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83d Congress, 2d Session

House Report No. 2681

TAX-EXEMPT FOUNDATIONS

REPORT

OF THE

SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE TAX-EXEMPT FOUNDATIONS AND COMPARABLE ORGANIZATIONS

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

EIGHTY-THIRD CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

ON

H. Res. 217



**DECEMBER 16, 1954.—Committed to the Committee of the Whole House
on the State of the Union and ordered to be printed**

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**SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE TAX-EXEMPT
FOUNDATIONS**

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83D CONGRESS <i>2d Session</i>	}	HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES	}	REPORT No. 2681
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TAX-EXEMPT FOUNDATIONS

DECEMBER 16, 1954.—Committed to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union and ordered to be printed

Mr. REECE of Tennessee, from the Special Committee To Investigate Tax-Exempt Foundations and Comparable Foundations, submitted the following

REPORT

[Pursuant to H. Res. 217, 83d Cong., 2d sess.]

TAX-EXEMPT FOUNDATIONS

PART ONE

INTRODUCTORY MATERIAL

I. THE CREATION AND FUNCTIONING OF THE COMMITTEE

This Committee was created by House Resolution 217, 83rd Congress, first session, adopted July 27, 1953. The resolution authorized an investigation as follows:

The Committee is authorized and directed to conduct a full and complete investigation and study of educational and philanthropic foundations and other comparable organizations which are exempt from Federal income taxation to determine if any foundations and organizations are using their resources for purposes other than the purposes for which they were established, and especially to determine which such foundations and organizations are using their resources for un-American and subversive activities; for political purposes; propaganda, or attempts to influence legislation.

The resolution directed a report to be filed by January 3, 1955.

House Resolution 373, 83rd Congress, first session, adopted on August 1, 1953, appropriated the sum of \$50,000, with the expectation of the Committee that further funds would be granted after the first of the following year. Counsel was engaged as of September 1, 1953; the building of a staff commenced about September 15, 1953.

It was decided to engage in an intensive period of assembling and study of material, after which public hearings were planned to be held starting at the end of February or the beginning of March. After the first of the year, an additional appropriation was requested in the sum of \$125,000 to carry the Committee through until January, 1955. After considerable delay, a sub-committee of the Committee on House Administration decided to recommend the reduced sum of \$100,000 as an additional appropriation; later the full Committee on Administration reduced this sum further to \$65,000, which appropriation was granted by House Resolution 433 on April 6, 1954.

This additional appropriation was patently inadequate to enable this Committee to do the work for which it had been created. Moreover, there were moments when considerable doubt existed whether any additional appropriation would be granted. This doubt, the long delay while its funds were being exhausted, and other harassments to which the Committee and its employees were subjected, made it impossible for the Committee to schedule any hearings until it had funds at hand. The Easter recess then faced the Committee. Thus the first hearing could not be scheduled until May 10, 1954. Moreover, radical revisions in the Committee's plans had to be made. It was decided to hold such hearings as might be possible in May, June and early July and then to report. It was obvious that the appropriation which had finally been granted could not possibly support continued studies for the remainder of the Committee's permitted life.

A committee had been created by the previous Congress to investigate the same field. We shall refer to it as the "Cox Committee."

It had sent out questionnaires to about 1500 foundations, and about two-thirds of the foundations solicited had filed answers to them. The material in these answers was found to be of considerable value. However, our staff was distressed to find that much of the data collected and memoranda prepared by the previous staff were missing from the files. (Hearings, p. 14, et seq.)

A request was made on November 16, 1953 for an executive order to examine the forms known as 990A filed by foundations with the Internal Revenue Service. This order was not granted until February 11, 1954, and actual access to these reports, containing much valuable information which otherwise would have had to be obtained by individual solicitation from the foundations or by subpoena, was not granted by the Service until April 8, 1954. When access was finally obtained, the Committee was informed that it could not photostat these reports nor borrow them from the Service. This, in the light of their volume, limited their usefulness. Moreover, all the forms requested had not been brought into Washington from field offices.

Sixteen public hearings were held, the last on June 17th. Further public hearings were discontinued by a resolution passed at an executive meeting of the Committee on July 1, 1954. The Committee discontinued hearings with deep regret and only through necessity. It understood that depriving foundation spokesmen of an opportunity to state positions orally might affect its public relations; it concluded, nevertheless, that the circumstances permitted no other course. Moreover, the discontinuance of the hearings resulted in no serious loss to the inquiry, for oral testimony in an investigation of this nature is of far less importance than research.

Nor did the foundations lose any opportunity either to present their points of view or to receive attendant publicity. Written statements were solicited from them, which gave them the opportunity to answer the material already presented to the Committee and to add freely such further comments as they might choose. These statements were carefully considered and added in full to the record. The statements were given full publicity and were widely reported in the newspapers, appearing in a most favorable manner in view of the fact that no critical comments by the Committee were simultaneously publicized. The foundations touched by the hearings were thus given a fair opportunity to put their best foot forward at the same time that they escaped the embarrassment of cross examination.

The Committee's work by no means ended with the discontinuance of public hearings. An investigation of this type is, after all, primarily a matter of laborious research; the research continued industriously, hampered only by a gradual reduction in the staff which the Committee's limited finances necessitated.

In the following text we have used italics in conventional manner, but also to designate foundations and tax-free organizations other than universities, colleges, and schools, and to identify certain individuals, special reference to whose records is made in appendices.

II. THE APPROACH OF THE COMMITTEE

The Cox Committee admittedly had been allotted insufficient time within which to do a complete study or even adequately to outline the full scope of inquiry. The present committee deemed its mandate

to be virtually a continuation of the investigation of its predecessor. It considered itself authorized to make a study not only of specific abuses which might come to light but also of the general orientation of foundations in our society. It has deemed itself primarily a fact-finding body, intending to make recommendations to the House only where such seemed clearly wise. Principally, its function was considered to be to bring into clear relief any grave criticisms which appeared to be reasonably warranted in order that the House itself could have a basis for considering whether further action should be taken by way of additional study or the application of means of correction or control.

The Committee was and is well aware of the many magnificent services which foundations have rendered to the people of the United States in many fields and areas, particularly in medicine, public health and science. Nothing has occurred to change its initial conviction that the foundation, as an institution, is desirable and should be encouraged. If little time is spent in this report reciting the good which the foundations have done, it is not because this Committee is unaware of it or in any way reluctant to acknowledge it. Rather, this Committee considers that it is necessarily concerned with the evaluation of criticisms. A fair judgment of the work and the position of foundations in our society must obviously take into account the great measure of benefit for which they have been responsible. At the same time, the power of these foundations is so great that a proper evaluation must give great weight to the dangers which have appeared in their operations in certain areas of activity.

We wish, therefore, to make clear that not even an inferential conclusion is to be drawn from this report that foundations are undesirable. Our conclusion is the opposite. It is our intention to present critical material for the very purpose of increasing the usefulness of foundations and of making their place in our society firmer and safer. We hope that such material will induce the foundations themselves to "clean house," if that is necessary. This Committee is opposed to any *unnecessary* government regulation; and would recommend Congressional action only in so far as the seriousness of certain abuses might be accompanied by any unwillingness of the foundations to reform themselves, or in the event that it were concluded that certain dangers could be guarded against *only* through regulation.

It was our hope, to begin with, that no remedial action by the Congress might be necessary. But foundations play a part in our society the importance of which can hardly be exaggerated; and, in the course of our investigation, evidence of very grave abuses accumulated to the point of indicating that intervention by Congress to protect our society is badly needed. Some remedies can be instituted at once. Others should perhaps be considered only after that continued and more intensive study of foundation activities which the facts already disclosed have proved to be utterly necessary. Even with an adequate appropriation, this Committee could probably not have done the full study of the subject which the circumstances warrant. It has been variously estimated that this would take a period of three to seven years, by a full staff amply financed.

Our own studies soon disclosed the measure of this problem. Accordingly, it was decided to limit the work by confining it to "foundations" included under Section 501 (c) (3), [formerly Section 101 (6)] of the Internal Revenue Code; and, within that category, to

eliminate (except where direct reference seemed necessary for other reasons) consideration of (a) religious institutions, (b) operating academic institutions and (c) certain other sub-divisions of the 501 (c) (3) [formerly 101 (6)] class, as well as (d) the small foundations which are mere media for distributing the annual charitable income tax deductions of individuals and (e) other minor distributing or collecting foundations.

The term "foundation" is a broad one. In this report it is intended to denote "foundations" as the term is ordinarily used by the layman—indicating such foundations as *The Rockefeller Foundation*, *The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, *The Ford Foundation*, *The Twentieth Century Fund*, etc. We shall also, sometimes, include certain types of organizations which are "foundations" within the term but are not generally so recognized by the public. These are the intermediary organizations, used by foundations, such as *The Social Science Research Council*.

For reasons to be explained later, we decided, moreover, to confine our inquiry chiefly to the activities of the foundations in what are known as the "social sciences."

* * * * *

This report is based upon the testimony at hearings; the statements filed by foundations and others; the other material included in the record; data and information secured by personal conferences, correspondence and telephone conferences; and materials assembled by a reading, study and analysis of books and literature relating to foundations and to the social sciences.

III. THE FOUNDATIONS AND TAXES

THE PRESENT BASIS OF FEDERAL INTEREST.

With an occasional but rare exception, foundations are created under state law. Their activities are, therefore, under state control, for the most part. The Federal government acquires its immediate interest through the tax laws. It has never sought directly to regulate foundations, deeming this to be the province of the respective states in which the foundations are created and operate. But the Federal government extends to foundations certain exemptions from Federal taxation. Their income is exempt from Federal income tax; contributions to them are free of gift tax and estate tax; and the donor is permitted a deduction for income tax purposes to the extent of 20% of the income of an individual donor and 5% of that of a corporate donor.¹ These exemptions are acts of grace by the Federal government. In so far as they relieve foundations and their creators and supporters from taxation, they impose a greater tax burden upon the generality of the people of the country. Thus the Federal government permits the equivalent of public money to be used by these foundations. Accordingly, it is justified in applying certain restrictions on the right to the various exemptions granted to foundations.

The theory behind such restrictions is simply that, as exemptions are acts of grace, the government may clearly impose such conditions on the exemptions as may be calculated to prevent abuse of the privilege and to prevent the use of the exempted funds against the public interest.

¹ Under the 1954 amendments to the tax law an individual is granted a 30% deduction for charitable donations but only 20% of this may go to foundations.

THE POSSIBILITY OF WIDER INTEREST.

Whether a Constitutional basis for a more extended Federal control of foundation activities can be found, other than that which the tax laws offer, is a matter which warrants careful study. The tax laws can control foundations only in limited fashion. If greater control becomes necessary or advisable, and a movement should come into being in some degree to supplant or amplify the control now resting with the states, a basis for legislative action might conceivably be found in the general welfare clauses of the Constitution or elsewhere in it; but this would require a careful study of constitutional law. The problem is not easy.

