

Grinnell's Program in Practical Political Education

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## Grinnell College's Program in Practical Political Education

“Of all people, college students should like partisan politics, for partisan politics has all the color, all the thrills, all the unpredictability of a spirited athletic contest. And the stakes are much higher, for not only our free society but our very survival depends on how well the game is played.”<sup>1</sup> Professor C. Edwin Gilmour first wrote these words in 1959. Though he was convinced that college students could and should develop a passionate interest in politics, he did not see this interest among in the students he taught at Grinnell College. Rather, he saw a student body with the potential to meaningfully participate in local, state, and national politics and to study practical politics, but lacking the will to do so.

To remedy what he viewed as a serious problem facing the College, Gilmour created a new program: the Program in Practical Political Education (PPPE). Under Gilmour's leadership, from 1959 to 1970, the PPPE flourished, becoming a distinctive and recognizable feature of Grinnell College as well as a major part of the student experience.

The PPPE was one of the most successful and popular programs in Grinnell's recent history, but its story has been largely forgotten. During the course of an extremely turbulent decade in which student political participation underwent drastic shifts that were felt across the country and at Grinnell College, the PPPE successfully inspired student participation in practical politics in a meaningful way. The PPPE was more than just a unique program in Grinnell's past: its history sheds light on a period of growth and change at Grinnell and on a crucial moment in the evolution of student politics and political participation in America.

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<sup>1</sup> Draft, 1959-1960 Annual Report, 2

## The Creation of the PPPE

In the late 1950s, Grinnell College was thriving. As the College grew in size and prestige, a central part of its educational mission was to produce students who were critical thinkers and who actively engaged with their world.<sup>2</sup> Gilmour expressed his interpretation of the philosophy of the College: “Stressing the good life as well as the good vocation in its educational philosophy, Grinnell College emphasizes the complete, well-rounded liberal arts offering and pre-professional foundation for the fields of law, medicine engineering, and the like.”<sup>3</sup> The student body of around 1,000 appeared to be full of engaged and active citizens, as evidenced by a strong student government as well as a campus newspaper and radio station that frequently addressed current events and campus politics. Student interest in current events and government was also visible in the classroom: nearly a quarter of all students enrolled in political science courses every semester, studying topics such as American National, State, or Local Government and Administration, American Political Parties, or Public Opinion and Political Behavior.<sup>4</sup>

While Gilmour noted a strong interest both in and out of the classroom in public affairs, and specifically international issues, he did not see a sustained level of enthusiasm for American politics among the student population. He described the level of student participation in his initial application for a grant to fund the PPPE: “...student interest in national, state, and local politics is less extensive and sustained...In balance, it must be admitted that the political awareness, let alone the political participation of the Grinnell student body is less evident than might be hoped for.”<sup>5</sup> At first glance, Grinnell appeared to have the necessary extracurricular programs and academic offerings to stimulate student participation in politics. Both the Young

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<sup>2</sup> 1959 Falk Foundation Proposal, 2

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 2

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 3

<sup>5</sup> 1959 Falk Foundation Proposal, 6

Democrats and Young Republicans clubs were fairly well established and the political science department offered at least seven different courses each semester. However, participation in the political clubs was sporadic at best, and the offerings of the political science department emphasized only the traditional academic study of politics, not integrating any practical components.<sup>6</sup> Gilmour decided that a new approach was called for if student participation in politics and government was to increase.

Gilmour was not alone in noting the negative perception of politics and lack of student political action in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Around the time that Gilmour was planning for the PPPE, a new approach to teaching and studying politics was becoming popular across the country—“practical politics” was the buzzword of the day.<sup>7</sup>

The focus on practical politics was partially a response to the overwhelmingly negative perception of politics that was prevalent at the time. A journal article dating from 1962 observed: “Many things have cut against the well-educated American regarding politics as a vocation or even as a normal career,” including the common assessment of politics as “inherently base and venal,” or “a reminder of the depravity of human nature.”<sup>8</sup> A 1960 survey found that even among those participating in political activity, politics was seen as “dirty” and not a particularly respectable career path.<sup>9</sup> This same study found that the negative perceptions of politics were strong enough to seriously discourage participation in politics.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 3

<sup>7</sup> Gordon L. Lippitt, “A New Look in Political Education,” *The Journal of Social Issues* 16 (1960): 3

<sup>8</sup> Bernard Crick, “The Campus and the Caucus,” *Political Quarterly* 33 (1962): 208

<sup>9</sup> Gordon L. Lippitt and Drexel A. Sprecher, “Factors Motivating Citizens to Become Active in Politics as Seen by Practical Politicians,” *The Journal of Social Issues* 16 (1960): 12

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 12

In order to combat these biases, programs emphasizing the value of politics, and especially of practical politics, sprang up across the country. As Gordon Lippitt noted in 1960:

Readers of any of the well-known weekly magazines, Sunday newspaper supplements, and other literature devoted to reporting the social scene of our democracy, will have noticed in the last three years articles with headlines such as the following: “Businessmen Learn Practical Politics,” “Democrats Use ‘Eggheads’ in Leadership Training,” “Practical Politics Seminar Sponsored by Local University,” “Adult Educators Plan Political Leadership Conference,” and “Republicans Hold Training Sessions for Youth.” These reports highlight an exciting new phase of political education activity throughout the United States.<sup>11</sup>

Many of the programs that were developed as practical politics came into fashion focused on providing further training to those already involved in politics or on encouraging adults with an expressed interest in politics to begin participating within the partisan system. For example, in the spring of 1959, the University Extension Program at the University of California developed a practical political program for leaders of the state Republican and Democratic parties. The program focused on topics such as “Parliamentary Procedure and the Political Parties” and “Leadership and the Discussion Process.”<sup>12</sup> Similarly, the University of Michigan created a Summer Institute in Practical Partisan Politics in 1959. The program was funded by the Ford Foundation and sponsored by the University’s political science department and the State Central Committees of the Republican and Democratic parties. Again, this program was designed as a short “political college” for party staff and key party members.<sup>13</sup> Both of these programs, as well as smaller programs sponsored by unions and corporations across the country, focused exclusively on adults, and largely on those already involved in the political process.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Lippitt *op. cit.*, 3

<sup>12</sup> Warren H. Schmidt, “Developing a University Bi-Partisan Political Program,” *The Journal of Social Issues* 16 (1960): 50

<sup>13</sup> Lynn W. Eley, “The University of Michigan Summer Institute in Practical Partisan Politics,” *The Journal of Social Issues* 16 (1960): 54

<sup>14</sup> Lippitt *op. cit.*, 3-4

Beyond these continuing education programs, some practical political programs were designed specifically for college students. Professors at Oberlin College, Rutgers University and Macalester College shared Gilmour's belief that college students would enjoy partisan politics and that their involvement in the political process was crucial.<sup>15</sup> At Macalester College, a disdain for politics was common among students. Professor Dorothy Dodge noted: "Comments of students often quoted are: 'politicians and smoke-filled rooms,' 'politics is dishonest,' or 'sure there are a lot of problems needing solutions, but what can I do about it?'" Several recent studies indicated that students place politics at the bottom of the list of desired careers and that the study of politics has a similar rating."<sup>16</sup> To respond to this negative perception of politics, Macalester College created a Political Emphasis Week, which alternated over four years between "a model National Nominating Convention, a model Congress, a model State Legislature, and a model United Nations Assembly."<sup>17</sup> The Political Emphasis Week, as well as other, smaller programs on campus, were intended to encourage both political science majors and non-majors alike to become actively involved in practical applications of politics, and according to early evaluations, these programs were successful "in stimulating interest in the political process and increasing understanding of the role of a citizen in a democratic society, and had had a beneficial effect in student reading, voting, and political participation habits."<sup>18</sup> The emphasis on practical politics at Macalester College, Oberlin College, and Rutgers University was representative of a national preoccupation with the practical side of politics.

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<sup>15</sup> 1959-1960 Annual Report, 3; Dorothy Dodge, "Teaching Practical Politics on Campus," *Improving College and University Teaching* 7 (1959): 72

<sup>16</sup> Dodge *op. cit.*, 72

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 72

<sup>18</sup> Dodge *op. cit.*, 74

It appears that Gilmour was influenced by this broader trend of practical political programs, and took cues from already established programs at other universities when planning for the PPPE. In his first report on the PPPE, he reported that “Last Summer, the Director met, in person, with the faculty adviser of the Mock Convention at Oberlin College and with the Director of the Eagleton Foundation and its graduate training program in practical politics at Rutgers University. Both of these interviews were most productive in the planning and administration of the Grinnell program.”<sup>19</sup> The PPPE, while distinctive in both its goals and activities, had clear roots in the political science education trends of the late 1950s and early 1960s.

In 1959, Gilmour laid out his original goals for the PPPE, which would continue to guide the Program for a decade: the PPPE would encourage Grinnell students to study and participate in practical politics through both curricular and extracurricular components.<sup>20</sup> Specifically, the Program would advocate for participation within the partisan, two-party system of politics, as Gilmour believed that “the only realistic and effective way an individual may contribute to the retention and refinement of representative democracy in America is to participate, wholeheartedly and proudly, in the political party of his choice.”<sup>21</sup> The curricular aspect of the PPPE centered on the introduction of “laboratory elements” into the seven existing courses offered by the political science department. Gilmour envisioned classes with frequent discussions of current events and political issues, and projects based on the study of practical politics at the local, state, and national levels.<sup>22</sup> In addition, Gilmour intended to create a Grinnell chapter of Pi Sigma Alpha, a political science honorary fraternity as a way to encourage further academic

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<sup>19</sup> 1959-1960 Annual Report, 3

<sup>20</sup> 1959 Falk Foundation Proposal, 7

<sup>21</sup> 1959-1960 Annual Report, 2

<sup>22</sup> 1961-1962 Annual Report, 2

excellence among political science majors.<sup>23</sup> Outside of the classroom, Gilmour planned that one of the main activities of the PPPE would be to bring guests with practical political experience to campus. Gilmour hoped that these visitors would not only present formal lectures, but also visit classes, attend coffee hours and meals, and spend a significant amount of time with students in informal settings to facilitate real interaction and exchange of ideas.<sup>24</sup> The other centerpieces of the PPPE were to be the mock political conventions and elections to be held in the spring semesters of presidential election years. To most effectively facilitate student participation as well as to create the most realistic experience possible, Gilmour planned on holding separate conventions for Democrats and Republicans, with each convention being organized and run by students.<sup>25</sup> Gilmour also planned to work with the few existing structures for student political participation, namely the campus Young Democrats and Young Republicans clubs. The PPPE would assist with funding for the groups and organize activities and events in order to “strengthen and revitalize” both clubs.<sup>26</sup> Gilmour also hoped to use the PPPE to encourage students to participate in political activity off campus. As he wrote in his initial grant application to secure funding for the PPPE, “Professor V. O. Key has observed that actual campaign experience is often more valuable than an amount of lectures and reading about politics. He might also have remarked that actual campaign experience can be most interesting as well.”<sup>27</sup> For these reasons, Gilmour planned for the PPPE to actively encourage students to volunteer with campaigns and to facilitate their work with campaigns. Finally, realizing the time limitations of campaign experiences, Gilmour wanted to begin funding internships for a select

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<sup>23</sup> 1959 Falk Foundation Proposal, 14

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 7

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 7

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 13

<sup>27</sup> 1959 Falk Foundation Proposal, 14

number of students in order to provide a “full-time, and hence, richer and more realistic, experience” in practical politics.<sup>28</sup> By 1959, Gilmour had developed a clear set of goals and expectations for the PPPE—a program that he hoped would finally encourage student participation in practical politics, a cause that he was truly dedicated to.

