that caution is recommended, principally for security reasons and only secondarily for methodological reasons. His point is well taken as are the detailed criticisms by [redacted]. My predisposition to support this category B proposal rests on three considerations: a) methodological questions do not outweigh the basic potential this project has, b) lengthy correspondence with the investigator has us partially committed to some kind of support, and c) the small amount of money requested is a good investment in international research [redacted].

C

H

I do not believe we can be damaged institutionally by supporting this kind of research. I recommend that it be funded.

C [redacted]

C, F

Enclosure: [redacted]

[redacted]

August 19, 1960

To : [REDACTED] C
 From : [REDACTED] C
 Re : [REDACTED] Proposal C F

To begin with, let me express my unstinting and unqualified enthusiasm for the general concept behind the project. Though we know very well that there is little hope that we will ever be able to conduct a real longitudinal study, covering several decades, we have often spoken about the need for such a study. This proposal fills a gap; it does so by utilizing data already in existence. The costs seem minimal, the opportunity unique, and the promise great. The data ought to be exploited.

To exploit fully the unique data requires, however, a more complete statement of what the analysis of "the individual act of voting" contributes over and above what could be inferred from an analysis of voting statistics by election districts, differentiated according to their ecology. Usually the impact of the "political situation" on various categories of voters is inferred from aggregate data. Such inference can be made only on the assumption that the factors revealed on the aggregate level operate on the whole and as a rule on the individual level as well. The proposed project offers an opportunity to test this assumption by examining a series of elections. It is capable of locating the individuals (i.e., their social status) who account for heightened or slackened interest and for changes in the alignment. C F

I should like to urge that [REDACTED] set out explicitly to test this point: are deductions made from aggregate data (election statistics) through correlational analysis confirmed by the data from a panel where the voting history of individual voters and of homogeneous categories can be traced. Whatever his answer, the study would be an important methodological contribution to the study of voting behavior, whose implications would be practically unlimited. Researchers lacking panel data of the kind available in [REDACTED] would then have some measure of the confidence they could place in analyses based on correlations when the populations studied over time are not necessarily identical. F

In this same vein, I should like to see a somewhat clearer indication of just how the panel data will be employed. For example, the proposal (page 4) mentions the influence of early commitments on later behavior as a factor contributing to stability or instability. I doubt that we need to reiterate the finding that the voting history of an individual more often exhibits an underlying stability than erratic changes. What we need to examine in greater detail is the fact that political change is always the result of two factors which have not as yet been sufficiently extricated: individual turnover and population succession. I would be interested in knowing how important changes in the voting population (due to aging and mortality, migration, activation of non-voters, etc.) are compared with individual switches. C F

Furthermore, I would be immensely interested in a comparison of stable voters whose party loyalties showed no change and floaters who switched one or more times. How important are events and personalities as opposed to status ~~xxxxxxxx~~ mobility? [REDACTED] hints at this, but there is a tendency to confuse conditions that make for stability in the party system with factors that make for stability in the individual. The importance of keeping the two separate is indicated by a proposition, that recently has found wide acceptance, namely that the floaters are an element that accounts for stability in the system

because they act as "mediators" and because party appeals are addressed to the tenuously committed "center."

The hypothesized relationship between turnout and consensus, on the one hand, and the importance of different kinds of issues and personalities, on the other, fascinates me, especially when the differential impact of issues, personalities, etc. on different categories of social status is considered.

I have the following reservations. The proposal fails to indicate fully how the panel design is ~~arranged~~ to be applied to the problem of generations and political change. The questions given as illustrations (e.g. points 1 and 2 on page 4) tend to emphasize static and cross-sectional analysis of aggregate data. I would like to see a clearer indication of how data about individual voters will be employed.

Nor does it strike me that a technically refined analysis of the press and other political records, which in of necessity deals only with a highly select sample, would give a more reliable assessment of the "political situation" that dominated an election than the use of competent historians. The energies and resources could be better employed in a more complete statistical analysis of the voting behavior, which might in turn clarify the forces which moved the electorate.