Many suggestions have been made in the "there ought to be a law" area. This Committee repeats, however, that it does not favor any *unnecessary* extension of Federal jurisdiction. It hopes that whatever errors in foundation operation and management now exist may be corrected within the Federal tax laws, by state law and by the willingness of foundations to maintain more vigilant safeguards against abuses which have existed in the past.

HOW FOUNDATIONS ARE CREATED.

They may be created by act of Congress, but few have been.

The usual methods are two: by the creation of a trust under state law, having "charitable" purposes; and by the creation of a corporation under the state law (generally what is known as a "membership corporation") having exclusively "charitable" purposes. The trust is managed by trustees who usually are authorized to fill their own ranks as vacancies appear. The corporation is managed by a board of trustees or directors, elected and replaced by the members. The members are usually small in number and it is not uncommon for the members to make themselves the directors.

WHAT INDUCES THE CREATION OF FOUNDATIONS.

Mr. Leo Eagan, in an article on foundations in the *New York Times* of March 1, 1954, called attention to the "enormous growth that has taken place in the number and assets of foundations over the last fifteen years," saying later:

"All authorities agree that the number has risen rapidly since 1939 and is still on the increase. It is likewise agreed that extremely high income and inheritance taxes on big incomes and estates have been a major factor in promoting this growth."

A very common use of smaller foundations is as a means for distributing at leisure the charitable donations which are deductible under the income tax law. This applies both to individual and corporate donors. Instead of rushing at the end of the year to make the necessary charitable payments to get within the full income tax deduction allowance, one single contribution is made to a foundation, which then may take its time to distribute the fund in detail. But these contributions are not always distributed. Technically, they constitute capital in the hands of the foundation, and not income. As the tax law proscribes the unreasonable accumulation of income, the distinction is important; the foundation may aggregate the donations received, paying out merely the income which this aggregation earns and holding the capital intact for some special purpose, perhaps to buy assets from the donor's estate at his death.

In this era, the larger foundations are sometimes created because the donor, anticipating that part of his estate may be taxed at an almost confiscatory rate, prefers to set this part of his estate aside, tax free, for a public benefit rather than to have the greater part of it pass to the Government.

But perhaps the most frequent motivation in the creation of large foundations today is that the proprietor of a substantial enterprise, who wishes to have it continued after his death in the hands of his family, has insufficient liquid means available to satisfy his estate tax obligations at death. There are other ways of solving the estate-liquidation problem, such as buy-and-sell agreements with other stockholders; the carrying of sufficient life insurance; the use of Section 303 [formerly Section 115 (g) (3)] of the Internal Revenue Code, which permits the corporation under certain circumstances to purchase enough stock from the deceased, without tax penalty to the estate, to pay the tax bill, etc. But there are many instances in which, no other means seeming practicable, a foundation is resorted to.

The usual procedure then is to transfer (or arrange to transfer at death) to a foundation created for the purpose enough of the ownership of a corporation to reduce the estate tax impact to a point where the liquid assets of the proprietor (and other means he may have devised to solve the problem) are sufficient to meet the death taxes. Such donations are usually in the form of preferred or non-voting stock. Combinations of these advantages result:

1. The family may remain in full voting control;
2. The family has a pleasant partner, managed by gentle hands;
3. The family may reap the benefit of any increase in the value of the equity;
4. If further inflation should come, it is the family which can become entitled to receive the benefit of the increase in monetary value of the company;
5. No working capital is lost by the venture; and
6. The foundation may even be used as a vehicle for the employment of associates and relatives.

It is not always, however, non-voting stock which is transferred to a foundation. Where a foundation is to be guided by friendly hands, the donor may be willing to let it become a partner in management by giving it voting stock. That was the case, for example, with the Duke Foundation, the assets of which include voting stock of the Duke Power companies. As the charter provides that this stock cannot be sold without the consent of all of the trustees, a sale is unlikely and the voting stock is rather sure to remain in friendly hands.

THE FORD FOUNDATION: AN EXAMPLE OF THE USE OF A FOUNDATION TO RETAIN MANAGEMENT CONTROL OF AN ENTERPRISE.

The Ford Foundation affords a good example of the use of a foundation to solve the death tax problem and, at the same time, the problem of how to retain control of a great enterprise in the hands of the family. 90% of the ownership of the Ford Motor Company was transferred to *The Ford Foundation*, created for the purpose. Had it not been, it is almost certain that the family would have lost control. The

only practical alternative might have been to sell a large part of the stock to the public or to bankers, or to sell the entire Company. The huge taxes payable by the Ford estates could not have been paid without liquidating a considerable part—possibly a controlling part—of the family business. The solution selected was to give away 90% of the Company to “charity”, so that the greater part of the estates would be free of death taxation.

The “charitable” transfers, could have been made, of course, direct to universities, churches, hospitals and other institutions. But this would have put the donated stock of the Ford Company into the hands of strangers. For this reason, we assume, a foundation was created, and to make doubly certain that there would be no interference with the Company’s management, the donated stock was in the form of non-voting shares. Not only did the family thus retain 100% voting control, but the Ford Company lost no working capital whatsoever. Moreover, even non-voting stock can be something of a nuisance in the hands of strangers but, held by an amiable creature, operated by friendly nominees of the family, it would not be likely to bring any pressure to bear on the management of the Company of the kind which might be expected of an alert general stockholder.

There is nothing illegal about such a plan. It is entirely proper as the law now stands and it is a mechanism frequently used to reach just the results which the Ford family anticipated. But in the case of a large company such as Ford, it is subject to considerable social or economic criticism on the ground of its unfair business impact. The April 1954 issue of *The Corporate Director* contained a study of *The Ford Foundation*. It was referred to in detail by Mr. Aaron Sargent, a witness before the Committee (in full, Hearings, p. 373 *et seq.*). The article points out that members of the Ford family, as officers of the Ford Company, are able to draw salaries and are thus in a position, being assured of their own income, to allow the Company to operate on a cost basis, without having to pay dividends. By that means, they could bring destructive economic power to bear upon competitors of the Ford Company which must pay dividends to stockholders and maintain a credit position. No other automobile manufacturing company is in a position to ignore stability of earnings or continuity of dividend payments. If General Motors or Chrysler earned no money, the article said, the management heads would roll; but Ford management would remain in power regardless of its earning record.

There is no evidence that the Ford Company has taken any unfair advantage of its competitors in the manner which the article describes as possible. The point is discussed here merely to illustrate an abuse which can accompany the use of a foundation in business and estate planning.

The Ford Foundation has been criticised in another respect, however, relating to unfair competition. The Television programs and other enterprises conducted by the *Foundation* advertise the name of “Ford.” This, say some critics, because the association with the Ford automobile is self-evident, constitutes a form of advertising with the public’s money and gives the Ford Company an undue advantage over its competitors.

THE REID FOUNDATION: ANOTHER EXAMPLE OF THE USE OF A FOUNDATION TO RETAIN MANAGEMENT CONTROL OF AN ENTERPRISE.

On August 2, 1946, Ogden M. Reid created and transferred to *The Reid Foundation, Inc.* seventeen promissory, non-interest bearing notes dated January 2, 1942, payable to him by the publishing company which owns the *New York Herald-Tribune*, a newspaper. The notes were payable annually, starting April 15, 1953 and ending April 15, 1969. Further notes and open accounts were left to the *Reid Foundation* under Mr. Reid's will. The gift of the notes, and the bequest of further notes and open accounts, were apparently cleared as free of gift tax and estate tax respectively.

There seems to be considerable doubt whether these transfers were truly tax-exempt, and a careful review of the facts by the Internal Revenue Service might well be in order. The notes and open accounts aggregated about eight and one-half million dollars in face value, resulting in a huge saving in taxes to Mr. Reid's estate.

The deed of gift which transferred the first batch of notes (\$2,473,392.05) to the *Foundation* was an odd instrument. The notes bear no interest. On the other hand, the transfer authorizes the collection of the notes by the *Foundation* only "for its sole use and benefit." We assume this means that the notes apparently cannot be transferred or sold. The *Foundation* thus has been given a frozen asset, bearing no income, and with no right to sell it to produce income from reinvestment. Is that a true "charitable" gift entitling the donor and his estate to tax exemption? We doubt it.

It might be answered that the *Foundation*, even if it earns no interest on the notes, can spend its principal. True, but its only obligation under the tax law is to pay out its income—a payment on a note would constitute principal and not income. Moreover, the notes are not payable unless the *New York Tribune, Inc.* cares to pay them. For the deed of gift provides that the *Foundation* "at the request of *New York Tribune, Inc.* and from time to time, will extend or consent to the extension of the time of payment of said indebtedness or any part thereof on such terms and conditions as a majority of the directors of the Donee may in their discretion decide." The only condition put upon this right of the publishing company to get an extension of its obligations is "Unless such action would in the opinion of a majority of the directors of the Donee, prejudice *the right* of the Donee to ultimate payment of the said indebtedness." We have italicized the term, "*the right*",—the condition is *only* that nothing shall be done to destroy the bare legal *right* eventually to collect—in other words, the trustees are merely prohibited from completely abandoning the right to collect a thousand years from now. Note also that, while the *Foundation* may stage "terms and conditions" for an extension of payment, *they cannot deny the right to an extension which perpetuates the debt*. Note, finally, that the directors of the *Foundation* were nominees of its creator, the donor of the notes. *What is of even greater significance is that of the seven directors of the Foundation, four are directors of the Herald-Tribune (see chart facing). The two boards are, therefore, in relation to purposes of control, Tweedledum and Tweeledge.*

There are other conditions in the deed. No action can be started to collect the notes unless (a) a majority of the directors of the *Foundation* agree and (b) their decision is that the action is necessary to protect "*the rights* of the Donee to ultimate payment—not ultimate

Officers	New York Herald-Tribune	Reid Foundation, Inc.
Chairman.....	Helen Rogers Reid. ¹	None.
President.....	Whitelaw Reid. ¹	Helen Rogers Reid. ¹
Executive vice president.....	William E. Robinson. ¹	None.
Vice president.....	None.	Whitelaw Reid. ¹
Treasurer.....	A. V. Miller. ¹	Whitelaw Reid. ¹
2d vice president.....	None.	William E. Robinson. ¹
Secretary.....	Stanley D. Brown.	William E. Robinson. ¹
Directors.....	Ferdinand Eberstadt.	Goefrey Parsons. ²
	Oveta Culp Hobby.	Roy Gasser.
	Charles Seymour.	Wilbur Forrest.
		George Cornish. ³
		Warner R. Moore. ⁴
		James Parton. ⁵
		Everett Walker. ⁶
		Howard Davis. ⁷
		Ogden Reid. ⁸
		Barney Cameron. ⁹

¹ Also member of board of directors.

² Chief editorial adviser, formerly chief editorial writer; son (Jr.), was foreign editor, New York Herald-Tribune, now with NATO, Paris.

³ Executive editor, New York Herald-Tribune.

⁴ Business manager, New York Herald-Tribune.