### **Professor C. Edwin Gilmour**

Professor C. Edwin Gilmour, more than simply serving as director of the PPPE from 1959 to 1970, was truly the heart and soul of the Program. He imparted his values and deeply held beliefs about politics and political participation to the Program, and his vision shaped the philosophy of the PPPE for a decade. Born in 1919, Gilmour attended Westminster College for his B.A. and received an M.B.A., M.G.A. and Ph.D. from the University of Pennsylvania.<sup>29</sup> Before arriving at Grinnell College in 1949, Gilmour taught briefly at the University of Pennsylvania.<sup>30 31</sup> He was a professor of political science at Grinnell for 41 years, from 1949-1990, and served as chair of the political science department from 1960 to 1978.<sup>32 33</sup>

However, Gilmour had experience with the practical side of politics as well as with the academic study of political science. Before he became a professor, Gilmour worked as a research assistant on issues of local and state government in Pennsylvania. In Iowa, Gilmour served on the Governor’s Committee on Legislative Reapportionment in 1959.<sup>34</sup> Gilmour also served as an Iowa State Senator for four years and was a two-time candidate for Congress. He described

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<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 15

<sup>29</sup> “C. Edwin Gilmour,” *Grinnell Herald-Register*

<sup>30</sup> 1989-1990 Grinnell College Catalog, 176

<sup>31</sup> 1959 Falk Foundation Proposal, 17

<sup>32</sup> 1989-1990 Grinnell College Catalog, 176

<sup>33</sup> “C. Edwin Gilmour,” *Grinnell Herald-Register*

<sup>34</sup> 1959 Falk Foundation Proposal, 17

himself in his grant application: “During his ten years at Grinnell, Professor Gilmour has been active in city and county politics, and is well-acquainted with the leaders of both political parties at the local and at the State level.”<sup>35</sup>

Gilmour’s role within the political science department, and the College more broadly, was greatly impacted by his focus on emphasizing practical politics. Though practical politics was becoming a popular concept in some circles, it did not fit particularly well within Grinnell. Gilmour wrote that he consistently felt that neither he nor the PPPE had received the understanding or support from the faculty and administration that they deserved.<sup>36</sup> Professors Wayne Moyer, Robert Grey, and Ira Strauber, all of who served in the political science department with Gilmour, have noted that even towards the end of his career at Grinnell, Gilmour felt somewhat isolated from the other faculty.<sup>37</sup> In addition, Gilmour was viewed as being less academically focused than many of his colleagues, partially due to the practical focus of his classes and the PPPE, and also partially due to his service as a politician, both in elected office and with several bureaucratic agencies.<sup>38</sup> Though the establishment of the PPPE and the introduction of a focus on practical politics were some of Gilmour’s most significant professional accomplishments, these actions, together with his personal involvement in practical politics, may have ultimately resulted in a lack of acceptance and respect for Gilmour and his Program from many at the College.

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<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, 17

<sup>36</sup> 1969-1970 Annual Report, Appendix G

<sup>37</sup> Wayne Moyer, interview by author, Grinnell, Iowa, April 12, 2012; Robert Grey, interview by author, Grinnell, Iowa, April 17, 2012; Ira Strauber, interview by author, Grinnell, Iowa, April 12, 2012

<sup>38</sup> Wayne Moyer, interview by author, Grinnell, Iowa, April 12, 2012; Ira Strauber, interview by author, Grinnell, Iowa, April 12, 2012

Despite any negative effects the PPPE and the idea of practical politics may have had on Gilmour's personal reputation at the College, he took full responsibility for the PPPE, and can be considered to have been almost solely responsible for creating and maintaining the Program. It was Gilmour who first applied for and won the grant that made the PPPE possible. For the next ten years, Gilmour served as Program Director, dedicating approximately half of his working time to Program duties.<sup>39</sup> The mere fact that although the PPPE continues to this day, there are no detailed Program records after 1970, when Gilmour stepped down as Director, and that the size of the PPPE has been drastically reduced, serves as evidence that Gilmour was the sole individual responsible for the success of the PPPE in his time. The Program was his unique creation, and his dedication made practical politics a reality at Grinnell.

### **Program Financing and Administration**

The first major step that Gilmour took to make the PPPE a reality was applying for a grant from the Maurice and Laura Falk Foundation in Pittsburgh.<sup>40</sup> In the mid-1950s, the Falk Foundation began offering grants through their Citizenship Clearing House program to colleges and universities across the country to fund programs encouraging student participation in politics. Thanks to Gilmour's application, Grinnell College was awarded a three-year grant from the Falk Foundation to establish the PPPE. This first grant funded the Program at the level of \$14,250 per year.<sup>41</sup> In 1961, Gilmour applied for and received a second three-year grant from the Falk Foundation.<sup>42</sup> However, the terms of the second grant called for a gradual reduction in Falk

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<sup>39</sup> 1959 Falk Foundation Proposal, 17

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 1

<sup>41</sup> 1959 Falk Foundation Proposal, 1; 1959-1960 Annual Report, 20; 1960-1961 Annual Report, 9; 1961-1962 Annual Report, 9

<sup>42</sup> 1961 Falk Foundation Proposal, 1

Foundation funding for the Program. For the academic year of 1962-1963, the Program was still fully funded at the same level by the Falk Foundation.<sup>43</sup> For 1963-1964, the Falk Foundation contributed half of the Program's funding, with the College contributing the other half; for 1964-1965, the College contributed three-quarters of the Program's \$14,250 budget, and the Falk Foundation contribution was reduced to one-quarter.<sup>44</sup>

To satisfy the conditions of the Falk grants, Gilmour was required to submit yearly reports on the activities and expenditures of the Program. These reports were sent to the board members of the Falk Foundation, and the reports lead to many fruitful conversations between Gilmour and various board members about the merits of teaching practical politics. The board members expressed their full support for the Program, and praised Gilmour's approach of emphasizing the practical side of politics and of encouraging students to consider politics as a valuable and respectable career option.<sup>45</sup> The involvement and support of the Falk Foundation in the early years of the PPPE was a crucial factor in the success of the Program.

When the PPPE was first established in 1959, an administrative structure was established that would remain in place for the next decade. In addition to the Program Director, Gilmour, an Advisory Committee assisted in planning PPPE events and shaping the general direction of the program. The president appointed the members of the Advisory Committee; of the four faculty members of the Committee, one represented each division—Natural Sciences, Language and Literature, Social Studies, and Fine Arts.<sup>46</sup> The faculty who served on the Committee tended to

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<sup>43</sup> 1962-1963 Annual Report, 9

<sup>44</sup> 1963-1964 Annual Report, 10; 1964-1965 Annual Report, 13

<sup>45</sup> Murray D. Welch to C. Edwin Gilmour, July 2, 1963; C. Edwin Gilmour to Murray D. Welch, July 15, 1963

<sup>46</sup> 1959-1960 Annual Report, 2-3; 1961-1962 Annual Report, 1

be appointed year after year with a great deal of consistency.<sup>47</sup> To add to the faculty perspective on the Advisory Committee, several students also served. The presidents of the Young Democrats and Young Republican clubs, as well as the president of the Student Government Association provided the student perspective.<sup>48</sup> The Advisory Committee met regularly throughout the year to discuss plans for upcoming PPPE events and to approve major Program decisions.<sup>49</sup> This administrative structure would come to have a significant impact on the development of the Program, which Gilmour reflected on in the 1969-1970 Annual Report. He recognized the benefit of continuity in Program goals and strategies as a virtue of the stable membership in the Committee. However, Gilmour also felt that because so few faculty members had ever served on the Committee and because the Committee was appointed by the Administration and was not a standing faculty committee, “The result is that a very small number of our faculty have knowledge of the PPPE philosophy, objective, and programs. Further, the program has been denied the useful new perspective, inputs, and criticism of the revolving membership of a standing faculty committee.”<sup>50</sup> Overall, while Gilmour saw definite room for improvement in the administrative structure of the PPPE, the Advisory Committee and the Program Director were able to provide strong leadership for a growing Program.

### **PPPE Activities**

Over the course of a decade, the PPPE became known for many well-established activities that were an important presence on Grinnell’s campus. Though these activities evolved over the years, the basic strategies the PPPE used to encourage student political participation

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<sup>47</sup> 1969-1970 Annual Report, Appendix G

<sup>48</sup> 1959-1960 Annual Report, 2-3

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, 2-3

<sup>50</sup> 1969-1970 Annual Report, Appendix G

remained the same. Through a variety of activities, both in and outside of the classroom, the PPPE attempted to reach a broad audience of students, both political science majors and those with a less obvious connection to politics.

The physical home of the PPPE was the “Caucus Room.” Originally located in Blum House, the Caucus Room moved to Carnegie Hall following its renovation. Beginning in the academic year of 1962-1963, Carnegie 313 became the center of Program activities as well as of political life at Grinnell.<sup>51</sup> The Caucus Room was more than a standard classroom—in addition to the expected “seminar table” and chairs, it featured bookcases for the display of political reading materials, a record player and “political records,” a study area with armchairs, a “reading table,” and critically for the students who frequented the Caucus Room, a coffee maker.<sup>52</sup>

Perhaps the most recognizable feature of the Caucus Room was the substantial collection of “framed portraits of political celebrities who have visited the campus under PPPE sponsorship and action pictures of Program activities.” By 1965, almost one hundred images covered the walls of the Caucus Room.<sup>53</sup> Today, these images are one of the main remaining records of the PPPE. Throughout the 1960s, between five and eight classes each semester met in the Caucus room, including non-political science classes. Gilmour hoped that the simple act of having class in a room filled with political materials could potentially encourage political participation in students who had not previously come in contact with politics.<sup>54</sup> The Young Democrats and Young Republicans used the Caucus Room as headquarters for their organizations, and other student political groups, such as the Political Discussion Group, frequently met in the Caucus Room. The Caucus Room also became a popular location for many students to study or relax

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<sup>51</sup> 1960-1961 Annual Report, 5

<sup>52</sup> 1962-1963 Annual Report, 6-7

<sup>53</sup> 1964-1965 Annual Report, 10

<sup>54</sup> 1962-1963 Annual Report, 7

after classes ended for the day.<sup>55</sup> Gilmour wrote: “Altogether, the Caucus Room is one of the most used and useful facilities on the campus.”<sup>56</sup>

As a Program that aimed to integrate the practical study of politics into the academic study of political science, the classroom component of the PPPE was essential to the Program’s goals. In the 1960s, seven political science classes were regularly offered: Introduction to Political Science, American National Government, American State Government and Administration, American Local Government and Administration, American Political Parties, Public Opinion and Political Behavior, and independent study.<sup>57</sup> After the creation of the PPPE, Gilmour worked to increase the emphasis on the “laboratory component,” “emphasizing participation in partisan politics” in all of these courses whenever possible.<sup>58</sup> The PPPE also encouraged students to take advantage of the option of an independent study to integrate the study of practical politics with academic research. Students completed independent studies ranging from research drawn from their summer internship experiences to detailed analyses of the political careers of prominent politicians of the day.<sup>59</sup> In addition, to best utilize the valuable resource of political practitioners who came to campus, Gilmour arranged many class visits with the goal of meaningful debates and conversations with political science students.<sup>60</sup> Thus, even without making dramatic changes to the political science course offerings, the PPPE was successful in emphasizing on practical partisan politics within the classroom.

While the curricular aspect of the program was important, the PPPE devoted the majority of its resources to extracurricular activities. The extracurricular events organized by the Program

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<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, 7

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, 7

<sup>57</sup> 1959 Falk Foundation Proposal, 3

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, 7; 1959-1960 Annual Report, 3

<sup>59</sup> 1964-1965 Annual Report, 3

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, 5

ranged from high profile visits from prominent political figures to casual discussions of current events over coffee. But no matter the activity, the goal was the same—to introduce Grinnell students to practical politics and encourage participation in the partisan political system.

One of the most successful projects of the PPPE was the revitalization of the campus Young Democrats (YDs) and Young Republicans (YRs) clubs. The PPPE primarily provided financial support to both clubs. From 1959 through 1965, the Program allocated equal amounts of between \$50 and \$500 to each club annually.<sup>61</sup> In addition to financial support, the PPPE also assisted the YDs and YRs in organizing activities for their groups, specifically facilitating visits from the political practitioners who were brought to campus with PPPE support. PPPE support—financial as well as organizational—was largely withdrawn from the Young Democrats and Young Republicans in 1964-1965, as both clubs had become so successful they no longer required external support.<sup>62</sup> Gilmour described the change in the clubs in his application for a second Falk Foundation grant: “Prior to 1959, the Young Republicans and Young Democrats were only skeletal organizations with but spasmodic programs; during non-election years, the Clubs were virtually non-existent. With the encouragement and support of the PPPE, both Clubs have grown in size and stability, with regular programs of activities; they have taken part in their State and national federations, and have established continuing working relationships with the senior political parties in the area, particularly during campaign years.”<sup>63</sup> The fact that these clubs grew from such a low point to an extraordinary popularity—at one point, more than forty percent of Grinnell students participated in one of the two clubs—evidences the enormous

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<sup>61</sup> See Appendix B.