I am altogether at a loss ~~looking~~ at the mention of "records of personal political discussion." The description of the data gives no hint of how such a record is to be obtained.

Similarly, I fail to see how the "emergence of leadership-followership traits" is to be explored. What is the reference to the records of approximately 3,000 persons? I think that this kind of long-term panel design should not be used to gauge what happens during a single campaign. The Lazarsfeld-type of panel, based on interviews, is a much better tool for this.

The sample figure of 25,000 seems entirely reasonable in view of population mortality and the number of variables to be explored. But I am confused about the 3,000 figure mentioned on page 4 (bottom). Also, I take it that individual voting records are to be collated with individual census data. Yet, page 2 ¶ A refers to the voting records of all eligible voters but mentions census records for voters only.

A rather minor point ^{related} to the statement on the bottom of page 3. Do the criteria really eliminate only 5 to 10 per cent of the male adult population? Elimination of the 21 to 30 year age group would, in view of the then prevailing life expectancy, cut the figure much higher.

Let me summarize that, notwithstanding the many questions I have, the study fascinates me. ~~Its~~ major innovation would be the use of individual data in a long-run longitudinal study. I should like the hypotheses which relate to the outcome of specific elections and to major political trends ~~requiring~~ ^{that require} the panel design to be spelled out in greater detail. It would then be possible to test them both on the individual data and on ~~the~~ election statistics for various districts and regions in ~~the~~ the elucidation of findings obtained by the more conventional methods of political ecology ~~or with~~ panel data would, in my mind, make a major contribution to knowledge.

Comments on Proposal submitted by [redacted] by [redacted]

This is a most interesting proposal by [redacted] --one that has great potential for contributing to knowledge of voting behavior because of the unique, to my knowledge, and thitherto available data. It would appear to give somewhat more comprehensive information concerning the "individual act of voting." That would be possible in [redacted] Although the project would appear very promising, contribute to our present knowledge, as with any proposal, there are certain reservations felt by myself.

1. Being of a cautious nature, I would be less optimistic than the investigator concerning the completeness of the [redacted] records. This in no sense is a challenge to the investigator's statement, but rather a suspicion that such records are not always kept as completely as one would hope. This is reflected somewhat in his comments on page 3 in relation to the "eligible voter." He states the qualifications of voting is that the voter must be "male, 30 years or over, own his place of residence, and live in the district one year." On page 2, he states that in the period [redacted] these districts have a total population of 150,000. The population for the present study will be approximately 25,000 voters in this universe." The restrictions of the eligible voter, according to the investigator, would only eliminate 5 to 10% of the male adult population. If the entire population were [redacted], which I assume means men, women, and children, then I wonder if percentage of 5 to 10% is not somewhat low; and, also, that he may not have trouble obtaining his 25,000 voters. This is a guess on my part but I would think worth asking for further guidance.

2. Investigator states on page 1, "the availability of these records means that the political history of every voter in a given district can be followed objectively and in detail for a period of up to [redacted] years." We really should remember that to be eligible to vote, the male must be 30 years and own a house. The question that immediately hit me was how many elections could such an individual participate in? If 30 is the minimum age, we obviously will not have too many who have lived to the age of [redacted] and are still active voters, and this is the only way we can get an individual record over a period of [redacted] years. He must own a home at the age of 30 which certainly would depend on the economic situation in [redacted] during the years indicated. Thus, we must be concerned with the percentage of population that would meet the qualifications at 30; how many elections would occur, how long does the average voter live during this period. All such questions certainly bear on size and type of sample that one can obtain from the data available and should be known before the study progresses too far, or rather before the [redacted] becomes too deeply involved. In my mind, these questions must have been satisfied to the investigator but unfortunately they are not too well reflected here in the proposal. It would seem reasonable to have these questions answered first, either the first phase of the study or in a revised research proposal.