⁵ Assistant to president, New York Herald-Tribune.

⁶ Managing editor, New York Herald-Tribune.

⁷ Formerly executive vice president, now president, American Newspaper Publishers Association.

⁸ "President, New York Herald-Tribune, S. A. since 1953" (Volume 28, Who's Who).

⁹ Circulation department, New York Herald-Tribune.

payment but the rights to ultimate payment. And the Foundation may compromise the indebtedness (that is, forgive it in as large a part as it wishes), at will, and *thus virtually make a gift to the Herald-Tribune of property dedicated to public use.*

But perhaps the most interesting clauses in the deed are those which cast grave doubt on the basic tax-exempt character of the *Foundation*. The deed recites that "It is understood and agreed" * * * that the ultimate payment of said notes may be dependent upon the continuing operation as a going concern of *New York Herald-Tribune Inc.* * * *—"accordingly", the deed proceeds, the Donee agrees to certain conditions applying to the notes. The very first of these is:

"New York Tribune Inc. shall be given by the Donee every reasonable opportunity and the full cooperation of the Donee to work out its financial affairs."

It is the conclusion of this Committee that what was intended was a business arrangement. We conclude that the *Foundation* was not to be engaged solely in charitable work as required by the rules exempting 501 (c) (3) [formerly 101 (6)] organizations. It was to exercise charity in behalf of the *New York Herald-Tribune*. It was to subordinate whatever philanthropic work had been planned to the welfare of that newspaper and the interest of the Reid family in it. It was a business deal. There was no free gift of the notes. They were transferred pursuant to a contract under which the *Foundation* agreed to assist the publishing company in its financial problem and, by inference, but clear inference, to make this objective superior to its presumed charitable function.

It was on its face, a magnificently designed arrangement. Whether or not Ogden Reid's estate could have paid the heavy death duties, if eight and a half million dollars had not been exempted, we do not know. It is very likely that it might have been impossible to pay the taxes on this additional eight and a half million and still retain in the family control of a *Herald-Tribune* left financially sound. The general plan adopted was somewhat similar to that used by the Ford family.

However, the Ford arrangement seems entirely within the scope and intent of the exempting law, while the Reid arrangement would seem to violate both its intent and its specific restrictions. We wonder if Internal Revenue should not review its decision to exempt the *Foundation*.

Comparatively little in the way of "charity" has been done by the *Foundation* in relation to the size of its assumed capital—and naturally so. Earning no interest, it is dependent on capital payments from the *Herald-Tribune* when it chooses to make payments. There have been some principal payments, and some of these have evidently been used to create Reid Fellowships and for other purposes. But its performance as an eight and a half million dollar foundation has been, in the aggregate, understandably pitiful—its first obligation has been to support the *Herald-Tribune*.

It must be noted, in closing this discussion of the *Reid Foundation*, that the *New York Herald-Tribune* leveled quite extraordinarily savage attacks at this Committee during its work, both in that newspaper's editorials and in what purported to be its news columns.

EUGENE AND AGNES E. MEYER FOUNDATION.

Unlike the Reid Foundation the Meyer Foundation did not receive its primary impetus because of the death of the donor; as a matter of fact, it is typical of foundations set up by individuals in order to provide an orderly and consistent method of making contributions to their chosen charitable and educational institutions. *No criticism is made of this entirely legitimate use of foundations.*

However, this Committee has some doubts in connection with the close relationship of the *Foundation* and the *Washington Post Company*, which in addition to owning the *Washington Post and Times-Herald* also owns all the stock of WTOP, Inc., a radio and TV station in Washington D. C., as well as a radio and TV station in Jacksonville, Florida. The assets of the Foundation (1953) are approximately 7.8 million dollars, of which 1.65 million dollars are invested in various securities. The balance of 6.2 million dollars apparently represents the value of 153,750 shares of Class B (non-voting) Common Stock of the *Washington Post Company* held by the *Foundation*.

The net worth of the *Washington Post Company* cannot be obtained from the company itself. However, there are a total of 186,750 shares of Class B (non-voting) Common Stock outstanding, as well as 12,724 shares outstanding of Class A (voting) Common Stock. The 153,750 shares of Class B Common Stock held by the *Foundation* represents 82.5% of the total of such shares. None of the voting stock is held by the *Foundation*, but according to limited information available the greater portion is controlled by Mr. and Mrs. Meyer.

In view of this intimate relationship, the intensely critical attitude of the *Washington Post and Times-Herald* toward the work of this Committee appears to be something in the nature of a defense mechanism, rather than the unbiased reporting of facts by a newspaper.

Again, this is a subject which warrants further study—to insure that the press will be free of undue influence by any group with an axe to grind, whether such groups are tax exempt or other types of corporate organizations.

TAXES AND THE INCREASING FOUNDATION BIRTH-RATE.

It is the pressure of the present high rates of taxation which now induces the creation of foundations. Some of the foundation executives who testified before the Cox Committee opined that the birth-rate of foundations must soon decline because great fortunes can no longer be made. This opinion seems incorrect. When Counsel asked Mr. Andrews, the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, whether the high tax rates of recent years had not "materially increased the incidence of foundations" largely as a means for solving the problem of liquidating estate tax obligations, the Commissioner answered: "There is no doubt in the world about that." (Hearings, p. 462.) Despite high taxation, great fortunes continue to be made. Witness the new oil fortunes of Texas, Oklahoma and elsewhere, as well as other startling accumulations of wealth. Indeed, many existing small foundations are deceptive. They have been created with small capital, to be in being at the death of the donor for the purpose of receiving huge testamentary bequests.

There is no reason to suppose that great fortunes will not continue to be built, each of which will be faced with the serious problem of preparing for the death tax impact. Moreover, it is not only the enormously rich who create foundations today. Countless owners of substantial business enterprises are today planning to solve their estate problems through the use of foundations, and there is reason to believe that this tendency will continue and perhaps even increase. Ingenious experts in estate and tax planning have devised many interesting ways to use a foundation in an estate or business plan. The use of a foundation to permit a family to control a business after the death of the proprietor is widely promoted. For example, the August 15, 1954 issue of the *J. K. Lasser Tax Reports* contains this statement:

"Note there is nothing wrong—morally or legally—in using a foundation to effectuate tax savings. A family can legitimately establish a foundation where charitable motives are closely tied to reduced costs of charitable giving because of income tax deductions allowed. Also, the owner of a business may create a foundation so as to cut his estate tax and leave his family in control of the business after death—he leaves non-voting stock to the foundation with his family retaining the voting stock. Control of the auto company was retained by the Ford family in that way."

What is an increasing, rather than a decreasing, birth rate, and an increasing aggregate of foundation funds, makes the problems treated by this Committee all the more serious. In an address delivered at the University of Chicago on November 27, 1952, General Counsel to this Committee said:

"It seems to me that the ingenious legal creatures developed by tax experts to solve the unusual social, economic, and legal problems of the past several generations will become Frankensteins, though perhaps benevolent ones. It is possible that, in fifty or a hundred years, a great part of American industry will be controlled by pension and profit-sharing trusts and foundations and a large part of the balance by insurance companies and labor unions. What eventual repercussions may come from such a development, one can only guess. It may be that we will in this manner reach some form of society similar to socialism, without consciously intending it. Or it may be, to protect ourselves against the strictures which such concentrations of power can effect, that we might have to enact legislation analogous to the Statutes of Mortmain which, centuries ago, were deemed necessary in order to prevent all of England's wealth from passing into the hands of the church."

If a great increase in the aggregate of foundation funds should occur, either foundations will have to operate in a way which the country will be certain is to its incontrovertible benefit or else strict rules of control may have to be enacted.

CORPORATE-CREATED FOUNDATIONS.

High corporate tax rates have added to the birthrate of foundations. Many corporations, faced with excess profits taxes, created foundations to take advantage of their full permitted income tax deduction for charitable gifts. By creating their own vehicles for distribution, they are able better to organize and plan the distribution of their "charities". They can make a single contribution at the end of each year to the foundation and then, as in the case of an individual creating one for the same purpose, take time to plan out the individual grants. As each year's contribution is capital in the hands of the foundation and not income—only the income from these contributions need be distributed. Thus there is the possibility of large funds being built up by corporation-created foundations which can add considerably to the aggregate mass of foundation funds.

This Committee has not wished to take time from more pressing problems to go into the corporate area. However, corporation-created foundations present some special problems which are worth full study.

Two groups are sometimes inclined to oppose corporation-created foundations—labor and the stockholders of the individual corporation. Labor's argument is: If there is any unneeded surplus, why not pay it to us in increased wages? The stockholders' argument is: If there is unneeded surplus, why not pay it to us in dividends?—by distributing to charity what are really our profits (for we are the proprietors of the company) are you not forcing us to make distributions we may not wish to make? These arguments strike, basically, at corporate charitable donations, as such, of course, and not at foundations *per se*.

But there is much to be said on the other side. From a social point of view, the advocates of corporation-created foundations say: private support of philanthropic causes is vital to our society, and corporations should do their part—or, corporate philanthropic giving is now larger, in the aggregate, than individual giving and, to dry it up, would be catastrophic for the supported "charities"—or, corporate giving is cheaper than giving by the individual shareholder, whose profits, if he pays them out, would first have been subjected to corporate income tax.

From a practical point of view, they argue: the corporation can designate "charities" which are directly beneficial to its employees and to the community within which it operates and, thus, serve a practical business purpose in bettering public relations—or, the corporation can make donations which can have a definitive benefit to itself or to its industry—as in the case of grants to technical schools and to universities and colleges where possible future employees can be trained and improved methods and devices can be developed.

Aside from the problems arising out of the conflicts of interest among the stockholders, the employees and the corporation itself, there are philosophic problems involved which merit consideration. A corporation is a legal entity, entitled in many respects to the same treatment as an individual. But there is a limit to its assumption of personality. Certain privileges given as a matter of social grace

to individuals need not necessarily be granted to the fictitious personality of a corporation. Nor has a corporation any inalienable rights. Whether a corporation, as such, is qualified to exercise charitable patronage, involving factors such as pity and conscience is questionable.

The problem of limiting or controlling such foundations should be studied carefully. We shall point out in this report how vast can be the power of an individual foundation, and how much greater when foundations act in combination. The potential danger should not be overlooked that huge corporation-created foundations might play too strong and active a part in our social structure. The answer to this problem is not abolition but some intelligent supervision or limitation.

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IV. STATISTICAL MATERIAL

No comprehensive statistics are available. The source from which one might expect to get them is the Internal Revenue Service. However, Section 101 (6) of the Internal Revenue Code included various types of tax-exempt organizations in addition to foundations. Moreover, foundation bookkeeping introduced complications such as cross-grants. Therefore, the Service would have been unable to produce complete statistics except at prohibitive cost in labor and money.

The staff of this Committee assembled, and commented upon, some valuable statistics based chiefly on the answers to the questionnaires sent out by the Cox Committee. See Hearings, page 9, *et seq.* (Note that some adjustment must be made in using these statistics in view of the depreciation of the dollar in recent years.) Statistical studies

made by others, notably the Russell Sage Foundation, though necessarily incomplete, are also useful to give some basic financial facts.