<sup>62</sup> 1966-1967 Annual Report, 6

<sup>63</sup> 1961 Falk Foundation Proposal, 3

impact the PPPE had on both the campus structures facilitating student political activity and on student political participation itself.<sup>64</sup>

The PPPE also created a new campus political club, the Political Discussion Group (PDG), as a forum for unstructured discussions of current events and politics outside of the classroom. This small, informal group of students was led by various professors, including Gilmour. Gilmour described the participants in the PDG as a “selected group of politically interested and sophisticated students.”<sup>65</sup> The group met fairly regularly over meals or coffee throughout the school year. When political practitioners came to campus, they frequently spent an hour of their time with the PDG, sharing their personal experiences in a small group discussion. Though not the PPPE’s largest or most visible undertaking, the PDG was a valuable tool in emphasizing the importance of understanding the current political climate and in creating connections between politically interested Grinnellians and the world of practical politics.

The Political Book-of-the-Month Club was yet another innovative PPPE project. Perhaps the most informal of all PPPE activities, this “book club” was open to any Grinnell students or professors, and was only loosely facilitated by the PPPE. Each month, the Program made a selection of a current political best-seller as the “Political Book-of-the-Month,” announced the selection in the *Scarlet & Black*, and made copies of the book available in the library as well as in the Caucus Room. Students were then encouraged to read the book and discuss it either through groups such as the PDG, or simply with other interested students and professors.<sup>66</sup> Only a small component of the PPPE’s work, the Political Book of the Month Club nonetheless

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<sup>64</sup> 1964-1965 Annual Report, 3-4

<sup>65</sup> 1966-1967 Annual Report, 15-16

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, 1

demonstrates the wide variety of strategies the PPPE used to attract students to the world of practical partisan politics.

Almost equally informal were the frequent coffee hours sponsored by the PPPE. Beginning in 1959, every week, from the time classes ended until dinner, students and professors would discuss a political topic of current interest.<sup>67</sup> Depending on the topic, the coffee hours were often co-sponsored by another interested group, such as the Concerned Black Students.<sup>68</sup> Even as early as the 1960-1961 school year, the coffee breaks had become “well-institutionalized” in the Grinnell community.<sup>69</sup> In addition to the afternoon themed discussions, starting in 1963, the PPPE also organized morning coffee breaks in the Caucus Room. Conceived of as entirely open and unplanned breaks, these coffee breaks encouraged students to continue learning about and discussing practical politics, and were also designed “as a device to encourage more interchange between social science majors and their professors.”<sup>70</sup> The overwhelmingly positive response from both students and faculty to the politically themed coffee breaks speaks to the growing popularity of practical politics at Grinnell, due in large part to the PPPE.

The PPPE did not limit itself to working only on the Grinnell campus. As a way to allow a small number of students to gain a real-world understanding of partisan politics, the Program actively encouraged students to seek out political internships and provided financial support to many interns.<sup>71</sup> The primary type of internships sponsored by the PPPE were what are now considered traditional internships for political science students: interning in a legislator’s office

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<sup>67</sup> 1960-1961 Annual Report, 6

<sup>68</sup> 1968-1969 Annual Report, 20; 1960-1961 Annual Report, 6

<sup>69</sup> 1960-1961 Annual Report, 6

<sup>70</sup> 1963-1964 Annual Report, 6

<sup>71</sup> 1959 Falk Foundation Proposal, 15

or working on a campaign. Beginning in 1960, between two and four students were selected for summer internships. The majority of interns were placed in the offices of their congressional representatives or with congressional campaigns. Students also interned with political organizations including the Iowa Republican and Democratic State Parties, the National Right to Work Committee, and the AFL-CIO.<sup>72</sup> As part of the PPPE sponsored internships, the summer interns were required to complete “a field research project relating to the internship experience.”<sup>73</sup> Though student internships fit perfectly with the Program’s goal of exposing students to partisan politics, the internship program was discontinued in 1966. The PPPE budget came, at this point, entirely from the College, and when budgets were cut, changes had to be made: “...when the Program began operating with College funds alone, it was felt the expenditure of \$2500-3000 on three or four student summer interns could not be justified, particularly with an over-all reduction in the annual budget of the PPPE.”<sup>74</sup> Instead, as a way to still encourage students to experience the realities of practical politics, the PPPE began publicizing a U.S. House of Representatives summer internship program, which had been started just three years earlier.<sup>75</sup> Not only did the PPPE make students aware of this internship program, Gilmour travelled to Washington, D.C. to personally advocate for the Grinnell students who had applied for congressional internships. These efforts resulted in a total of nine students undertaking congressional internships in the summer of 1967 alone, a dramatic increase from the number of PPPE sponsored internships from the year before.<sup>76</sup> In this way, student political internships continued to grow in popularity at Grinnell, even though they were no longer funded

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<sup>72</sup> 1960-1961 Annual Report, 3-4

<sup>73</sup> 1964-1965 Annual Report, 3

<sup>74</sup> 1966-1967 Annual Report, 12-13

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, 13

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, 12-13

by the PPPE. The PPPE also funded internships in political reporting. These internships were made possible thanks to an additional three-year grant from the Falk Foundation in the amount of \$4,500 for the specific purpose of exposing college students to political reporting.<sup>77</sup> Each semester, four students were chosen for these ten-week internships; two were placed with the Associated Press and two with the United Press International.<sup>78 79</sup> The political reporting interns travelled to Des Moines several times a week, and in addition to studying partisan politics, they learned how to produce content for the wire services and reported on the work of the General Assembly and the Governor.<sup>80</sup> Despite the success of these internships, the political reporting internship program was discontinued in 1967 when the Falk Foundation grant ended.<sup>81</sup> However, though it is difficult to attribute credit to the PPPE alone, internships, and specifically internships related to political science, have become increasingly common, and the Program's early support of this trend must be viewed as an important factor in the institutionalization of political internships.<sup>82</sup> The PPPE's internship programs were a perfect example of the Program's commitment to educating students about the practicalities of partisan politics.

Two of the most popular, most visible, and most successful programs of the PPPE were the mock conventions and mock presidential elections that were held every four years. As Gilmour described the conventions, "Once in the college lifetime of every Grinnell student, the PPPE activities reach a climax when, in the spring of the year in which U.S. presidential candidates are nominated, two Mock National Conventions are staged—one for the Republican

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<sup>77</sup> 1963-1964 Annual Report, 5

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, 5-6

<sup>79</sup> The political internship program did not occur in the fall semester of the 1966-1967 academic year; due to Gilmour's leave in the spring semester of the previous year, the interns had not been selected in time; 1966-1967 Annual Report, 11.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, 11-12

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, 11-12

<sup>82</sup> Ira Strauber, interview by author, Grinnell, Iowa, April 12, 2012

students and the other for the Democratic students.”<sup>83</sup> The conventions were designed to be as realistic as possible. Darby Gymnasium was decorated with banners, portraits of the candidates, and red, white, and blue bunting to mirror the look of the actual nominating conventions.<sup>84</sup> Many students were assigned to be delegates from each state, and all students were encouraged to watch the proceedings. Politicians were invited to deliver keynote speeches for each convention.<sup>85</sup> After debates over the merits of the candidates, delegates chose an ideal pairing of presidential and vice presidential nominees.<sup>86</sup> The idea of staging mock conventions at colleges and universities as a way to inspire student political participation was not unique—other schools including Macalester College also used this strategy to entice students to learn about the practical side of politics.<sup>87</sup> However, Gilmour decided that instead of following the model set by other colleges of having only one convention, the PPPE would host two separate conventions in order to create a more realistic and interesting experience for students.<sup>88</sup> The conventions were held in the spring semesters of 1960, 1964, and 1968, and were huge successes. Grinnell students embraced the opportunity to put what they had learned in the classroom to use in a more practical context. A staff editorial in the *Scarlet & Black* before the 1960 mock conventions clearly expressed the excitement of the student body to experience such a unique opportunity:

The mock convention this weekend is probably as good a chance to put an abstract, liberal education to practice as any of us will get before we graduate. Every semester we take our courses in history and humanities, government and literature, science and sociology. Sometimes we find ourselves wondering what good all of this fact and theory will do. In our opinion, if everybody lets themselves get involved in the convention, we will see how textbook learning and assigned reading can be put to use. Getting involved in the convention does not

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<sup>83</sup> 1967-1968 Annual Report, 7

<sup>84</sup> 1963-1964 Annual Report, 7

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, 8

<sup>86</sup> 1959-1960 Annual Report, 9

<sup>87</sup> Dodge *op. cit.*, 72

<sup>88</sup> 1967-1968 Annual Report, 7

mean turning it into a farce as are most of the Student Council conventions. It means approaching the various issues, developments and problems as a person with a wide background of knowledge. It means seriousness and reason. It means a respect for rules of procedure and conduct. If it is approached in this way, the Mock Political Convention will be an experience worth a semester of classes.<sup>89</sup>

The level of student enthusiasm was evidenced in the sheer number of participants in the conventions. Gilmour estimated that “practically every student participated as a delegate or as an observer.”<sup>90</sup> In addition, students were deeply involved in planning the conventions. Planning began a year in advance, and involved between 125 and 150 students, serving as part of a Mock Conventions Cabinet, “as committee chairmen and members, as state delegation chairmen, as candidate campaign chairmen and workers, as decorating crews for Darby Gymnasium,” and on various committees organizing convention programs, special issues of the *Scarlet & Black*, and all other organizational aspects of the conventions.<sup>91</sup> Even in the late 1960s, when student participation in other PPPE activities was sharply declining, the mock conventions continued to be as popular and well attended as in earlier years.<sup>92</sup> The conventions were also a high point in terms of PPPE expenditures: on average, the conventions cost nearly \$2,000, a very significant proportion of the Program’s annual budget.<sup>93</sup> Overall, in terms of popularity among students, student participation, and visibility, the mock conventions were a complete success for the PPPE. The mock conventions, as activities effectively inspiring student political participation, exemplified the goals of the PPPE.

Two weeks after the mock conventions, mock presidential elections were held. The candidates chosen at the mock conventions were placed on the ballot, and the PPPE borrowed

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<sup>89</sup> “Convention is Rare Opportunity,” *The Scarlet & Black*

<sup>90</sup> 1961 Falk Foundation Proposal, 1

<sup>91</sup> 1967-1968 Annual Report, 7-8.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, 11

<sup>93</sup> 1966-1967 Annual Report, 3

official voting machines from the Poweshiek County Auditor's office. The voting machines were placed in several residence hall lounges around campus, and students had an opportunity to vote all day. Turnout in the mock elections was extremely high—approximately 85% of the student body voted in the 1960 election, which was considerably more than voted in the student government elections of the same year.<sup>94</sup> The mock elections served as a way to complete the process of practical political participation begun by the mock conventions, and provided a realistic experience of political participation for Grinnell students.