3. On page 2, under Populations to Study, the investigator mentions selecting eight political subdivisions from [redacted] He points out that these political districts represent a full political spectrum today, ranging from conservative to Communist. He then proposes to use these districts for the data [redacted] years old. However, in the rest of the proposal, he does not state, at least clearly to me, techniques by which one would analyze the data in relation to present political activities or voter behavior. There would be approximately [redacted] years intervening which would not be taken

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f
Into consideration according to this proposal, thus, if conclusions were to be drawn upon the detailed data from [redacted]. It would have to be based on the assumption that the intervening [redacted] years had little effect on present day behavior. The investigator undoubtedly has some rational here that has escaped me.

4. Section D. questions the study. Present research, according to the investigator, will be concerned with social status, ecological patterning, and political situations and how they are correlated with increased political involvement which he states symbolizes the growth of democracy. Social status, he says will be defined in terms of occupation, age, marital conditions, family size and condition of residence. This, I believe, is to be drawn from the census data--again without having seen the data. I wonder whether such things as condition of residence will be recorded, or if so, how meaningful it will be. In addition, social status term, here, evidently is not used in the sense that one might use it in this country. The population he is studying is already pretty well defined, particularly with the requirement that the voter own his place of residence. Another point in relation to the status structure of society is raised as a result of the investigator's statement on page 4. He indicates that the relation of the changing status structure and development of political parties will also be examined. That, as the gap between the top and the bottom of status structure of a society narrows, this society becomes more homogeneous in terms of social class. The political structure becomes more differentiated and more political choices become possible. That the eligibility requirements have already narrowed status structure to quite a homogeneous sample is stated before and I am not sure that a great deal could be expected from this particular hypothesis, although it might be interesting to see what comes out of it.

f
5. The political situation mentioned in the same paragraph in section D. is to be defined by content analysis of newspapers. Again, the reader sincerely hopes that a) the material is available from [redacted] and b) that such an analysis is meaningful. Newspapers would, at that time, particularly, be directed to a relatively small population, their influence might well be questioned. This factor would, of course, be dependent on the literacy rate during that period and the circulation of the newspapers. In addition, some understanding would be necessary to determine the objectivity of newspapers reflecting the characteristics of the candidates or even their interpretation of the statement of the issues. Even today, we doubt that all newspapers reflect in an equally objective fashion. Certainly, other sources might supplement this information.

[redacted]
f
6. The investigator hopes to discover factors contributing to voter's stability and instability, "as well as the influence of "early commitments on later behavior" and the "emergence of leadership-fellowship traits." It appears that this study may add some information, although it is doubted that much can be found on these records. Also, it is doubtful that we can learn much by our concept of leadership-fellowship traits from such data. This particular section is very vague and gives us very little information about how these factors would be explored. The investigator intimates that a partial answer to this question is availability of records, of personal political discussions. This is the first time these records have been mentioned and the references not at all clear. Evidently, such records are available for 3,000 people, but one wonders what sort of record one would have of personal political discussions over [redacted] years ago.

The above portion of this memorandum may seem relatively condemnatory of the study. This is not the impression that I wish to leave. We have there, as stated before,



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an opportunity to examine records hitherto not available. They appear to be sufficiently unique and complete that they may hold promise in contributing to the general field concerning voting behaviors. It is recommended that very serious consideration be given to either requesting revision of this proposal answering the questions raised above, or to grant money for a more comprehensive examination of the voting records to determine exactly what can be feasibly accomplished with the data.



B

127-14
file

[REDACTED]

August 11, 1960

C

Mr. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

C

Dear Mr. [REDACTED]

CF

I am sure that I would be very glad to follow the decision reached by your other advisor in connection with the proposal of [REDACTED]

My own reaction to the project is that it might possibly be considered a little inappropriate for an American foundation to participate in a study of voting in a friendly foreign nation. If some of the results of the study turned out to be surprising and politically important, it is conceivable to me that a question might be raised concerning the support of the study by funds coming from outside the country. I am not absolutely certain either what techniques would be employed in completing the study although I would presume that these have been worked out with some care.

In summary, my personal feeling is that I would move rather slowly in authorizing this request.

Sincerely yours,

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]