There are between six and seven thousand foundations at the present time, probably close to the latter figure. Their aggregate funds amount to some \$7,500,000,000, and their aggregate annual income to nearly \$675,000,000. It is estimated that foundations of \$10,000,000 capital or over comprise only 7% of the total number, but account for 56% of the total endowment and 32% of the aggregate income of foundations.

PART TWO

FINDINGS OF FACT AND SUPPORTING MATERIAL

V. PREFATORY NOTES AND SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

The "full and complete" investigation anticipated by the creating resolution was an impossibility under the conditions met. To some extent, therefore, this must be regarded as a pilot study.

The creation of this Committee was greeted by some with the question: "Why another investigation of foundations when we had one so recently?" The answer can be found in a comparison of the material produced by the Cox Committee and by this one. The Cox Committee simply did not have time to do much more than it did. A Congressional committee of this kind is chiefly dependent on its counsel and staff for the production of research material. In its approximately six months of theoretical, and approximately four months of practical existence, the Cox Committee's counsel and staff did not have time to do that preliminary research which might have disclosed extremely important critical material. It did not even use a considerable amount of the material it had at hand, as much of its energies were consumed in listening to adulatory testimony by foundation executives and supporters.

Hampered and limited as the current investigation has been, it has well merited the energy given to it. It has disclosed and assembled material never before integrally exhibited to the Congress and the people, and opened up lines of inquiry, the seriousness of which cannot be overemphasized. It should act as a base for a far more intense and extended investigation. *It is the conclusion of this Committee that the subject of foundations urgently requires the continued attention of Congress.*

Should the study be resumed, we recommend that it be on a somewhat different basis. The process of investigation through public hearings is inadequate for a subject such as that of foundations. As we have said, an inquiry into this subject is primarily a research undertaking. The materials of most value are to be found in voluminous literature, reports and records. Deciding among points of view becomes chiefly a matter of processing the mass of research material which is available, and determining, not on the basis of witnesses' opinions but on a judicial weighing of the factual evidence, which are correct.

To some extent, sampling methods must be used.

Reliance on staff work and staff reports seems essential. The Temporary National Economic Committee (TNEC) used similar methods. It conducted hearings but leaned heavily on staff reports published in over forty volumes. There is need for a similar thoroughness in approaching the foundation problems, a time-consuming use of library sources, of questionnaires and of field studies in addition to hearings, public or private.

It would thus be an injustice to arrive at generalized conclusions except upon intense studies of wide sampling. Generalizing from a small sample might well give a distorted picture and cause for rightful complaint by those to whom the generalizations do not apply. We have, ourselves, tried to be very careful not to arrive at final conclusions on general bases, except where the facts seemed incontrovertibly to justify it. Where we have arrived at specific, in contrast to generalized, conclusions, it has been upon specifically pertinent material.

In some instances the experience of one particular foundation or a sampled group may indicate a significant trend in foundation activities. It may illustrate what happens, under the system of foundation tax exemption, to the citizens who establish foundations, to the trustees who manage them in theory and to the executives who manage them in fact. Foundations cannot be understood except in relation to their acts.

SUMMARY OF COMMITTEE FINDINGS

Subject, then, to the foregoing comments, the following is a brief summary of the more important findings of this Committee. It is introduced here in introductory fashion. Further conclusions and findings are contained in the subsequent text. Moreover, a reading of the text is often necessary to amplify the brief statement of a finding here given.

THE COMMITTEE FINDS AS FOLLOWS:

1. The country is faced with a rapidly increasing birth-rate of foundations. The compelling motivation behind this rapid increase in numbers is tax planning rather than "charity." The possibility exists that a large part of American industry may eventually come into the hands of foundations. This may perpetuate control of individual enterprises in a way not contemplated by existing legislation, in the hands of closed groups, perhaps controlled in turn by families. Because of the tax exemption granted them, and because they must be dedicated to public purposes, the foundations are public trusts, administering funds of which the public is the equitable owner. However, under the present law there is little implementation of this responsibility to the general welfare; the foundations administer their capital and income with the widest freedom, bordering at times on irresponsibility. Wide freedom is highly desirable, as long as the public dedication is faithfully followed. But as will be observed later, the present laws do not compel such performance.

The increasing number of foundations presents another problem. The Internal Revenue Service is not staffed to adequately scrutinize the propriety and legality of the work of this ever-enlarging multitude of foundations.

2. Foundations are clearly desirable when operating in the natural sciences and when making direct donations to religious, educational, scientific, and other institutional donees. However, when their activities spread into the field of the so-called "social sciences" or into other areas in which our basic moral, social, economic, and governmental principles can be vitally affected, the public should be alerted to these activities and be made aware of the impact of foundation influence on our accepted way of life.

3. The power of the individual large foundation is enormous. It can exercise various forms of patronage which carry with them elements of thought control. It can exert immense influence on educational institutions, upon the educational processes, and upon educators. It is capable of invisible coercion through the power of its purse. It can materially predetermine the development of social and political concepts and courses of action through the process of granting and withholding foundation awards upon a selective basis, and by designing and promulgating projects which propel researchers in selected directions. It can play a powerful part in the determination of academic opinion, and, through this thought leadership, materially influence public opinion.

4. This power to influence national policy is amplified tremendously when foundations act in concert. There is such a concentration of foundation power in the United States, operating in the social sciences and education. It consists basically of a group of major foundations, representing a gigantic aggregate of capital and income. There is no conclusive evidence that this interlock, this concentration of power, having some of the characteristics of an intellectual cartel, came into being as the result of an over-all, conscious plan. Nevertheless, it exists. It operates in part through certain intermediary organizations supported by the foundations. It has ramifications in almost every phase of research and education, in communications and even in government. Such a concentration of power is highly undesirable, whether the net result of its operations is benign or not.

5. Because foundation funds are public funds, the trustees of these organizations must conscientiously exercise the highest degree of fiduciary responsibility. Under the system of operation common to most large foundations this fiduciary responsibility has been largely abdicated, and in two ways. First, in fact if not in theory, the trustees have all too frequently passed solely upon general plans and left the detailed administration of donations (and the consequent selection of projects and grantees) to professional employees. Second, these trustees have all too often delegated much of their authority and function to intermediary organizations.

6. A professional class of administrators of foundation funds has emerged, intent upon creating and maintaining personal prestige and independence of action, and upon preserving its position and emoluments. This informal "guild" has already fallen into many of the vices of a bureaucratic system, involving vast opportunities for selective patronage, preference and privilege. It has already come to exercise a very extensive, practical control over most research in the social sciences, much of our educational process, and a good part of government administration in these and related fields. The aggregate thought-control power of this foundation and foundation-supported bureaucracy can hardly be exaggerated. A system has thus arisen (without its significance being realized by foundation trustees) which gives enormous power to a relatively small group of individuals, having at their virtual command, huge sums in public trust funds. It is a system which is antithetical to American principles.

7. The far-reaching power of the large foundations and of the interlock, has so influenced the press, the radio, and even the government that it has become extremely difficult for objective criticism

of foundation practices to get into news channels without having first been distorted, slanted, discredited, and at times ridiculed. Nothing short of an unhampered Congressional investigation could hope to bring out the vital facts; and the pressure against Congressional investigation has been almost incredible. As indicated by their arrogance in dealing with this committee, the major foundations and their associated intermediary organizations have intrenched themselves behind a totality of power which presumes to place them beyond serious criticism and attack.

8. Research in the social sciences plays a key part in the evolution of our society. Such research is now almost wholly in the control of the professional employees of the large foundations and their obedient satellites. Even the great sums allotted by the Federal Government for social science research have come into the virtual control of this professional group.

9. This power team has promoted a great excess of empirical research, as contrasted with theoretical research. It has promoted what has been called an irresponsible "fact finding mania." It is true that a balanced empirical approach is essential to sound investigation. But it is equally true that if it is not sufficiently balanced and guided by the theoretical approach, it leads all too frequently to what has been termed "scientism" or fake science, seriously endangering our society upon subsequent general acceptance as "scientific" fact. It is not the part of Congress to dictate methods of research, but an alertness by foundation trustees to the dangers of supporting unbalanced and unscientific research is clearly indicated.

10. Associated with the excessive support of the empirical method, the concentration of power has tended to support the dangerous "cultural lag" theory and to promote "moral relativity", to the detriment of our basic moral, religious, and governmental principles. It has tended to support the concept of "social engineering"—that "social scientists" and they alone are capable of guiding us into better ways of living and improved or substituted fundamental principles of action.

11. Accompanying these directions in research grants, the concentration has shown a distinct tendency to favor political opinions to the left. These foundations and their intermediaries engage extensively in political activity, not in the form of direct support of political candidates or political parties, but in the conscious promotion of carefully calculated political concepts. The qualitative and quantitative restrictions of the Federal law are wholly inadequate to prevent this mis-use of public trust funds.

12. The impact of foundation money upon education has been very heavy, largely tending to promote uniformity in approach and method, tending to induce the educator to become an agent for social change and a propagandist for the development of our society in the direction of some form of collectivism. Foundations have supported text books (and books intended for inclusion in collateral reading lists) which are destructive of our basic governmental and social principles and highly critical of some of our cherished institutions.

13. In the international field, foundations, and an interlock among some of them and certain intermediary organizations, have exercised a strong effect upon our foreign policy and upon public education in things international. This has been accomplished by vast propa-

ganda, by supplying executives and advisers to government and by controlling much research in this area through the power of the purse. The net result of these combined efforts has been to promote "internationalism" in a particular sense—a form directed toward "world government" and a derogation of American "nationalism." Foundations have supported a conscious distortion of history, propagandized blindly for the United Nations as the hope of the world, supported that organization's agencies to an extent beyond general public acceptance, and leaned toward a generally "leftist" approach to international problems.

14. With several tragically outstanding exceptions, such as *The Institute of Pacific Relations*, foundations have not directly supported organizations which, in turn, operated to support Communism. However, some of the larger foundations have directly supported "subversion" in the true meaning of that term, namely, the process of undermining some of our vitally protective concepts and principles. They have actively supported attacks upon our social and governmental system and financed the promotion of socialism and collectivist ideas.

VI. THE POWER OF THE LARGE FOUNDATION

THE IMPACT OF SIZE.

Several executives of large foundations in their statements at the Cox Committee hearings expressed the opinion that some regulation of smaller foundations might be desirable because they are so frequently set up for tax or other personal advantages. The same executives expressed the opinion that further regulation of the large foundations was undesirable. We believe that the premises upon which these conclusions were based are erroneous. Great foundations are also set up for tax or other personal advantages. Moreover there is a distinct danger in the $\$$ size.