The PPPE was perhaps best known for bringing politicians to Grinnell as visiting lecturers. Most frequently, the Program designated visitors Political Lecturers, and invited them to visit campus and deliver formal speeches, participate in panel discussions, and visit classes. Political Lecturers were honored with a Grinnell Chair, complete with a plaque memorializing their visit to Grinnell.<sup>95</sup> Gilmour made a concerted effort to balance the partisanship of political visitors, and this political fairness was noted and respected by students, the College administration, and local politicians alike.<sup>96</sup> During the peak of PPPE activity in the mid 1960s, nearly 40 political figures were brought to campus every year. This consistent presence of practical politicians became institutionalized at Grinnell and served to continually offer opportunities for students to get involved with politics in a real world context.<sup>97</sup>

In addition to Political Lecturers, the PPPE also invited many visiting politicians to be Politicians-in-Residence. Gilmour designed the structure of Politician-in-Residence visits to be very different than that of a typical visit:

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<sup>94</sup> 1959-1960 Annual Report, 10

<sup>95</sup> 1964-1965 Annual Report, 6

<sup>96</sup> 1969-1970 Annual Report, Appendix G

<sup>97</sup> 1961 Falk Foundation Proposal, 1

Ordinarily, the format for the visit of a dignitary to a college campus is to have the visitor present a formal address before an all-college convocation and then spend the remainder of his stay hob-nobbing with trustees and faculty. At Grinnell, a different format is employed with the PPPE Political Lecturer. Over a period of two days, the Lecturer is asked to assume the schedule of a typical Grinnell student.<sup>98</sup>

Politicians-in-Residence were encouraged to spend as much time as possible with students in a variety of ways, including class visits, coffee breaks in the Forum, meals in the dining hall, visits to a variety of extracurricular clubs, and being inducted to and spending the night in residence halls.<sup>99</sup> Gilmour was determined that students should have considerable access to visiting politicians, in order to encourage genuine discussions of serious political issues. According to his own estimates, the format of Politician-in-Residence visits was successful in allowing many Grinnell students to personally interact with visiting politicians: “[...] it is estimated that this format gives from one-fourth to one-third of the entire Grinnell student body the priceless opportunity to visit with a top political decision-maker of our time, in an informal, uninhibited, and unhurried fashion.”<sup>100</sup> The “top political decision-makers” described by Gilmour ranged from very high profile guests including former presidents, members of Congress, and state governors, to much lower profile visitors such as local city managers, members of the Iowa Democratic and Republican parties, and political reporters. Some particularly prominent or frequent visitors to campus included Iowa Governors Herschel Loveless, Harold Hughes, and Norman Erbe, U.S. Senators Wayne Morse, Hubert Humphrey, Eugene McCarthy, Barry Goldwater, Peter Dominick, and Birch Bayh, U.S. Congressmen Fred Schwengel, John Kyl, and Adam Clayton Powell, many Iowa State Senator and Representatives, and various Iowa State

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<sup>98</sup> 1964-1965 Annual Report, 5

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*, 5

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, 5

Democratic and Republican Party officials.<sup>101</sup> No matter the visitor, the focus of their time at Grinnell was the same—to interact with students and discuss politics in an open and educational way. The Politician-in-Residence program became one of the most recognizable aspects of the PPPE, and it clearly stressed the emphasis of the Program on offering Grinnellians the opportunity to learn about the realities of politics in a practical context.

The PPPE tradition of inviting politicians to campus reached new heights with the Politician-in-Residence visits of former President Harry Truman on October 23-24, 1963, and former President Dwight Eisenhower on May 13, 1965. After Eisenhower's visit, Gilmour wrote: "The two-day visit of former President Dwight D. Eisenhower to the College in mid-May represented the high point of PPPE activities in 1964-65, and, very possibly, the high point of the entire six-year life of the Program."<sup>102</sup> Both presidential visits brought an incredible amount of publicity to Grinnell and to the PPPE. However, even with these extremely high-profile visitors, Gilmour ensured that students were still guaranteed many opportunities to interact with the presidents in informal settings. Though both presidents participated in formal events including delivering speeches, receiving honorary degrees, and holding press conferences, they also attended classes, met with campus political clubs, and held question sessions exclusively for students.<sup>103</sup> Gilmour was rightly proud of the recognition brought to the PPPE as a result of the Truman and Eisenhower visits. Bringing both living former presidents to Grinnell in successive years was a true accomplishment for the Program.

The PPPE also hosted a State Legislative Seminar on campus during each session of the Iowa General Assembly. The Seminar brought the governor, lieutenant governor, and state

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<sup>101</sup> For a complete record of PPPE sponsored visitors to Grinnell College from 1959-1970, see Appendix A.

<sup>102</sup> 1964-1965 Annual Report, 6

<sup>103</sup> 1963-1964 Annual Report, 12; 1964-1965 Annual Report, 17

legislators together for a day of discussion about state politics and current events. Politicians gave speeches and participated in extremely well attended panel discussions with their fellow visitors.<sup>104</sup> Perhaps more so than other PPPE events, the State Legislative Seminar emphasized a focus on state and local politics. These levels of politics often received less attention from students, and therefore, Gilmour included the idea of encouraging students to examine practical politics in their immediate contexts as one of the major goals of the PPPE. In this sense, the State Legislative Seminar was a very successful program, as it was consistently popular among the student body.<sup>105</sup> In addition, the Seminar brought a significant amount of publicity to the College, largely from state media outlets.<sup>106</sup> The State Legislative Seminar was yet another example of the ways in which the PPPE designed programs which interested students and effectively exposed them to practical politics at all levels of government.

### **The Impact and Success of the PPPE**

The main goals of the PPPE were to increase student interest and involvement in politics and to have a lasting impact by changing negative perceptions of politics among college students. To truly evaluate the Program, these goals must be examined, as they were at the core of the Program's mission. Unfortunately, it is difficult to concretely measure student participation in PPPE events (due to the informality of many activities) and even more difficult to definitively measure impact on students. However, Gilmour offered some statistics and evidence to support his assertion that the Program was successful in its efforts to engage Grinnell students in practical politics. He estimated that almost a third of the student body was able to

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<sup>104</sup> 1964-1965 Annual Report, 8, 17

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, 8

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*, 8

personally meet and interact with political guests on campus.<sup>107</sup> As such a large number of politicians from all backgrounds were brought to campus annually, this level of exposure to students was a truly significant way to introduce many Grinnellians to the practicalities of politics at all levels and to increase student understanding of current political issues. Beyond mere attendance at events, students participated at high levels in political clubs on campus. During the mid 1960s, nearly 40% of all students were registered with either the Young Democrats or the Young Republicans.<sup>108</sup> The most popular PPPE events involved incredibly high proportions of Grinnell in various capacities. As previously discussed, almost all of the student body was estimated to have participated in the mock conventions as either a delegate or observer, and over 100 students were more deeply involved in planning and organizing the conventions.<sup>109</sup> In the mock elections following the conventions, a stunning 80% of Grinnell students voted. Informal events without records of student participation can also speak to the popularity of the PPPE.<sup>110</sup> Weekly afternoon coffee hours quickly became institutionalized and accepted by students. Attendance at events such as coffee hours, morning coffee breaks, election night parties, and the popularity of informal programs such as the Political Book-of-the-Month Club all demonstrate the way in which the PPPE became integrated into student life at Grinnell.<sup>111</sup> Even activities that were limited to fewer students had a significant impact on those involved and on Grinnell more broadly. The PPPE sponsored several internships a year for seven years. At the time, the concept of an internship in politics was hardly as common as it is today, and it certainly was not as common for Grinnellians of the 1960s to have internships as it is for

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<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*, 5

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, 3-4

<sup>109</sup> 1967-1968 Annual Report, 7-8

<sup>110</sup> 1959-1960 Annual Report, 10; 1966-1967 Annual Report, 20

<sup>111</sup> 1960-1961 Annual Report, 6; 1963-1964 Annual Report, 6; 1966-1967 Annual Report, 15, 18

Grinnellians today. The PPPE can be viewed as a trendsetter in this regard, initiating a move towards encouraging students to supplement their classroom experience with internships.<sup>112</sup>

When attempting to measure the overall impact of the PPPE, it is important to note that participation in Program activities was highest in the mid 1960s, and that participation, while incredibly high for several years, did not consistently remain at such elevated levels. However, on balance, it is clear that the PPPE was an immensely successful program in terms of student participation and the impact the Program had on Grinnell students. As Gilmour wrote to the Falk Foundation, “Unsolicited observations of several student leaders of senior ranking and of older faculty members have noted that never in their tenure at the College have the Grinnell students been more politically conscious and active than at the present time.”<sup>113</sup>

The PPPE also created unexpected benefits for Grinnell. Gilmour did not design the Program with these outcomes in mind, but nonetheless, they can be considered important impacts of the Program for both Grinnell College and the community of Grinnell. First, the Program was very beneficial for the image of the College. The Director of Public Relations stated that “no other curricular or extra-curricular program at the College, with the possible exception of the intercollegiate athletic program, has brought as much and as positive publicity to Grinnell as has the PPPE.”<sup>114</sup> It was felt by Gilmour that the PPPE added to the general perception of Grinnell has being dedicated to the public interest and public service, and as a “distinguished educational institution.”<sup>115</sup> The PPPE became such an integral part of the image of Grinnell that a member of the Admissions Office remarked: “few aspects of Grinnell are better

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<sup>112</sup> 1964-1965 Annual Report, 3; Ira Strauber, interview by author, Grinnell, Iowa, April 12, 2012

<sup>113</sup> 1961 Falk Foundation Proposal, 4

<sup>114</sup> Proposed PPPE Budget for 1965-1966, 6

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*, 6

known to prospective students and their parents and are more useful in student recruitment than the PPPE.”<sup>116</sup> Even among those who were already familiar with Grinnell College, the PPPE served to enhance the image of the College—many alumni and trustees expressed their support for the Program and their recognition of the Program’s importance in building the College’s image.<sup>117</sup> In acknowledgement of the importance of the Program for Grinnell’s image, beginning in 1962-1963, the College included a description of the PPPE in the College Catalog, implicitly placing the PPPE in a category along with much more established and traditional programs such as the athletic program and the fine arts program.<sup>118</sup> The PPPE, though a relatively young program, had become a key part of Grinnell’s image even by the early 1960s. Second, the Program helped strengthen the town-gown relationship between the College and the city of Grinnell. Many local groups—whether religious, business, labor, or political groups—were invited to participate in Program activities, and even occasionally co-sponsored PPPE programs and activities.<sup>119</sup> This led to increased interaction between Grinnell faculty and students and Grinnell community members, thereby improving the general relationship between the community of Grinnell and the College. Though the PPPE was not designed to enhance Grinnell’s reputation or to improve relations between Grinnell College and the Grinnell community, it did in fact successfully provide both of these benefits. These external, unintended consequences of the PPPE serve to reinforce the importance of the impact the Program had over a decade, both at Grinnell and in the broader community.

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<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*, 6

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*, 6

<sup>118</sup> 1962-1963 Grinnell College Catalog, 48

<sup>119</sup> Proposed PPPE Budget for 1965-1966, 6

## Changing Times and the Decline of the PPPE

By the mid 1960s, the PPPE had become a very successful, popular, and well-respected part of Grinnell College. However, at the peak of PPPE impact, the Program was faced with a combination of changing circumstances that would make continued success and popularity difficult. These changes took place both in the broader contexts of Grinnell and the national political climate, as well as within the Program itself. First, the PPPE began to be funded by Grinnell College instead of the Falk Foundation, and due to financial the situation of the College at the time, this led to severe funding cuts. Second, American politics was undergoing a dramatic transformation in the late 1960s, and student participation and attitudes towards politics would never again be the same. Third, changes in Program leadership led to a reevaluation of the philosophy and goals of the PPPE, fundamentally changing the Program.