In the so-called Walsh investigation, which took place in 1917, both Samuel Untermyer and Louis D. Brandeis concluded that the foundation as a perpetuity was "inconsistent with democratic conceptions." Granting that they might then have been in the hands of good men, the fear was expressed that foundations might become "great powers for evil in the hands of persons whom we cannot foresee." They might even, it was feared, grow stronger than the Government.

This fear was based upon the conservative character and poor public relations of the creators of the first great foundations; it was anticipated that the power of the huge foundation funds could be used for "reactionary" purposes. The current vice seems to be that some of the great foundations are now permitting their funds to be used largely in the promotion of projects politically directed to the left. But the issue is not whether these great public trusts are being employed in one political direction or another. The issue is whether there should be *any* political direction in the use of public trust moneys. *We share the fear of men like Untermyer and Brandeis that the power in itself constitutes a threat and a danger.*

According to Raymond B. Fosdick, in his *The Story of the Rockefeller Foundation*, when Federal incorporation of the Foundation was sought, protests were made not only on the basis of the prospective power of such a foundation but also of its possible use as a medium for

perpetuating wealth. The following is from Dr. Fosdick's book, on page 18:

" . . . In letters which have since been published, it appears that George W. Wickersham, the Attorney General, wrote to President Taft denouncing the proposal. 'Never,' he declared, 'has there been submitted to Congress or to any legislative body, such an indefinite scheme for perpetuating vast wealth as this; and personally I believe it to be entirely inconsistent with the public interest that any such bill should be passed.' To this Mr. Taft replied: 'I agree with your . . . characterization of the proposed act to incorporate John D. Rockefeller.' "

Some of the individual foundations have increased enormously in size through the accumulation of income (now more carefully restricted than before) and through accretions in capital value (wholly unrestricted). In spite of heavy expenditures, some of the foundations are now far larger in capital than they were when created. Where, as is frequently the case, the foundation portfolio contains blocks of equity stocks in growing enterprises, the limits of capital increase cannot be foreseen.

The power to allot or distribute substantial funds carries with it the opportunity to exercise a substantial degree of control over the recipients. We tolerate such risks to society in the free and uncontrolled use of private funds. An individual of wealth has wide freedom to expend his money for power or propaganda purposes; in the process, he may obtain control of educational institutions, media of communication and other agencies which have an important impact on society. Distasteful though this may sometimes be, broad freedom to do it is consonant with our general ideas of freedom and liberty for the individual.

When we are dealing with foundations, the situation is quite different. Problems arise in connection with granting full liberty to foundations which increase geometrically with their size. The power of the purse becomes something with which the public must reckon. *For these great foundations are public trusts, employing the public's money—become so through tax exemption and dedication to public purposes. Foundations are permitted to exist by the grace of the public, exempted from the taxation to which private funds are subjected, and are entitled to their privileges only because they are, and must be, dedicated to the public welfare. The public has the right to expect of those who operate the foundations the highest degree of fiduciary responsibility. The fiduciary duty is not merely to administer the funds carefully from a financial standpoint. It includes the obligation to see that the public dedication is properly applied.*

The large foundations admit this fiduciary responsibility and affirmatively proclaim their consciousness of it. But, the freedom of action they insist on sometimes permits transgressing the border of license. The trustees of the foundations are, by overwhelming preponderance, estimable men; their errors of operation chiefly result from an apparent misconception of their fiduciary duty. It is not that they do not intend to act with full trust responsibility; they are perhaps too often too busy to think their problems through in detail.

There are limits to their freedom of action as trustees. Their financial power gives them enormous leverage in influencing public opinion. They should thus be very chary of promoting ideas, concepts and opinion-forming material which run contrary to what the public currently wishes, approves and likes. Professor Thomas H.

Briggs,¹ an eminent educator, put it this way in his testimony (Hearings, p. 96):

But whatever the stated purpose or purposes, the public has a deep concern and an actual responsibility to see that the activities of each and every foundation, whether its resources are large or small, not only does not harm but also contributes to a maximum degree possible to the welfare of the Nation. This right and this responsibility are derived from the fact that the public has chartered the foundations and also that by remission of taxes it is furnishing a large part of the available revenue. In the case of the Ford Foundation, which has an annual income in excess of \$30 million, the public contributes more than \$27 million, or \$9 to every \$1 that comes from the original donor.

In addition to the right and the responsibility of the public to insure that foundation moneys are spent for the maximum good of society in general, *the public is concerned that no chartered foundation promote a program which in any way and to any extent militates against what society has decided is for its own good.* [Emphasis ours.]

Dr. Frederick P. Keppel once said that the officers of foundations steadily tend toward "an illusion of omniscience and omnipotence." They thus fall easily into the error of deeming themselves a group of the elite, entitled to use the seductive methods of educational and research propaganda to promote what they themselves believe to be best for the people. In this they seem to follow the thesis of Jean Jacques Rousseau.

Rousseau was perhaps the most ardent intellectual supporter of absolute democracy. He believed that the majority must rule without hindrance, and that minority rights are nonsense. Yet he was the intellectual father of Communism and Fascism. For, while he believed in the absolute rights of the majority, he did say that the people did not always know what was good for them; presumably a group of the elite would have to tell them. Thus, in both totalitarian systems, an elite group controls the state for the presumed benefit of the mass. Such a system is antithetical of our own. As Prof. Briggs said:

The principle that the public should decide what it wants in order to promote its own welfare and happiness is unquestionably sound. An assumption that the public does not know what is for its own good is simply contrary to the fundamental principles of democracy. (Hearings, p. 98.)

The fact is that the foundations have become a force in our society second only to that of government itself. Administering about seven and a half billion dollars, of which a very small number control about a third, they are in a position, through the power of public money to make their influence felt so heavily as to warrant careful study of the line between freedom of action and license.

PUBLIC ACCOUNTABILITY.

Annual returns are required of the foundations which give certain information to the Federal government. Parts of these reports are open to the public. Others are not; they may be examined only by Executive Order of the President of the United States. Even this Committee, as earlier described, has had difficulty in securing such an order; the public in general has no chance of securing one. Thus even the material which by law must now be recorded is not fully open to the public. This Committee fails to understand why any part of any report by a foundation should not be open to the public. Its funds are public and its benefactions, its activities, should be public

¹ Professor emeritus, Columbia University.

also. In any event, the report which must be filed is wholly inadequate to enable either government or the public to determine whether a foundation has fulfilled its duty to the public.

Some of the major foundations prepare and issue public reports which are admirable as far as they go, disclosing full financial statements and descriptions of their work during the period covered by the report. But even these are inadequate fully to inform the public of the backgrounds, the motivations, the detail of operation and the results of the activities of the foundations.

While truly full reports would give to those interested an opportunity to be critical, such criticism would be ineffective in most instances. The foundations are free to do as they please with the public funds at their command, so long as they do not transgress certain rules of law which are so general in their terms, and so difficult to interpret except in a few instances, that they are virtually useless as deterrents. Political propaganda, for example, is proscribed. But many foundations *do* engage in active political propaganda, and the present laws cannot stop them.

The testimony of Internal Revenue Commissioner Andrews and Assistant Commissioner Sugarman brought out clearly (1) that the courts have construed the restrictions in the tax law very liberally, perhaps far too liberally; (2) that the Internal Revenue Service has great difficulty in drawing lines; and (3) that it does not have the manpower or the machinery to act as a watchdog to make sure that the law is not violated.

Where the organization claims exemption on the ground that it is "educational" the law requires that it have been organized exclusively for that purpose, yet the word "exclusively" has been weakened by judicial interpretation. Again, the words proscribing political activity provide that it may not use a "substantial" part of its funds in that area. The test is thus quantitative as well as qualitative, and the difficulty in determining the borderlines can well be imagined. The fact is, and this seems to us of enormous importance, that the Internal Revenue Service cannot possibly read all the literature produced or financed by foundations, or follow and check the application of their expenditures. The Commissioner must rely chiefly on complaints by indignant citizens to raise a question in his own mind. Even then, it is difficult for the Service to carry this burden, both from limitations of personnel and budget, and because it is here concerned with an area which requires technical skill not normally to be found in a tax bureau.

Our conclusion is that there is no true public accountability under the present laws.

What is the penalty if, by chance, serious malfeasance is proved—perhaps by substantial grants for subversive purposes or for active political propaganda? The mere loss of the income tax exemption. That is the sole penalty, other than the loss of the right of future donors to take gift or estate tax exemption on their donations. The capital of the foundation may still be used for a malevolent purpose. The trustees are not subjected to any personal penalty. The fund merely suffers by, thereafter, having to pay income tax on its earnings!

ABDICATION OF TRUSTEES' RESPONSIBILITY.

The great foundations are enterprises of such magnitude that they cannot be managed by visiting trustees. In their filed statements,

several of the foundations have denied indignantly that their trustees neglected their work. The fact is that, as some of the large foundations are organized, the trustees *cannot* fully perform those duties which their fiduciary responsibility imposes.

An illustration of this was given by Professor Briggs in discussing the *Ford Fund for the Advancement of Education*. He indicated that the trustees were too busy with their own affairs and "put trust in their elected administrative officers." In the foundation subsidiary to which he referred he said all of these officers were "directly or indirectly nominated by a former influential officer of *The Ford Foundation* who is notoriously critical—I may even say contemptuous—of the professional education of teachers." The result in this instance he described as follows:

These administrative officers doubtless present to the board, as they do to the public, a program so general as to get approval and yet so indefinite as to permit activities which in the judgment of most competent critics are either wasteful or harmful to the education program that has been approved by the public. (Hearings, p. 97.)

To do a truly fiduciary job, as a trustee of one of the major foundations, would require virtually full time occupation.

Typically in the large foundation, there is a set of eminent and responsible trustees at the top who may well wish to be alert to their public duty. Most, however, are busy men with many other occupations and avocations. They may attend quarterly meetings, sometimes less often, rarely more. At such meetings they may be presented with voluminous reports and be asked to consider and give their approval to programs and projects. However long such meetings may last, it is impossible for such trustees to fulfill their fiduciary responsibility adequately at the equivalent of directors' meetings. In such infrequent attendance, they cannot give the attention to the detail of management which the trust nature of these enterprises requires. Perforce, they delegate their powers to professional subordinates, sometimes selected for their peculiar knowledge of the field, sometimes selected casually and without previous experience or special knowledge.

That they are not always careful in their selection of executives and staffs is attested by this testimony of Professor Briggs, in which he refers to *The Ford Fund for the Advancement of Education*, upon whose Advisory Committee he served until his resignation in disgust (Hearings, pp. 96-97):

Not a single member of the staff, from the president down to the lowliest employee, has had any experience, certainly none in recent years, that would give understanding of the problems that are met daily by the teachers and administrators of our schools. It is true that they have from time to time called in for counsel experienced educators of their own choosing, but there is little evidence that they have been materially influenced by the advice that was proffered. As one prominent educator who was invited to give advice reported, "any suggestions for changes in the project (proposed by the fund) were glossed over without discussion." As a former member of a so-called advisory committee I testify that at no time did the administration of the fund seek from it any advice on principles of operation nor did it hospitably receive or act in accordance with such advice as was volunteered.

Mr. Alfred Kohlberg testified before the Cox Committee. As a member of the *Institute of Pacific Relations*, he had brought up charges of subversion apparently before *The Rockefeller Foundation's* trustees had become aware that anything was wrong with their long-favored

beneficiary. He also testified to certain communications he had had with John Foster Dulles when Alger Hiss had been made President of *The Carnegie Endowment For International Peace* at Mr. Dulles' suggestion. When Mr. Kohlberg was asked if he was critical of Mr. Dulles for his connection with the Hiss matter, he stated that he was critical in general of the trustees of the two large foundations concerning which he had testified—*The Carnegie Endowment* and *Rockefeller Foundation*—on the ground that they "delegate most of their duties to the staff." He continued: "And while we all realize that they are very busy men, that the affairs of these foundations are vast in scope, I criticize them for a lack of understanding of the damage that can be done to the country when these institutions get infiltrated or when institutions they are aiding get infiltrated with communists."

Mr. Kohlberg illustrated further:

"That has been the reaction—the trustees of the Institute of Pacific Relations, for example, which has now been found by the Senate committee to be considered an organ of the Communist Party of the United States, by the Communist Party, the majority of those trustees are men of unquestioned integrity, and although charges were brought to their attention—what is it? Eight years ago?—they have never yet investigated it on their own."

An analogy with a commercial enterprise is not correct. Some foundations, like the *Twentieth Century Fund*, engage directly in research projects. Others are in the business of distributing funds to still others for research and other purposes. In either case, the operation is not a private one for profit but a public one for the public benefit, and the obligations of the trustees extend far beyond the limited fiduciary responsibility of a commercial director.

These obligations are comparatively easy to meet in small foundations with moderate operations. The larger the foundation enterprise, the more difficult the execution of the fiduciary duty. So complex and intricate have some of the foundations become that a few, like the *Ford Foundation*, have felt obliged to divide themselves into subsidiaries and affiliates. The diagram set opposite this page shows part of the intricacy of the *Ford* operation.

Trustees of great foundations are unable to keep their fingers on the pulse of operations, except to very limited degree. They cannot take time to watch that detail of operation which alone would give them an insight into the fairness and objectivity of selections. Nor can they see to the effect of what they have permitted to be done. They incline generally to feel that they have done their part when a grant has been made. They seem to have neither the time nor the disposition to study the consequences of the grant, its impact upon society. No other explanation of the long-continued enormous grants by *The Rockefeller Foundation* and others to *The Institute of Pacific Relations*, nor of the *Rockefeller* support of the Kinsey reports, seems logical.

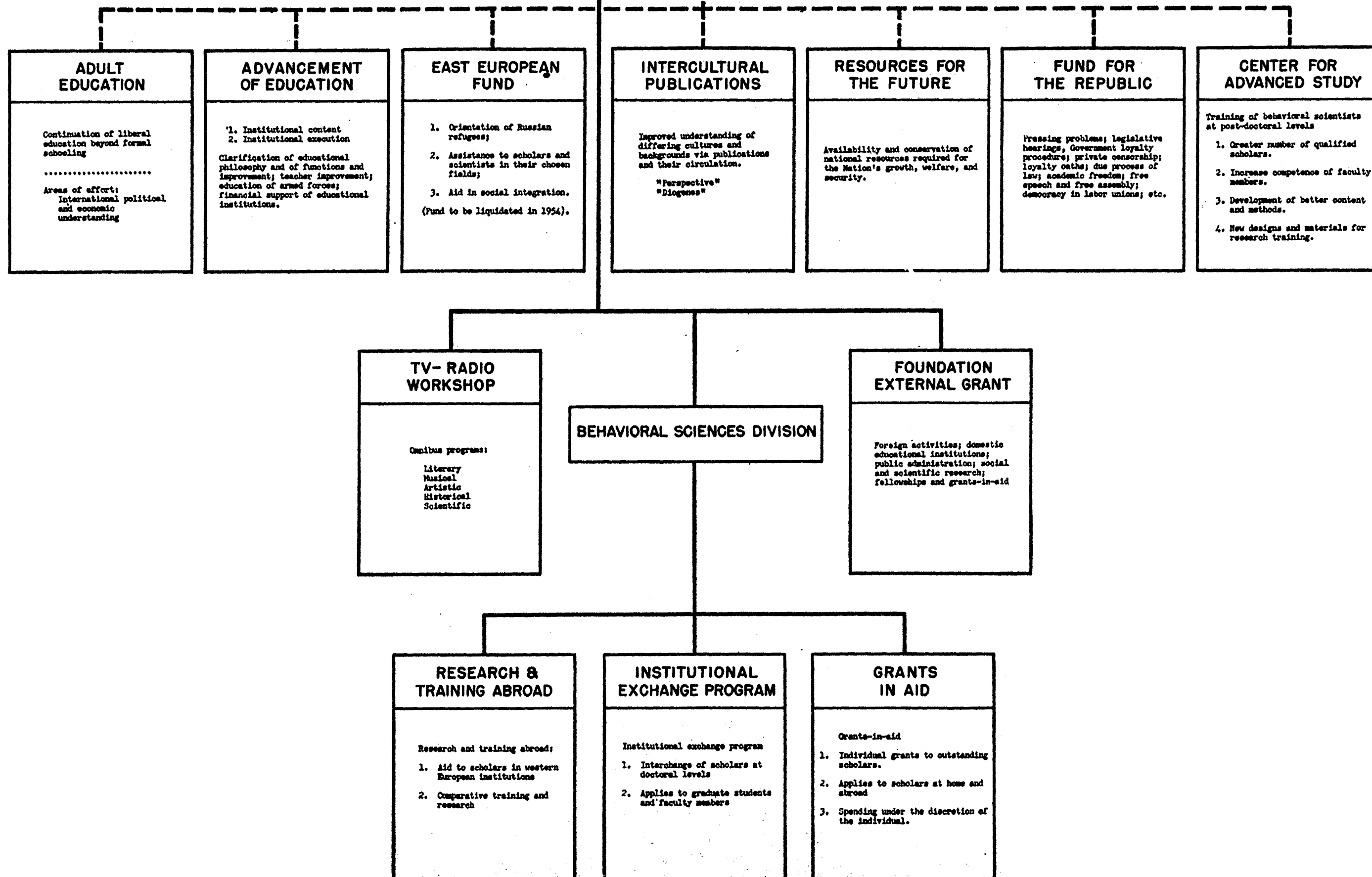
Mr. Henry Allen Moe, of the *John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation* put it this way in this statement before the Cox Committee:

* * * 'delegatus non potest delegare,' that is to say that no trustee can delegate his trust function.

He proceeded to say that neither within law nor equity could trustees delegate their judgment.

What is this judgment, the chief component of the trust function? It is the judgment of the desirability of a grant, both as to specific purpose and

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as to the identity of the grantee. It is this which cannot be delegated. Yet it all too frequently is delegated to professional subordinates who do not have the duty of trustees. Clearly enough, where a great many grants are to be awarded, administrative assistance is unavoidably necessary. But ultimate responsibility must rest on the trustees. They may have assistance, but they cannot merely shunt off the process of selection to others, perfunctorily accepting what these agents have decided. If the problem is that the size of some foundations prevents selections by the trustees themselves, the answer cannot lie in an abandonment of responsibility by delegation but perhaps in a radical reorganization of its processes and methods.

Some trustees seek to escape the full impact of the principle of *delegatus non potest delegare*, by organizing themselves in such manner that they are expressly excluded from the detail of selection. For example, the *Ford Foundation* caused a report to be prepared called the *Report of the Study for the Ford Foundation on Policy and Program*, dated November 19, 1949. This report contained the following passages:

"Individual members of the Board of Trustees should not seek to decide the technical questions involved in particular applications and projects. Nothing would more certainly destroy the effectiveness of a foundation. On the contrary, the Trustees will be most surely able to control the main lines of policy of the Foundation, and the contribution it will make to human welfare, if they give the President and the officers considerable freedom in developing the program, while they avoid influencing (even by indirection) the conduct of projects to which the Foundation has granted funds." (Pages 127 and 128.)

"As individuals, the Trustees should learn as much as they can by all means possible, formal and informal, about the program of the Foundation in relation to the affairs of the world. But the Board of Trustees, as a responsible body, should act only according to its regular formal procedures, and usually on the agenda, the dockets, and the recommendations presented by the President." (Page 128.)

"The meetings of the Board should be arranged so that the discussion will not be directed mainly at the individual grants recommended by the officers, and institutions to receive them. Nothing could destroy the effectiveness of the Board more certainly than to have the agenda for its meetings consist exclusively of small appropriation items, each of which has to be judged on the basis of scientific considerations, the academic reputation of research workers, or the standing of institutions. If the agenda calls solely for such discussions the Board will necessarily fail to discuss the main issues of policy and will inevitably interfere in matters in which it has no special competence." (Page 130.)

"A foundation may wish from time to time to make small grants, either to explore the possibilities of larger programs, or to take advantage of an isolated and unusual opportunity. For such purposes it will be useful for the Trustees to set up (and replenish from time to time) a discretionary fund out of which the President may make grants on his own authority. The Trustees should set a limit on the aggregate amount which the President may award in discretionary grants during a given period, rather than set a fixed limit on the size of a single grant. * * *" (Page 132.)

"The President of The Ford Foundation, as its principal officer, should not only serve as a member of the Board of Trustees, but should be given full authority to administer its organization.

"He should have full responsibility for presenting recommendations on program to the Board, and full authority to appoint and remove all other officers and employees of the Foundation. * * *" (Page 132.)

"The founders of at least two of the larger American foundations intended their trustees to devote a major amount of their time to the active conduct of foundation affairs. Usually this arrangement has not proved practicable. * * *" (Page 133.)

"* * * for the program of a foundation may be determined more certainly by the selection of its top officers than by any statement of policy or any set of directions. * * *" (Page 133.)

We cannot escape the conclusion that the trustees of the Ford Foundation abdicated their trust responsibility in assenting to this plan of operation, under which everything except possibly the establishment of glittering generalities could be left to employees.

On the subject of trustees' responsibility, Professor Kenneth Colegrove² testified under questioning as follows:

Mr. WORMSER. Professor, I would like your comments on this subject, if you will. The trustees of these foundations have a distinct fiduciary responsibility which they recognize, in principle, at least, as the trustees of public funds. It seems to me the most important trust function they have is to exercise judgment in connection with the selection of grants and grantees. Does it not seem to you that to a very large extent they have abandoned that trust function, that trust duty, and have delegated the whole thing to other organizations? That in certain areas they have used these intermediate organizations to fulfill their judgment function for them, which they, as trustees, should exercise? Would you comment on that?

Dr. COLEGROVE. I think that has very largely occurred. I do not quite like to put it this way, but the trustees are in many cases just window dressing to give popular confidence in the institution. In the United States we think an institution needs a very distinguished board of trustees; and, of course, you know, from college experience, a great many men are made trustees of a university because the university expects them to make a large donation to the endowment fund or build a building or something like that. And to offset a group of rich trustees, you put on some trustees who have large reputations in the literary world or in other fields than merely finance.