The creation of the PPPE was originally made possible by the Falk Foundation, and a three-year grant that funded the Program at the level of \$14,250 per year.<sup>120</sup> This was a very generous budget in the late 1950s, and it allowed the PPPE to establish a variety of successful activities, some of which came at considerable cost. Large portions of the PPPE budget went towards the Director's salary, speakers' honoraria, summer internship stipends, and the mock conventions.<sup>121</sup> In 1962, the PPPE was awarded a second Falk Foundation grant. This second grant, while also a three-year grant, funded the Program in a different way than had the previous grant. For the first year of the second grant, 1962-1963, the Program was still funded entirely by the Falk Foundation at the same level.<sup>122</sup> For the next two years, Grinnell College would slowly begin to fund the PPPE, providing half of the operating budget in 1963-1964, three quarters of

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<sup>120</sup> 1959 Falk Foundation Proposal, 18

<sup>121</sup> 1959-1960 Annual Report, 20; 1960-1961 Annual Report, 9; 1961-1962 Annual Report, 9

<sup>122</sup> 1962-1963 Annual Report, 9

the budget in 1964-1965, and would transition to fully funding the PPPE in 1965-1966.<sup>123</sup> Unfortunately for the PPPE, at the time that its funding was to begin coming entirely from the College, the financial situation of Grinnell was not strong.<sup>124</sup> Budgets were tight across campus, and the PPPE was soon to feel the impacts. When the dean announced the Program's budget allotment for 1965-1966, the first year of full College funding, Gilmour was extremely dissatisfied with the proposal: down from a yearly budget of nearly \$15,000, the dean planned on giving the PPPE only \$3,000 for the entire academic year.<sup>125</sup> Gilmour fought to regain at least some of the funding that had been cut, describing the profound impact of the PPPE on all of Grinnell, and explaining that many of the Program's most successful activities, such as the Political Lecturer and Politian-in-Residence programs, internships, and the mock conventions, would not be able to continue under the proposed budget: "Quite obviously, these high-expense PPPE features cannot be supported, or justified, by the new budget limitations."<sup>126</sup> Beyond objecting to the severe restrictions such a dramatically smaller budget would impose on PPPE activities, Gilmour felt that the drastic proposed cuts—which amounted to a 69% reduction in Program funding—represented a fundamental lack of appreciation for the work of the Program. In a tersely worded letter to the dean, Gilmour wrote:

It is hard to conceive that the Concert Series, the Board of Religion, the International Studies Program, the Intercollegiate Athletic Program, the Drama Program, and the Forensic Program are all being forced to accept a 69% reduction in funds available for the coming year. If such is not the case, then it would appear that, implicitly if not explicitly, a value judgment is being made that the PPPE is patently inferior to these other extra-curricular programs, either as to

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<sup>123</sup> 1963-1964 Annual Report, 10; 1964-1965 Annual Report, 13; Proposed PPPE Budget for 1965-1966, 1

<sup>124</sup> Ira Strauber, interview by author, Grinnell, Iowa, April 12, 2012; Wayne Moyer, interview by author, Grinnell, Iowa, April 12, 2012; Proposed PPPE Budget for 1965-1966, 7-8

<sup>125</sup> Proposed PPPE Budget for 1965-1966, 8

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*, 1

objectives, participation, or results. And this judgment would be both resented and resisted, until and unless some empirical evidence is offered to support it.<sup>127</sup>

Whatever the reason behind the proposed cuts in PPPE funding—purely financial or motivated by a lack of appreciation of the Program—smaller budgets became the norm for the Program. Though Gilmour was successful in increasing the budget to \$5,000 for each academic year for the rest of the decade, such a decrease in funding necessitated a severe cutback in PPPE activities. Specifically, the Program was unable to continue funding summer internships, and there was a reduction in the number and prominence of politicians brought to campus. The limitations on PPPE activities caused by decreased funding had the ultimate effect of limiting the effectiveness and success of the Program.<sup>128 129</sup>

Sources of funding were not the only thing changing for the Program in the mid to late 1960s. The broader political context in America was changing quickly and dramatically, and this change was especially evident among young people. Events such as the Vietnam War and Kent State exacerbated already shifting student attitudes and perceptions of politics, leading to a drastically different political environment on college campus across the country. Gilmour observed the changing attitudes of students nationwide, and foresaw serious consequences of the new student attitudes toward politics:

This widespread political alienation of the young men and women who are the future leaders of our society—whether we adults assess the alienation as justified or not, it is indisputably a fact—constitutes a crisis, I feel, as serious as those of war and peace, racial justice, the urban dilemma, and environmental pollution and is as impelling of a constructive solution.<sup>130</sup>

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<sup>127</sup> Proposed PPPE Budget for 1965-1966, 8

<sup>128</sup> 1966-1967 Annual Report, 23; 1967-1968 Annual Report, 23; 1968-1969 Annual Report, 18; 1969-1970 Annual Report, 16

<sup>129</sup> For a complete record of PPPE budgets from 1959 to 1970, see Appendix B.

<sup>130</sup> 1969-1970 Annual Report, Appendix G

This political alienation was becoming increasingly evident among Grinnell students in the late 1960s. In 1968, in the mock presidential election, 44% of the students who voted identified themselves as Independents, rather than Democrats or Republicans.<sup>131</sup> As the PPPE had always advocated for participation within the two-party system and had explicitly discouraged the idea of being an independent voter, a new student enthusiasm for working outside of the established political system presented a challenge for the PPPE's continued success.<sup>132</sup> This small statistic from a mock presidential election is representative of the overall rejection of the two-party system and the "old politics" that it symbolized by students across America. Gilmour realized that Grinnell students were beginning to see "partisan politics as irrelevant and unresponsive to human need and social problems in America and the world."<sup>133</sup> This new attitude threatened the PPPE's model of practical politics. Indeed, by 1969, the alienation of Grinnell students from previously successful and popular PPPE activities and from the "old politics" in general had become evident in many of the Program's activities. Whereas only four years earlier, nearly 40% of the student body had been a member of either the Young Democrats or the Young Republicans, in the academic year of 1969-1970, the total membership of both clubs was under 40 students.<sup>134</sup> The Political Discussion Group, while always informal and infrequent to a certain extent, met only three times during the entire year of 1969-1970, "but a fraction of its activity program in earlier years."<sup>135</sup> Even student attendance at lectures of visiting politicians, which had once been extremely popular events, fell dramatically. Gilmour noted that he was "appalled" at the shockingly low level of attendance at a lecture by Jesse

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<sup>131</sup> 1967-1968 Annual Report, 11-12

<sup>132</sup> 1959-1960 Annual Report, 1-2

<sup>133</sup> 1969-1970 Annual Report, Appendix G

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid.*, 5

<sup>135</sup> *Ibid.*, 8

Unruh, Speaker of the California Assembly, in 1967. He wrote: “It was at this point that I sensed the new temper of our students vis-à-vis conventional political figures and themes.”<sup>136</sup> The consistently decreasing student participation and interest in PPPE activities made it clear to Gilmour that the political context had changed to the point where the continued relevance of the Program was in serious doubt.

In an attempt to change along with Grinnell students and to stay relevant, the PPPE moved in a new direction beginning in 1968. Gilmour encouraged the Advisory Committee to support PPPE events that engaged with the “New Politics” of interest to students.<sup>137</sup> To this end, the Program brought U.S. Congressman Adam Clayton Powell to campus as a Political Lecturer in October 1968 to speak on “Race, Poverty, and Politics,” and in April of 1969, hosted the Conference on the New Politics, featuring U.S. Congressman Allard Lowenstein as well as more controversial figures including Bernadine Dohrn and Jerry Rubin to represent the Yippie and Students for a Democratic Society movements.<sup>138</sup> In the fall of 1969, the PPPE continued its new focus by inviting Georgia Assemblyman Julian Bond to lecture on the topic of “The Political Outsiders: The Poor, The Black, The Young.”<sup>139</sup> All of these redesigned PPPE events drew huge turnout, at levels comparable to those of the early 1960s. Though alumni, faculty, and even state media outlets focused on the extreme politics of several of the invited guests and voiced a general disapproval for the PPPE’s involvement with these issues, students responded very positively, with a “substantial and sustained” interest in the Program’s activities.<sup>140</sup> In spite of the changing political environment that the PPPE faced in the late 1960s, Gilmour worked to adapt

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<sup>136</sup> *Ibid.*, Appendix G

<sup>137</sup> *Ibid.*, Appendix G

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid.*, Appendix G; 1968-1968 Annual Report, 19-23

<sup>139</sup> 1969-1970 Annual Report, 18

<sup>140</sup> *Ibid.*, Appendix G

the Program to match the interests of Grinnell students. He firmly believed that the Program could stay relevant by modifying specific tactics, not its overall philosophy, and that “the original mission of the PPPE—of interesting, informing, and involving our students in responsible partisan politics—will be more critically important and impelling in the 1970’s on our campus, than in the 1960’s, when the PPPE was enjoying its broadest acceptance and accomplishment.”<sup>141</sup>

Though Gilmour may have been confident that the PPPE could continue as an important part of student political activity at Grinnell, his role within the Program was soon to change, and the other Program leaders did not seem to share his optimism. Changes in the leadership of the PPPE and internal debates about the future of the Program further contributed to the challenges facing the Program in the late 1960s.

By the academic year of 1969-1970, Gilmour had been the steady leadership presence that had guided the PPPE since its creation a decade earlier. It had been his personal focus on practical politics that had determined the basic tenants of the Program and shaped the development of every PPPE activity. Though the Advisory Committee had always been at least formally a part of major Program decisions, Gilmour had essentially managed the Program as he saw fit. However, as students began to reject the traditional political model for which the PPPE had advocated and the Program’s continued success was called into question, tensions arose between Gilmour and the Advisory Committee. Gilmour, for his part, was determined that with minor adjustments in the content of PPPE activities, the Program could both stay true to its fundamental goals and philosophy and continue to be relevant for Grinnell students.<sup>142</sup> The Advisory Committee, on the other hand, began to question the fundamental philosophy of the

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<sup>141</sup> *Ibid.*, Appendix G

<sup>142</sup> *Ibid.*, Appendix G

Program and its position within the College. Beginning in January 1970, the Advisory Committee called for a formal discussion of the “existing philosophy and program content and operation of the PPPE.”<sup>143</sup> Fundamental differences of opinion about what the Program could reasonably be expected to do became clear as the Director and the Committee exchanged their opinions about future possibilities for the Program. The Advisory Committee appeared to express reluctance to move in what they viewed as being too radical a direction toward activities emphasizing the “New Politics” popular with students. Certain Committee members also offered much broader criticisms of the Program’s fundamental philosophy and work: Professor Alan Jones wrote that “there has always been a rather awkward relationship between the academic and intellectual side of the College and the sometimes all too practical nature of the Program.”<sup>144</sup> Gilmour, though, continued to defend his vision of a PPPE willing to tackle complex political issues from a practical perspective:

And I suggest, respectfully, to the Committee and the College Administration that they make up their minds whether they want a non-controversial, non-relevant PPPE that has little moment or meaning to our students or a vital, contemporary, albeit at times controversial program (social criticism is seldom non-controversial!) concerned with the need for early and substantial evolutionary social change and reform—to preserve our established political institutions against revolutionary upheaval. It should be clear, from several of my outbursts this past semester, that I have no desire to direct a PPPE other than the latter type.<sup>145</sup>

Though Gilmour ardently defend the PPPE’s accomplishments and potential, his role within the Program was about to change. After more than a decade of devoting considerable time and effort to leading the PPPE, Gilmour no longer wished to continue as Program Director.

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<sup>143</sup> *Ibid.*, 11

<sup>144</sup> Alan Jones, Memo to the Committee on Program in Practical Political Education, February 22, 1971

<sup>145</sup> 1969-1970 Annual Report, Appendix G

Likely due to a combination of factors including his sense that both he and the PPPE were underappreciated by the College administration and, increasingly by students, Gilmour decided to end his involvement with the PPPE.<sup>146</sup> As he wrote in his final Annual Report for the year of 1969-1970, “For both personal and professional reasons, he has decided that, following his sabbatical leave for 1970-71, he would prefer to return to full-time teaching in the Political Science Department.”<sup>147</sup> Gilmour had been the motivating force behind the Program’s success for more than a decade, and his departure for the Program marked a final turning point in the history of the PPPE.