Many of the trustees, I am afraid, have gotten into a very bad habit. They are perfectly realistic. They know why they are put on the board of trustees. And they are not as careful as they should be in taking responsibility for the operation of those organizations.

I think the *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, which was set up under Elihu Root and President Nicholas Murray Butler way back, I think, about 1908, had a board of trustees picked by President Butler, and I think Butler expected to get a great deal of advice from those trustees.

But I do recall many years later President Butler told me that he had to use very extraordinary methods to get his trustees to meet even for the annual meeting.

Mr. WORMSER. Then, in practice, they delegate their authority partly to other organizations. Of course, where they do make their own grants directly, they delegate enormously to their professional employees, the executives, who do not have the same trust responsibility but are merely executives.

Dr. COLEGROVE. Yes, they delegate their authority in several directions. Trustees delegate their authority to the president of the foundation. The president in large measure even delegates his authority to the heads of departments. A president of one of these large funds sometimes is a little hazy about what is happening in this division or in that division. And in these heads of departments—let's say of the *Rockefeller Foundation*, where you have the social sciences and humanities—you will find a delegation of authority in the case of the social sciences to the operating society, *The Social Science Research Council*, and to *The American Council of Learned Societies* in the case of the humanities. So you have a delegation of authority in two directions there.

Mr. WORMSER. So whether a foundation fulfills its obligation to the public rests primarily on the selection of its employees and the association with these intermediate groups. Is it your opinion, Professor, that these employees—I don't mean in a derogatory sense to say "employees", the officers of these organizations—are on the same caliber as a whole, do they compare well with university executives or those who would administer grants under university administration?

Dr. COLEGROVE. Well, I think those of us in political science feel that Joe Willits,³ who was a professor of the University of Pennsylvania before he took the position that he has at the present time, is an outstanding scholar, a most competent administrator, a very good judge of human nature. And yet he cannot give all of his attention to the expenditure of these vast sums.

² Formerly Professor of Political Science Northwestern University, where he taught for 30 years before his automatic retirement at age 65. For eleven years, Secretary and Treasurer, American Political Science Association.

³ Vice-President, The Rockefeller Foundation.

What applies, of course, to *The Rockefeller Foundation* applies even more forcibly to *The Ford Foundation*, which is much larger.

Mr. WORMSER. One witness, Professor Briggs, testified that in his opinion there wasn't one single employee in the *Ford Fund for the Advancement of Education*, from the top down to the bottom, who had had enough experience in the areas in which they were operating to make proper judgments. That does not sound very good for foundation practices, if they select men as carelessly, let us say, as that. I am trying to make a comparison with universities, because I am interested particularly in the possibility that a better medium for foundation largesse may be through the universities, instead of through professional agencies.

Dr. COLEGROVE. Oh, quite true. I think it would require a larger number of topnotch administrators in the foundations to exercise more critical judgment than can be exercised at the present time. Even there, however, you would have to choose between universities; and if you are going to the small colleges, there is a case where you would have to have many careful surveys and studies, and an acquaintance with the personnel and faculties of those universities. Probably the staffs of high-grade men, let us say men serving under Dr. Willits, ought to be a little higher caliber.

* * * * *

Mr. HAYS. Well, you talked a little bit ago about the delegation of authority. Do you have any specific ideas about what we could do to remedy that, if that is bad? I mean how are you going to get away from it?

Dr. COLEGROVE. Well, you cannot avoid delegation of authority, but a good administrator has to know how to delegate. He has to choose to whom he is going to delegate, and choose what powers he is going to delegate, and then finally he has to have his system of reviewing the achievements of persons to whom power to make decisions has been delegated.

Mr. WORMSER. May I interrupt to help Mr. Hays' question?

Mr. HAYS. You are sure this is going to be helpful?

Mr. WORMSER. Yes, sir.

Mr. HAYS has said that it seemed to him a trustee should not act as a trustee of a foundation unless he was willing to give the time to it that was necessary. It seemed to me that that was a very apt remark. And I wonder if that is not the answer, that these men are so busy with their own lives that although they are eminent they are not capable of being trustees of foundations. That is no criticism of them as persons.

Dr. COLEGROVE. Yes; undoubtedly many of the trustees would not serve if they felt that they would be called upon to do much more than go to the meetings, hear the reports, and sometimes not say a single word. You would not have as brilliant, as lofty, as remarkable a collection of men as trustees if you required a little more responsibility on their part. I would say, on the whole, the board of trustees is too large. There are too many remarkable men, in New York and elsewhere, who are trustees of more than one foundation. And just as we exercise in the *American Political Science Association* a "self-denying ordinance" where no member of the association speaks more than twice in an annual meeting, I would like to see these interlocking trusteeships more or less abolished. You cannot abolish them by law, of course. You could abolish them by practice. So you would reduce the size of the board of trustees and then expect more consideration, more consultation, more advice, from the men who had accepted this great responsibility.

Mr. WORMSER. Was that not your idea, Mr. Hays, that they should be working directly?

Mr. HAYS. Oh, sure. Exactly. (Hearings, pp. 583, 584, 585, 586.)

Mr. Koch, the Associate Counsel joined in the colloquy with a comment which seems to this Committee especially apt:

Mr. KOCH. Here is something that worries me. Suppose I had a great big motor company or a steel mill or this and that, and they picked me because they wanted, as you say, window dressing. The first thing that puzzles me is why they need window dressing in a foundation of this kind. If you are running a foundation where you go to the people every year, like the Red Cross or the March of Dimes, for money, then you want to impress the populace that there are big names behind it. But here, where Mr. Ford or Mr. Carnegie or Mr. Rockefeller plumps millions of dollars in the laps of the foundation, and they do not have to go to the public for 1 cent more, I always wonder: why do they need big names in that case? And would it not be better, instead of picking me, the head of a

big steel mill, pick somebody who was a little more familiar with the educational field? Because I can see exactly what I would do if I were that fortunate head of a big steel mill. As soon as somebody said, "Let us do something about education, or study this," if I were honest, I would immediately say, "I do not know anything about it, so what do the professors say?" And the professors would immediately tell me what they thought the trend of the times was, and I would say, "I will be safe if I follow the trend of the times."

And it seems to me the dismal part of the testimony so far is that there has been so much unanimity among the big foundations in following the supposed trend of the times. I would rather see one day *Rockefeller* in this corner slugging it out with *Ford Foundation* in this corner to try to argue a particular thing. Here we get into a depression, and we find out Professor Beard and Professor Muzey have said things they later veered away from, and yet all of the foundations at that time may have put their money in the direction of that project, pushing the pendulum along much farther than it probably should have been pushed. And yet there was no foundation that said, "Well, change may be necessary, but let us find out what is good about the old order so that, when we decide on the change, we have at least heard both sides."

It seems to me there has not been that debate. And it may have been probably because the big name probably said, "We don't really know much about it ourselves. We will have to see what is the fad, what the ladies are wearing in Paris today, or what the trend is in education." I therefore wonder whether it would not be better to suggest that where they do not need big names they get lesser names who can spend more time and are a little bit more familiar with the subject matter. That, unfortunately, was an awfully long speech, but that has been worrying me.

Dr. COLEGROVE. I think you have given an accurate picture of the actual situation. The large number of famous names on the list of trustees is due to the old superstition that our institutions must be headed by a famous group of men. And I will say frankly it is to impress Congress as well as the American people; to impress public opinion as fully as possible. It is an old superstition. It is not necessary at all. With a group of 7 trustees, using 7 because it is an odd number, I imagine most of these trustees if they were trustees of only one other organization, maybe trustees of a church, would be able to give more attention to their duties as trustees of foundations. They could not pass on the responsibility. (Hearings, pp. 586, 587.)

One of the dangers of delegating excessive authority to officers and employees of a foundation is that there is a tendency for these delegates to run off with the entire operation and, for all practical purposes, to take it away from the trustees who bear the fiduciary duty to the public.

Professor David N. Rowe⁴ testified that the directors of the *Institute of Pacific Relations* (of whom he was one for several years) had—very little control over the day-to-day operation. I don't know whether this is characteristic of all boards or all organizations, but I felt, and I testified previously to this effect, that the IPR was essentially controlled by a very small group of people who were sometimes an official executive committee, or otherwise an informal one, who ran things pretty much as they would and who commented to the Foundation's own personnel and problems of the kind I was talking to Evans⁵ about in exactly the opposite way. (Hearings, pp. 538, 539.)

In answer to the question why, like directors of a bank, the directors of I. P. R. had not been able to learn the mischief which was going on and to control it, Professor Rowe replied:

* * * I would have the greatest respect for the ability of either of you gentlemen or others that I know to read a bank balance sheet and to tell the difference between red ink and black ink. As you say, that is your business. You are on the board of directors; you have to know. But I would like to know whether you would have equal confidence in your ability at all times as a member of a board of directors to be able to point the finger at the fellow that is putting his fingers on

⁴ Professor of Political Science, Yale University.

⁵ Roger Evans, Social Science Director of the Rockefeller Foundation.

the till. You can't do that, so you bond these people. You bond them against losses, and you protect yourself, and the bank, and you have a system for doing that.

You don't have a system like that in the intellectual world. You try to work one up and I will be the first to adopt it. I will say this. You are never going to be able to spot such people, who operate down in the levels (of) an organization, from away up high where the directors sit, because they don't know what the people are doing, they can't possibly supervise them directly. This is left to the executive people. If the executive people know what they are doing—I testified before the McCarran committee that I was present once at a board of directors' meeting of the IPR at which they were discussing the appointment of a new executive secretary, and I had to sit there in the board and hear the executive committee members refuse to divulge the names of the candidates they were thinking about in the presence of the board of directors, and they got away with it.

Mr. HAYS. What did you do about that?

Dr. ROWE. What could I do. I was practically a minority of one. The board upheld their decision not to do this. It was not too long after that as I remember it that I resigned from the board. They had a monopoly and they were bringing people like me in for purposes of setting up a front, and I hope, giving a different kind of coloring to the membership of the board.

Mr. WORMSER. How often did that board meet, Professor?

Dr. ROWE. I don't think I ever was called in there more than once a year, and you would spend a couple of hours, and that is all.

Mr. KOCH. Did the men come from all over the United States on that board?

Dr. ROWE. The last meeting I attended the members from California were not present. There was a member there from Oregon.

Mr. KOCH. But was the membership of the board spread over the United States?

Dr. ROWE. Yes, it was, and those people could not always attend. (Hearings, pp. 542, 543.)

Mr. Hays later made his apt comment that no one should remain on the board of directors unless he could give the proper time to its work, whereupon Professor Rowe answered:

Dr. ROWE. I would have been perfectly willing to sacrifice the time necessary to get full information and participate in policy decisions. One of the things that motivated me was the fact that you could spend the time—I could—but you could not get the facts and information or get in the inside circles. I submit to you that taking 3 years to find that out in an organization of the complexity of the IPR was not an unconscionably long period of time. (Hearings, p. 544.)