Ultimately, the PPPE could not survive the combination of underfunding, a drastically altered political climate, and the loss of Gilmour’s leadership. Though the Program was never officially ended, after 1970, the PPPE was not able recapture its former successes. Instead, it gradually lost financial support, popularity, and its clear sense of purpose. Administrative records for the Program are almost nonexistent following Gilmour’s resignation as Program Director, but the few sources that do exist, largely minutes from Advisory Committee meetings, chronicle a Program in decline. In 1970, Committee members decided that due to a lack of student interest and the greatly reduced Program budget, they would limit the speakers’ honoraria to \$500, and that they would focus on inviting only “middle level staff people for P.P.P.E. sponsored speakers rather than figure-head politicians.”<sup>148</sup> The following year, the Committee made the significant decision to end the mock conventions: “the committee decided that student interest in partisan politics was insufficient to warrant conducting the

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<sup>146</sup> Wayne Moyer, interview by author, Grinnell, Iowa, April 12, 2012; Robert Grey, interview by author, Grinnell, Iowa, April 17, 2012

<sup>147</sup> 1969-1970 Annual Report, 12-13

<sup>148</sup> October 22, 1970 PPPE Committee Minutes

conventions.”<sup>149</sup> Later in 1971, the Young Democrats and Young Republicans were officially disbanded, and returned the money which the PPPE had given them in an attempt to keep them viable.<sup>150</sup> By the fall of 1971, even the smallest expenditures were not longer justifiable in terms of student enthusiasm: “Finally the committee decided to discontinue subscription to a variety of minor political and labor periodicals due to a lack of interest by the college community.”<sup>151</sup> The years of huge successes and popularity were clearly over.

Over the next decades, the PPPE continued to see both campus interest and financial and administrative support fade. The Program continues today, but operates on a yearly budget of under \$1,000 and conducts few activities. Overall, today’s PPPE bears little resemblance to the PPPE of the 1960s. The history of the Program, though a history of incredible successes spanning a decade, has been largely forgotten by Grinnell.

### **The PPPE’s Legacy**

The PPPE grew out of a perceived lack of student enthusiasm for practical politics at Grinnell College. The Program very quickly increased student political participation to dramatically high levels and experienced broad acceptance in the Grinnell community, becoming an integral part of the College. Changing conditions made it impossible for the PPPE to sustain its incredible successes, but the Program left behind an impressive legacy. From 1959-1970, the PPPE was a tremendous presence at Grinnell College. With accomplishments ranging from presidential visits to the complete revitalization of campus political clubs, the PPPE reshaped student attitudes toward politics and led to significant increases in student political participation.

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<sup>149</sup> September 21, 1971 PPPE Committee Minutes

<sup>150</sup> October 7, 1971 PPPE Committee Minutes

<sup>151</sup> November 4, 1971 PPPE Committee Minutes

Though few remember the PPPE today, the Program made an enormous impact on Grinnellians of the 1960s. As Gilmour had hoped, the Program in Practical Political Education truly encouraged Grinnell students to “play ‘the great game of politics’ earnestly and with effect.”<sup>152</sup>

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<sup>152</sup> 1961 PPPE Brochure, 1

## Appendix A: PPPE Events

**PPPE Visitors 1959-1960**<sup>153</sup>

<b>Date</b>	<b>Visitor</b>	<b>Event</b>
September 24, 1959	Iowa State Representative Scott Swisher	Young Democrats meeting
October 15, 1959	Iowa State Democratic Party Chairman Donald Norberg, Republican National Committeeman Charles Wittenmeyer	Debate at a joint Young Democrats and Young Republican meeting
October 15, 1959	U.S. Congressman Robert Griffin, U.S. Congressman Melvin H. Laird, U.S. Congressman Albert H. Quie	Panel discussion on "Operation Sound America"
October 23, 1959	Iowa Lieutenant Governor Edward J. McManus, Iowa State Senator J. Kendall Lynes	Annual Discussion Conference
November 18-20, 1959	Penn State University Professor Dr. John Ferguson	Murray Seasongood College Visitor, "Presidential Nominees for 1960?"
January 12-13, 1960	Iowa Governor Herschel C. Loveless	Politician-in-Residence
February 15-16, 1960	U.S. Congressman Fred Schwengel	Politician-in-Residence
February 23, 1960	Iowa State Democratic Party Chairman Donald Norbert, Iowa State Republican Party Chairman Vernon R. Martin	Panel discussion on "An Effective Two-Party System"
March 23, 1960	Iowa State Democratic Party Chairman	Class visit
April 7-8, 1960	U.S. Congressman Chester Bowles	Rosenfield Lecturer, "Agenda 1961"
April 25, 1960	State chairmen for presidential candidates John Kennedy, Hubert Humphrey, Stuart Symington, Richard Nixon	Coffee Hour panel on "Preview 1960"
May 6-7, 1960	U.S. Senator Wayne Morse	Mock Democratic Convention keynote speaker

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<sup>153</sup> 1959-1960 Annual Report, 17-18

**PPPE Visitors 1960-1961**<sup>154</sup>

<b>Date</b>	<b>Visitor</b>	<b>Event</b>
November 1960	Iowa Democratic State Central Committee Chairman Donald Norberg, Iowa Republican State Central Committee Chairman Vernon R. Martin	
January 13, 1961	Representatives from the Iowa Manufacturers Association, the Iowa Farm Bureau Federation, the AFL-CIO, the League of Women Voters	Political Discussion Group meeting
February 22, 1961	Iowa Governor Norman Erbe, Iowa Lieutenant Governor William Mooty, Iowa House and Senate Majority and Minority Floor Leaders	State Legislative Seminar
April 1961	William F. Buckley, Jr., H. Graham Morison	Panel discussion

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<sup>154</sup> 1961 Falk Foundation Proposal, 4

**PPPE Visitors 1961-1962**<sup>155</sup>

<b>Date</b>	<b>Visitor</b>	<b>Event</b>
September 28, 1961	<i>New America</i> Editor Michael Harrington, Fulton Lewis III of Young Americans for Freedom	Panel discussion on “Should the HUAC be Abolished?”
October 3, 1961	Iowa Republican State Central Committee Executive Secretary Robert Tyson	Class visit
November 4, 1961	U.S. Senator Jack Miller, U.S. Congressman Neal Smith, AFL-CIO Associate Counsel Thomas Harris,	Annual Discussion Conference
November 7-9, 1961	U.S. Senator Hubert Humphrey, U.S. Senator Homer Capehart, <i>Des Moines Register</i> Reporter Clark Mollenhoff	Politician-in-Residence, Debate on “Conservatism vs. Liberalism in American Politics”
November 18, 1961	U.S. Congressman James E. Bromwell	Speech on “Should Congress Enact Federal Aid for Teachers Salaries in 1962?”
December 5, 1961	U.S. Congressman John Kyl	Political Lecturer, “Major Issues in the U.S. Congress in 1962”
February 6, 1962	Frank Bane, Chairman of the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Affairs	Seasongood College Visitor, “Government in the 1960s”
April 6, 1962	Pollster Louis Harris	Speech on “Thunder on the Right: Extremism in American Politics Today”

<sup>155</sup> 1961-1962 Annual Report, 10-15

**PPPE Visitors 1962-1963<sup>156</sup>**

<b>Date</b>	<b>Visitor</b>	<b>Event</b>
October 4, 1962	Grinnell College Professor/Poweshiek County Democratic Chairman Alan Jones	Class visit
October 8-10, 1962	Newport Beach City Manager, F.R. Coop	Coffee Hour discussion
October 11, 1962	Poweshiek County Republican Chairman Ray Sorenson	Class visit
October 15, 1962	<i>Des Moines Register</i> Reporter George Mills	Political Discussion Group meeting, “The 1962 Election: Possibilities and Probabilities”
October 18, 1962	U.S Senator Eugene McCarthy, Iowa State Democratic Party Chairman Lex Hawkins	Politician-in-Residence, “The Times Demand a Democratic Victory in 1962”
October 24, 1962	U.S. Senator Barry Goldwater, Iowa State Republican Party Chairman George Nagle	Politician-in-Residence, “The Times Demand a Republican Victory in 1962”
October 25, 1962	Iowa State Senator Jake Mincks	Class visit
November 8, 1962	U.S. Congressman John Kyl	Class visit, Coffee Hour discussion on “Election Post Mortem”
November 15, 1962	Iowa Secretary of State Melvin Synhorst	Speech on “Elections Administration in Iowa
December 13, 1962	Iowa State Republican Party Executive Secretary Robert Tyson	Speech on “The Political Party Headquarter—A Case Study”
February 2, 1963	Director of the National Civil Service League Dr. James Watson	Seasongood College Visitor, “Urban America—Problems and Prospects”
March 13, 1963	Iowa Governor Harold Hughes, Iowa Lieutenant Governor William Mooty, Iowa House and Senate Majority and Minority Floor Leaders	State Legislative Seminar
May 10, 1963	Grinnell City Manager Edwin Allen	Class visit
May 13-15, 1963	AFL-CIO Assistant Director of Research of Frank Fernbach	Political Lecturer

<sup>156</sup> 1962-1963 Annual Report, 10-14

**PPPE Visitors 1963-1964<sup>157</sup>**

<b>Date</b>	<b>Visitor</b>	<b>Event</b>
October 23-24, 1963	President Harry Truman	Politician-in-Residence, “The American Presidency in an Era of Crisis”
November 3, 1963	Iowa Attorney General Evan Hultman	Coffee Hour discussion on “1964 Will be a Republican Year”
November 19, 1963	Iowa Republican State Finance Chairman Ernest Hays, Iowa AFL-CIO State Treasurer Jack Lewis	Class visit
February 18, 1964	Michigan State University Professor Charles R. Adrian	Seasongood College Visitor, “The Businessman’s Responsibility for his Government,” “Legislative Reapportionment in State Legislatures and Congress”
March 5-6, 1964	Iowa Governor Harold Hughes, Nebraska Governor Frank Morrison	Politician-in-Residence
March 10, 1964	President of the American Medical Society Dr. Edward Annis	Speech on “The Art and Science of Medicine’s Freedom”
April 9, 1964	Oregon Governor Mark Hatfield	Mock Republican Convention keynote speaker
April 11, 1964	U.S. Senator Gale McGee	Mock Democratic Convention keynote speaker

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<sup>157</sup> 1963-1964 Annual Report, 12-17

**PPPE Visitors 1964-1965<sup>158</sup>**

<b>Date</b>	<b>Visitor</b>	<b>Event</b>
October 6, 1964	U.S. Senator Peter Dominick	Politician-in-Residence, "Freedom and Responsibility Through Limited Government—The Republican Goal"
October 13, 1964	U.S. Senator Birch Bayh	Politician-in-Residence, "The Great Society, at Home and Abroad—The Democratic Goal"
December 2, 1964	U.S. Congressman Fred Schwengel	Politician-in-Residence, "The Case for Moderation"
February 15, 1965	University of Cincinnati Professor C. A. Harrell	Seasongood College Visitor, "The Role of Government in the New Age"
March 16, 1965	Iowa Governor Harold Hughes, Iowa Lieutenant Governor Robert Fulton, Iowa House and Senate Majority and Minority Floor Leaders	State Legislative Seminar
May 13, 1965	President Dwight Eisenhower	Politician-in-Residence, "Politics Is Too Important to be Left to the Politicians"

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<sup>158</sup> 1964-1965 Annual Report, 15-20

**PPPE Visitors 1966-1967<sup>159</sup>**

<b>Date</b>	<b>Visitor</b>	<b>Event</b>
September 11, 1966	U.S. Congressman John Kyl	Young Republicans meeting
October 3, 1966	U.S. Congressman Clark MacGregor	Coffee Hour discussion on "Civil Rights Legislation in the 89 <sup>th</sup> Congress"
November 2, 1966	<i>Burlington Hawk-Eye</i> Editor John McCormally	Political Discussion Group Meeting, "Election 1966: Candidates, Issues, and Prospects"
November 25-26, 1967	Idaho Governor Robert Smylie	Politician-in-Residence, "The Role of the States in the New Federalism"
April 6, 1967	Iowa Governor Harold Hughes, Iowa Lieutenant Governor Robert Fulton, Iowa House and Senate Majority and Minority Floor Leaders	State Legislative Seminar

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<sup>159</sup> 1966-1967 Annual Report, 26-31

**PPPE Visitors 1967-1968<sup>160</sup>**

<b>Date</b>	<b>Visitor</b>	<b>Event</b>
September 21, 1967	<i>Burlington Hawk-Eye</i> Editor John McCormally	Class visit, Political Discussion Group meeting
October 10, 1967	Iowa Republican State Central Committee Chairman Robert Ray	Class visit, Young Republicans meeting, "Problems and Prospects of the Republican Party in Iowa"
October 28, 1967	<i>ABC</i> National Political Editor William Lawrence	Political Discussion Group Meeting, "Inside Washington, D.C., 1967"
November 14-15, 1967	California Assembly Speaker Jesse Unruh	Politician-in-Residence, "State Political Leadership: Problems and Potential"
November 18, 1967	Iowa Democratic State Central Committee Chairman Clark Rasmussen	Class visit, Young Democrats meeting, "Problems and Prospects of the Democratic Party in Iowa"
December 1, 1967	Representatives from Iowa Civil Liberties Union, PAC, SDS, and Draft Resistance Union	Coffee Hour discussion on "electoral Politics, Draft Resistance, and Civil Liberties"
February 5, 1968	U.S. Representative Jack Edwards	Politician-in-Residence, "The Prospects for the Republican Party in the South"
February 15, 1968	Iowa State Representative Harry Beardsley	Coffee Hour discussion on "An Alternative to LBJ?"
April 9, 1968	U.S. Representative William A. Steiger	Politician-in-Residence, "What Ails the Great Society"
April 18, 1968	Gary Indiana Mayor Richard G. Hatcher	Mock Democratic Convention keynote speaker
April 19, 1968	Rhode Island Governor John Chaffee	Mock Republican Convention keynote speaker

<sup>160</sup> 1967-1968 Annual Report, 26-32

**PPPE Visitors 1968-1969<sup>161</sup>**

<b>Date</b>	<b>Visitor</b>	<b>Event</b>
September 25, 1968	Iowa Republican State Central Committee Chairman Jack Warren	Class visit, Young Republicans meeting, "Problems and Prospects for the Republican Party in Iowa"
October 2, 1968	Iowa Democratic State Central Committee Chairman Clark Rasmussen	Class visit, Young Democrats meeting, "Problems and Prospects for the Democratic Party in Iowa"
October 8-9, 1968	U.S. Congressman Adam Clayton Powell	Politician-in-Residence, "Race, Poverty, and Politics, 1968"
October 16, 1968	<i>Burlington Hawk-Eye</i> Editor John McCormally	Class visit, Political Discussion Group meeting, "The Press and Politics"
October 30, 1968	Illinois State Representative W. Russell Arrington	Class visit, Political Discussion Group meeting
November 22-23, 1968	"Black militant" Ernie Chambers	Class visit, Political Discussion Group meeting, "Alternatives for Black People and White People"
February 27, 1969	Ames City Manager J.R. Castner	
April 3, 1969	Iowa Governor Robert Ray, Iowa Lieutenant Governor Roger Jespen, Iowa House and Senate Majority and Minority Floor Leaders	State Legislative Seminar
April 16-18, 1969	U.S. Congressman Allard Lowenstein, Jerry Rubin, Bernadine Dohrn	Conference on the New Politics

<sup>161</sup> 1968-1969 Annual Report, 19-23

**PPPE Visitors 1969-1970<sup>162</sup>**

<b>Date</b>	<b>Visitor</b>	<b>Event</b>
September 12-13, 1969	Georgia State Representative Julian Bond	Politician-in-Residence, “The Political Outsiders: The Poor, The Black, The Young”
October 8, 1969	Iowa League of Municipalities Executive Director Robert Hays	Class visit, “The Financial Crisis of American Cities”
November 5, 1969	Former Iowa Republican State Central Committee Chairman Jack Warren	Class visit, Young Republicans meeting
November 24, 1969	Iowa State Senator Minette Doderer	
February 21, 1970	Democratic Congressional Candidate Roger Blobaum	Young Democrats meeting
March 7, 1970	U.S. Senator Jack Miller, Republican National Committee Vice Chairman Elly Peterson	Iowa Young Republicans Conference
April 6, 1970	Brother Smith of the Des Moines Black Panther Party	Class visit
April 10-12, 1970	Representatives from MIT’s Cambridge Institute, AFL-CIO, the American Institute for Marxist Studies, the Negro American Labor Council, California State Representative Yvonne Brathwaite	Conference on the American Working Class

<sup>162</sup> 1969-1970 Annual Report, 18-22

## Appendix B: PPPE Budgets

**PPPE Proposed Annual Falk Foundation Grant Budget<sup>163</sup>**

To finance the Program in Practical Political Education, a grant in the amount of \$14,250 for each of three years is requested. The proposed annual budget is as follows:

Salary for Director of Program (half-time): .....	\$4,500
Travel allowance for Director: .....	750
Travel allowance for students: .....	750
Honoraria and expenses for speakers: .....	2,500
Secretarial and stenographic expenses (including services to the various organizations): ...	1,000
*Supplies and equipment (movie and film strip projectors, mimeograph machine, typewriter, calculator, tape recorder, etc.): .....	1,500
Library purchases (books, pamphlets, journals): .....	500
**Assistance to student field work, including summer internships: .....	2,750
<b>Total: .....</b>	<b>\$14,250</b>

\* Those non-recurring capital expenditures necessary for the immediate operation of the program would be made the first year. The remainder of the amount budgeted would be used for supplies, films, films strips, survey materials, etc.

\*\* Breakdown of item:

4 interns @ \$175 a month (to cover minimum expenses of room, board, and travel) for three months: \$2,100

Expenses of faculty supervision of interns: 400

Subsidizing of other field works: 250

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<sup>163</sup> 1959 Falk Foundation Proposal, 18

**1959-1960 PPPE Budget**<sup>164</sup>

Receipts:	1959-60 Falk Foundation grant:.....	\$14,250.00
Expenditures:	Salary of Program Director (half-time): .....	\$4,500.00
	Capital purchases: .....	1,165.85
	Speakers' honoraria/travel expense: .....	1,1750.34
	Mock Convention: .....	1,632.07
	Secretarial and supplies: .....	527.96
	Telephone: .....	205.94
	Program Director's travel expenses:.....	438.56
	Visual aid rentals: .....	51.60
	Political Clubs, direct contributions: .....	65.00
	Student research expenses: .....	65.40
	Library purchases:.....	500.00 (includes \$70.00 of books on order)
	Food Service: .....	275.97
	Misc.: .....	74.52
	Budgeted for 1960 Summer Political Internship Program:	2,500.00
	<b>Total: .....</b>	<b>\$13,753.21</b>
	<b>Balance, June 20, 1960: .....</b>	<b>\$496.79</b>

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<sup>164</sup> 1959-1960 Annual Report, Appendix C

**1960-1961 PPPE Budget**<sup>165</sup>

Beginning balance, July 1, 1960: \$3,246.83 (including \$2,500.00 budgeted for 1960 Summer Internship Program and \$500.00 budgeted for PPPE brochure)

Receipts:	1960-61 Falk Foundation grant: .....	14,250.00
	<b>Total: .....</b>	<b>\$17,496.83</b>
Expenditures:	Salary of Program Director (half-time): .....	\$4,500.00
	Capital purchases: .....	1,344.99
	Speakers' honoraria/travel expense: .....	1,770.53
	Secretarial and supplies: .....	699.71
	Telephone: .....	81.44
	Director's travel expense: .....	307.52
	Political clubs, direct contributions: .....	140.17
	Student research expense: .....	156.54
	Library purchases: .....	500.00 (including \$30.00 of books on order)
	Food Service and Caucus Room expense: .....	209.22
	Grinnell House: .....	92.30
	PPPE brochure: .....	516.19
	Student field trips: .....	112.22
	1960 Summer Internship Program: .....	2,500.00
	1960 Campaign Internship Program: .....	300.00
	1961 Summer Internship Program, to date: .....	750.00
	1961 Summer Internship Program, budgeted: .....	2,200.00
	Budgeted for future furnishing of Caucus Room:.....	1,200.00
	Misc.: .....	20.18
	<b>Total: .....</b>	<b>\$17,401.01</b>
	<b>Balance, June 1, 1961: .....</b>	<b>\$95.82</b>

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<sup>165</sup> 1960-1961 Annual Report, 9

**1961-1962 PPPE Budget<sup>166</sup>**

Beginning balance, July 1, 1961: \$3,122.54 (including \$2,750.00 budgeted for 1961 Summer Internship Program)

Receipts:	1961-62 Falk Foundation grant: .....	14,250.00
	<b>Total: .....</b>	<b>\$17,372.54</b>
Expenditures:	Salary of Program Director: .....	\$4,500.00
	Director's travel expenses: .....	470.49
	Speakers' honoraria/travel expenses: .....	4,873.31
	Secretarial and supplies: .....	90.46
	Capital purchases: .....	176.38
	Telephone: .....	227.26
	Visual aid rentals: .....	57.50
	Library purchases: .....	312.50 (including \$25.00 of books on order)
	Political clubs, direct contributions: .....	423.28
	Student research expense: .....	390.37
	Student field trips: .....	71.04
	Food Service and Caucus Room expense: .....	433.40
	Grinnell House: .....	58.00
	Reprint of brochures: .....	129.52
	1961 Summer Internship Program: .....	129.52
	1962 Summer Internship Program, to date: .....	445.32
	1962 Summer Internship Program, budgeted: .....	2,100.00
	Misc.: .....	22.96
	<b>Total: .....</b>	<b>\$17,281.79</b>
	<b>Balance, June 1, 1962: .....</b>	<b>\$90.75</b>

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<sup>166</sup> 1961-1962 Annual Report, Appendix A

**1962-1963 PPPE Budget<sup>167</sup>**

Beginning balance, July 1, 1961: \$1,629.74 (including \$2,100.00 budgeted for 1962 Summer Internship Program)

Receipts: 1962-63 Falk Foundation grant: ..... 14,2500.00

**Total: ..... \$15,879.74**

Expenditures: Salary of Program Director: ..... \$4,500.00

Director's travel expenses: ..... 388.77

Speakers' honoraria/travel expenses: ..... 2,490.88

Secretarial and supplies: ..... 239.29

Capital purchases (including Caucus Room improvements): ...  
..... 818.37

Telephone: ..... 144.23

Visual aid rentals: ..... 53.70

Library purchases: ..... 251.21

Political clubs, direct contributions: ..... 378.05

Student research expense: ..... 36.42

Student field trips: ..... 76.38

Food Service and Caucus Room expense: ..... 530.46

Grinnell House: ..... 203.20

Printing: ..... 642.15

1963 Fall Campaign Internship Program: ..... 300.00

1962 Summer Internship Program: ..... 2,100.00

1963 Summer Internship Program, to date: ..... 600.00

1963 Summer Internship Program, budgeted: ..... 2,000.00

Misc.: ..... 67.75

**Total: ..... \$15,820.86**

**Balance, May 31, 1962: ..... \$58.88**

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<sup>167</sup> 1962-1963 Annual Report, Appendix A

**1963-1964 PPPE Budget<sup>168</sup>****Falk Fund—General, July 1, 1963-April 1, 1964**

Beginning Balance, July 1, 1963: \$1,661.60 (including \$1,350.00 budgeted for 1963 Summer Internship Program)

Receipts: 1963-64 Falk Foundation grant: ..... 7,125.00  
 1963-64 College matching allotment:..... 7,125.00  
**Total: ..... \$15,911.60**

Expenditures: Salary of Program Director:..... \$4,500.00  
 Director's travel expenses:..... 294.68  
 Speakers' honoraria/travel expenses: ..... 1,219.36  
 Secretarial and supplies: ..... 333.25  
 Capital purchases (including Caucus Room improvements: ....  
 ..... 1,719.84  
 Telephone and telegraph: ..... 81.81  
 Visual aid rentals: ..... 89.87  
 Library purchases: ..... 137.22  
 Political clubs, direct contributions: ..... 276.61  
 Student research expense: ..... 39.44  
 Student field trips and demonstrations: ..... 46.92  
 Food Service and Caucus Room expense: ..... 153.73  
 Grinnell House: ..... 214.70  
 Printing and photographs: ..... 232.54  
 Buildings and Grounds Department: ..... 196.61  
 1963 Summer Internship Program: ..... 1,250.00  
 1964 Summer Internship Program, budgeted: ..... 2,500.00  
 1964 Mock Conventions, to date: ..... 550.00  
 1964 Mock Conventions, budgeted: ..... 2,450.00  
 Misc.: ..... 29.03  
 Total to date: ..... \$15,775.61  
 Budgeted expenditures, April 1 to June 30, 1964: ..... 135.99  
**Total: ..... \$15,911.60**

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<sup>168</sup> 1963-1964 Annual Report, Appendix A and Appendix B

**Falk Foundation Grant for Internships in Political Reporting, December 30, 1963-April 1, 1965**

Grant for three year period: \$4,500.00

Receipts: Amount of grant budgeted for second semester, 1963-64: .. 750.00

Expenditures: Awards and travel expenses, to date: ..... \$216.71

Awards and travel expenses, budgeted: 5 ..... 33.29

**Total: ..... \$750.00**

**1964-1965 PPPE Budget<sup>169</sup>****PPPE Account, July 1, 1964-May 31, 1965**

Balance, July 1, 1964: \$81.06

Receipts: 64-65 Falk Foundation Grant:..... 3,562.50  
 64-65 College allotment: ..... 10,68.50  
**Total: ..... 14,331.06**

Expenditures: Director's salary: ..... \$4,500.00  
 Director's travel expenses:..... 302.31  
 Speakers' honoraria/travel expenses: ..... 1,937.00  
 Secretarial, supplies, and postage: ..... 668.64  
 Capital purchases: ..... 248.70  
 Telephone and telegraph: ..... 163.58  
 Visual and rentals:..... 35.06  
 Caucus Room Library Purchases: ..... 19.65  
 Campus political clubs:..... 200.60  
 Student field trips: ..... 58.72  
 Food Service: ..... 300.02  
 Printing: ..... 769.36  
 Photographs: ..... 23.45  
 Buildings and Grounds Department: ..... 394.84  
 Music for public events: ..... 330.00  
 Fall Campaign internship program: ..... 300.00  
 1964 Summer internship program: ..... 1,450.00  
 1965 Summer internship program: ..... 600.00  
 Misc.: ..... 13.20  
**Total: ..... 12,315.13**

**Summer Internship Program**

Budgeted for 1965 Summer internships: 1,500.00

Budgeted summer expenditures:..... 515.93

**Total (expenditures and budgeted): ..... 14,331.06****Political Reporting Internship Account, July 1, 1964-May 31, 1965**

Grant for three year period: \$4,500.00

Expenditures: ..... 2,131.96

**Balance: ..... 2,386.04**


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<sup>169</sup> 1964-1965 Annual Report, Appendix A and Appendix B

**Proposed PPPE Budget for 1965-1966 with Explanations and Commentary (December 29, 1964)<sup>170</sup>**

**Proposed PPPE Budget for 1956-1966**

Speakers' honoraria/travel expenses: .....	\$800.00
Summer political internship program: .....	625.00
Fall Campaign internship program: .....	150.00
Conferences, Workshops & coffee-hours: .....	500.00
Food Services: .....	200.00
Director's travel expenses: .....	250.00
PDG: .....	100.00
All-college field trips: .....	100.00
Caucus Room expenses: .....	75.00
Printing and photographs: .....	65.00
Political Book-of-the-Months: .....	50.00
Mock Elections: .....	50.00
Capital Purchases: .....	35.00
Library purchases (part of burling acquisition program): .....	0.00
Mock Conventions (discontinued, unless special budget is available every 4 years): .....	0.00
Political Lectureship & Politician-in-Residence Program (discontinued, unless endowment or other funds made available): .....	0.00
Campus political clubs: (discontinued; indirect contributions only): .....	0.00
Seasongood College Visitor Program (discontinued, unless taken over by Political Science Department): .....	0.00
<b>Total: .....</b>	<b>\$3,000.00</b>

(Assuming secretarial, telephone, supplies, postage, and Buildings and Grounds expenses are not chargeable against PPPE budget, and that visual aid rentals, student research expense and student field trips will be chargeable against the Political Science Department.)

**Cutbacks of PPPE Expenditures in 1965-1966 Proposed Budget**

Director's travel expenses: .....	\$150.00
Speakers' honoraria/travel expenses: .....	2,200.00
Secretarial, supplies and postage: .....	685.00
Telephone and telegraph: .....	200.00
Buildings and Grounds: .....	350.00
Grinnell House: .....	215.00

<sup>170</sup> Proposed PPPE Budget for 1965-1966

Food Service and Caucus Room expenses: .....	175.00
Capital purchases: .....	115.00
Library purchases: .....	300.00
Visual aid rentals: .....	75.00
Student research expense: .....	140.00
Student field trips: .....	85.00
Campus political clubs: .....	350.00
Printing and photographs: .....	450.00
Summer Political Internship Program: .....	1,975.00
Fall Campaign Internship Program: .....	150.00
<b>Total Budge Cutbacks: .....</b>	<b>7,550.00</b>

**1966-1967 PPPE Budget<sup>171</sup>****PPPE Account, September 1, 1966-May 31, 1968**

Receipts:	College allotment: .....	\$5,000.00
	Poweshiek County Republican and Democratic Central Committees (internships): .....	150.00
	Governor Hughes' Dinner admissions: .....	103.50
	Interprogram transfers: .....	38.60
	<b>Total: .....</b>	<b>5,292.10</b>
Expenditures:	Speakers' honoraria/travel expenses: .....	1080.33
	Campus political clubs: .....	280.00
	Fall Campaign internship program: .....	300.00
	Clerical and Caucus Room expenses: .....	74.79
	Telephone and telegraph: .....	92.22
	Visual aid rentals: .....	54.77
	Caucus Room periodicals and purchases: .....	62.18
	Director's Travel Expenses: .....	227.19
	Food Service: .....	164.03
	Printing and photographs: .....	576.56
	Telephone Lecture Project: .....	200.00
	Reserve for 1968 Convention Fund: .....	2,000.00
	Misc.: .....	40.00
	Bills pending: .....	140.03
	<b>Total: .....</b>	<b>5,292.10</b>

**Political Reporting Internship Account, September 1, 1966-May 31, 1967**

Falk Foundation grant for three year period: \$4,500.00

Expenditures:	Intern honoraria: .....	\$300.00
	Transportation: .....	402.40
	Orientation dinner and meeting: .....	87.00
	<b>Total: .....</b>	<b>789.40</b>

Balance, May 31, 1967: \$1030.61

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<sup>171</sup> 1966-1967 Annual Report, Appendix A and Appendix B

**1967-1968 PPPE Budget**<sup>172</sup>**PPPE Account, September 1, 1967-May 3, 1968**

Receipts:	College allotment: .....	\$5,000.00
	Transfer from 1968 Mock Political Conventions account: ...	92.92
	<b>Total: .....</b>	<b>5,092.92</b>
Expenditures:	Speakers' honoraria/travel expenses: .....	\$1,531.65
	Campus political clubs: .....	206.60
	Caucus Room expenses: .....	248.70
	Clerical and supplies: .....	63.34
	Telephone and telegraph: .....	143.99
	Program Director travel expenses: .....	266.04
	Food Service: .....	122.80
	Printing and photographs: .....	255.50
	Reserve for 1968 Mock Political Conventions: .....	2,200.00
	Misc.: .....	8.41
	<b>Total: .....</b>	<b>5,047.03</b>
	<b>Balance: .....</b>	<b>\$45.89</b>

**Political Reporting Internship Account, September 1, 1967-May 3, 1968**

Balance, September 1, 1967 (of three-year grant of \$4,500): \$1,30.61

Expenditures:	Intern honoraria:.....	\$200.00
	Transportation:.....	365.20
	Food service:.....	2.70
	Orientation dinner and meeting: .....	111.60
	<b>Total: .....</b>	<b>679.50</b>
	<b>Balance: .....</b>	<b>\$351.11</b>

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<sup>172</sup> 1967-1968 Annual Report, Appendix A, Appendix B, and Appendix C

**Mock Political Conventions Account, September 1, 1967-May 3, 1968**

Balance, September 1, 1967: \$2,000.00

Receipts:	Transfer from PPPE Account: .....	2,200.00
	<b>Total: .....</b>	<b>4,200.00</b>
Expenditures:	Honoraria: .....	\$2,000.00
	Travel expenses:.....	448.19
	Candidate campaign funds: .....	186.75
	Convention badges: .....	126.16
	Decorations: .....	278.88
	Music: .....	335.00
	Programs: .....	527.50
	Special Convention issue of S&B:.....	100.00
	Food Service: .....	45.00
	Misc.: .....	59.60
	Transfer to PPPE account: .....	92.92
	<b>Total: .....</b>	<b>4,200.00</b>

**1968-1969 PPPE Budget**<sup>173</sup>**PPPE Account, September 1, 1968-May 9, 1969**

Receipts:	College allotment: .....	\$5,000.00
	Poweshiek County Republican Central Committee (internship): .....	75.00
	Poweshiek County Democratic Central Committee (internship): .....	75.00
	SGA/Initiative Fund: .....	300.00
	Guests for Governor's Dinner, State Legislative Seminar: ..	75.00
	SGA (Conference on New Politics): .....	400.00
	CBS (Conference on New Politics): .....	75.00
	Misc.: .....	5.24
	<b>Total: .....</b>	<b>6,005.24</b>
Expenditures:	Speakers' honoraria/travel expenses: .....	\$3984.95
	Campus political clubs: .....	200.00
	Fall campaign internship: .....	300.00
	Caucus Room expenses: .....	97.03
	Equipment maintenance: .....	36.35
	Supplies: .....	111.01
	Telephone and telegraph: .....	171.63
	Director's Travel expenses: .....	195.49
	Food Service: .....	277.05
	Printing and photographs: .....	144.55
	Reserve for 1972 Conventions: .....	300.00
	Misc.: .....	25.52
	<b>Total: .....</b>	<b>5,843.57</b>
	<b>Balance: .....</b>	<b>\$161.67</b>

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<sup>173</sup> 1968-1969 Annual Report, Appendix A and Appendix B

**Political Reporting Internship Account, September 1, 1968-May 9, 1969**

Balance, September 1, 1968: \$351.11

Receipts:	Sigma Delta Chi: .....	123.00
	Theta Sigma Phi: .....	123.00
	<b>Total: .....</b>	<b>597.11</b>
Expenditures:	Transportation, fall semester: .....	\$161.08
	Transportation, second semester: .....	94.64
	<b>Total: .....</b>	<b>255.72</b>
	<b>Balance: .....</b>	<b>\$341.39</b>

**1969-1970 PPPE Budget**<sup>174</sup>**PPPE Account, July 1, 1969-May 5, 1970**

Receipts:	College allotment, 1969-70: .....	\$5,000.00
	For Conference on the American Working Class:	
	.....College: \$350.00	
	.....SGA: 650.00	
	.....CBS: 75.00	
	.....Young Republicans: 50.00	
	.....Young Democrats: 50.00	
	.....American Friends Service Committee: 300.00	
	.....Total: \$1,475.00	
	<b>Total: .....</b>	<b>\$6,475.00</b>
Expenditures:	Speakers' honoraria/travel expenses: .....	\$1,495.00
	Campus political clubs, direct contributions: .....	325.00
	Caucus Room expenses: .....	33.20
	Clerical and program supplies: .....	99.05
	Telephone and telegraph: .....	133.07
	Food Service: .....	213.92
	Printing and photographs: .....	483.00
	Film rentals: .....	62.14
	Director's travel expenses: .....	218.90
	Conference on the American Working Class: .....	2,778.85
	Reserve for 1972 Mock Political Conventions: .....	500.00
	Misc.: .....	10.10
	<b>Total: .....</b>	<b>\$6,352.23</b>
	Balance, May 5, 1970 (as reserve for unpaid bills for remainder of year):	\$122.77

**Political Reporting Internship Account, July 1, 1969-May 5, 1970**

Receipts:	Balance, July 1, 1969: .....	\$341.39
	Sigma Delta Chi, Grinnell Chapter: .....	100.00
	Theta Sigma Phi, Grinnell Chapter: .....	100.00
	<b>Total: .....</b>	<b>\$541.39</b>
Expenditures:	Transportation, 1969-70 Internship Program: .....	\$156.28
	<b>Total: .....</b>	<b>\$156.28</b>
	Balance, May 5, 1970: \$385.11	

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<sup>174</sup> 1969-1970 Annual Report, Appendix A and Appendix B

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