We do not believe that public trusts are properly administered through delegated fiduciary authority. We question whether individuals should act as trustees if they are too busy or otherwise occupied to give the work the full attention which their fiduciary duty requires. The trustees of the Carnegie Corporation and the Rockefeller Foundation could not have permitted continued grants to something like I. P. R. had they been aware of what was going on. But the expenditure of sufficient time in checking and observing would have made them conscious of what the Institute of Pacific Relations was doing to our country. To expend that time seems to us the duty of a foundation trustee. To fail to do so is to fail in the discharge of a fiduciary duty to the public. Alertness on the part of the Rockefeller and Carnegie trustees, and expenditure of the time necessary to see to the use made of the public's money by I. P. R. might have saved China from the Communists and prevented the war in Korea.

The extent to which trustees of foundations have further delegated their authority and abdicated their responsibility through the use of intermediary organizations, will appear in the next section of this report.

THE SOCIAL SCIENCES.

Raymond B. Fosdick, in *The Story of the Rockefeller Foundation*,⁶ quoted Mr. Gates, long-time advisor to John D. Rockefeller, Sr., in matters of charity, as follows:

"If I have any regret, it is that the charter of *The Rockefeller Foundation* did not confine its work strictly to national and international medicine, health and its appointments * * * Insofar as the disbursements of the Rockefeller incorporated philanthropies have been rigidly confined to these two fields of philanthropy (medicine and public health) they have been almost universally commended at home and abroad. Where they have inadvertently transgressed these limits, they have been widely and in some particulars perhaps not unfairly condemned."

In his article in the *New York Times* of March 1, 1954, Mr. Leo Eagan attributes wide concern about foundations in part to "a belated recognition of the great influence that foundations have exercised on social developments and ideas", and "a fear that a changing emphasis in foundation programs may upset many long-established social relationships."

Foundations can play a powerful role in ushering in changes in our form of society. As Frederick P. Keppel, himself President of the Carnegie Corporation, put it in *The Foundation; Its Place in American Life* (p. 107):

"We all know that foundation aid can increase measurably the pace of any social tendency, but we don't know when this artificial acceleration ceases to be desirable * * * All I can say is that here as elsewhere safety lies in the fullest available information as to foundation affairs and the widest possible discussion regarding them."

The dangers inherent in size, and the accompanying power which a large purse gives, apply to some degree in all fields of foundation operation. They are most hazardous, however, in the so-called "social sciences."

Dean Myers of the New York State College of Agriculture defined the social sciences in the Cox Committee hearings as follows:

"The subject or the name 'social science' is intended to cover those studies which have as their center man in his relation to other men as individuals, as groups, or as nations.

"Perhaps the name 'social science' might be made clear by indicating its relation to other branches of knowledge, the natural or physical sciences which relate to the physical world, the medical sciences which are self-explanatory, the humanities which deal with art, literature, with things of the spirit, and the social sciences which are concerned with the studies of man as an individual, as groups, and as nations."

Within the scope of the term "social sciences", he named as typical: economics; psychology; sociology; anthropology; political science or government; demography or populations studies; history; statistics; and various sub-divisions of these.

While mistakes in the other branches of knowledge may have serious results, there is not in them nearly the room for damage to our society which exists in the social sciences. Possibilities of error and mischief are so much greater. The methods employed in the natural sciences are not applicable to the social sciences except in limited degree. Research is thus far more apt to be fallacious, in social than in natural science.

Dr. L. F. Ward once said: "the knowledge how to improve human relations can come only for the social sciences." That statement is

⁶ Chapter II, p. 29, quoting from *The Gates Papers: A memorandum entitled "Principles of Philanthropy as a Science and Art" 192?*

subject to serious doubt by those who believe that an understanding of ethics, morals and fundamental principles, and an application of these, can do a lot to help "improve human relationships." Those who believe that the statement of Dr. Ward is correct, often risk the safety of our state and our society. The results of social science research are subject to such frequent discount or doubt, because of the possibilities of error, that we can hardly afford to base changes in our forms or principles of government upon them. As Professor A. H. Hobbs⁷ has said in his *Social Problems and Scientism* (p. 196):

"* * * remember the fundamental differences between the physical sciences and the social sciences. Physical science has a solid bed-rock of tested knowledge, and the verified theories constitute reliable guideposts. Contrasted with this situation, social science knowledge is an uncharted swamp. There is no solid footing of coordinated knowledge to serve as a vantage point from which to survey the terrain ahead. There is a labyrinth of paths leading everywhere—and nowhere. The principles are not anchored but drift in currents of opinion."

This Committee has been far more interested, therefore, in the activities of the foundations in the social sciences than elsewhere. Here the greater danger lies. Here the most grievous acts of abuse have occurred.

Foundation history has shown a rapidly increasing interest in social science research. More and more foundation funds have been poured into this area until, with the creation of the largest of the foundations, the *Ford Foundation*, we see an addition of almost all its half-billion capital devoted to the social sciences, including education. Since the second World War, the government itself has increasingly entered the field of social science research, giving it direct support through research contracts from military and civilian agencies. Today, nearly all research in the social sciences is dependent on foundation grants or government contracts. The same executives and directors who control foundation support of social science research have been extremely active in the formulation of research policies in the government research programs; and a major part of the social scientists of America are either on government payrolls or supported by grants and contracts via universities, their research bureaus or foundation-sponsored councils.

The foundations themselves feel that they should use their funds within the social sciences as "risk capital", for "experiment." Experiment in the natural sciences is highly desirable. Experiment with human beings and their mode of living and being governed is, however, quite a different matter. If by "experiment" is meant trying to find ways in which to make existing institutions better or better working, that too would be admirable. If by "experiment" is meant trying to find ways in which other political and social institutions could be devised to supplant those we live by and are satisfied with—then such experiment is not a desirable use of public funds expended by private individuals without public accountability.

The inherent uncertainties of research in the social sciences, the enormous factor of indefiniteness, the impossibility of truly experimenting to test a conditional hypothesis before proclaiming it as a proven conclusion, the grave danger of fallacious results, makes it highly questionable whether public money should be so used to promote abandonment of institutions and ways of life which have been found satisfactory, in favor of questionable substitutes.

⁷ Assistant Professor of Sociology, University of Pennsylvania.

Some of the social scientists are very careful to state that their conclusions are not fixed and absolute—to recognize and admit that their research results are, at best, tentative; that no ultimate conclusions can be drawn from them. Nevertheless, it is natural and inevitable that others take up the results of social science research, ignoring the uncertainty, they use the results as bases for recommending social action and even legislation. Through such a process, fallacious conclusions (even some which the social scientists themselves might admit were not yet satisfactorily proven) are often promoted for the purpose of altering the opinion of the intellectual professions and finally the public itself. The widespread dissemination by foundations of results of social science research, among intellectuals, teachers, writers, etc., can itself start a propulsion toward a demand for legislation to implement a conclusion which has no basis in scientific fact.

The following was reported in the *New York Times* of May 3, 1945, referring to a speech made by Mr. Raymond Fosdick to the *Women's Action Committee for Victory and Lasting Peace*:

"Mr. Raymond Fosdick, president of the Rockefeller Foundation, warned 300 members representing 38 States that the growing distrust of Russia menaced the future of world peace."

This was brought out in the testimony of Alfred Kohlberg before the Cox Committee, after which Mr. Kohlberg made these apt remarks:

"Now, I am bringing these names up because these gentlemen are beyond question in their loyalty and patriotism, you see; but somebody has twisted their mental processes.

"*They paid out millions of dollars for so-called research in foreign policy, and it seems that the result of that research has come back and twisted their mental processes so that Mr. Fosdick warns that 'The growing distrust of Russia menaces the future of world peace,' prior to VE day.*

"Of course, if we had had just a little distrust of Russia at that time, we might not have turned over Eastern Europe and China to them." [Emphasis ours.]

Mr. Kohlberg, whose testimony before the Cox Committee is well worth study, also brought out that, according to the *New York Times* of December 29, 1950, Prof. Robert C. North, speaking at the opening of the annual convention of the *American Historical Society* (heavily supported by foundations) had said "that the United States has been on the wrong side of the Asian revolution this far." That, as Mr. Kohlberg pointed out, was after the Chinese Communists had entered the Korean War against us.

Mr. Kohlberg also noted that Prof. North and one Harold R. Isaacs had travelled around the United States making a survey for the *Ford Foundation*, as a result of which that foundation granted " * * * I think, \$250,000 to the *Council of Learned Societies* to carry on the recommendations of these two gentlemen who have this kind of opinion. * * *"

Can we afford to take the risks involved in permitting privately managed foundations to expend public funds in areas which could endanger our national safety? Officers of some of the foundations frequently assert that they must take risks to do their work effectively. But risks with the public welfare had better be taken by the Congress and not by private individuals, many of whom appear too busy with their own affairs to pay close attention to what the foundation, which they in theory manage, is doing.

PATRONAGE AND CONTROL.

The power of money is obvious enough. The huge funds controlled by the great foundations involve patronage to banks, investment houses, law firms and others. Through their holdings of securities and purchasing power they exercise additional influence. Appointment to the board of one of the larger foundations is considered something of a public honor. Accordingly, by selecting strategically-placed trustees who welcome appointment, a foundation can extend its power and its influence. The presence of Arthur Hays Sulzberger, President and publisher of the *New York Times*, on the board of the *Rockefeller Foundation* is an illustration of this extension of power and influence.⁸ We do not mean to imply that Mr. Sulzberger directed his editors to slant their reporting on this Committee's work, but his very presence on the *Rockefeller Foundation* Board could have been an indirect, intangible, influencing factor. At any rate, the *Times* has bowed to no other newspaper in the vindictiveness of its attacks on this Committee. In its issue of August 5, 1954, it gave 856 lines of laudatory columnar space, starting with a front-page article, to the statement filed by the *Rockefeller Foundation*. The following day, August 6, 1954, appeared one of a succession of bitter editorials attacking this Committee.

Some of the foundations go so far as to engage high grade and expensive "public relations counsellors" to cement their power and influence. This strikes us as a dubious use of public money. Through such counsellors, more than ordinary influence on the press and other media of public communication can be exerted.

These are only some of the ramifications of the colossal power which large foundations possess. In some instances their influence is amplified by the power of great corporations with which they are associated through large stock holdings or through interlocking directorships. Examples of this would be the *Ford Foundation* and the *Rockefeller Foundations*.

A great foundation can often exercise heavy influence over a college or university, sometimes to the extent of suborning it to its own ends. The privately-financed institutions of higher learning have had a distressing time; the inflation of the past decade or so has increased to the point of desperation the problem of keeping a college going. In these circumstances, foundation grants are so important a source of support that it is not uncommon for university or college presidents to hang upon the wishes of the executives who distribute the largess for foundations. Most college presidents will frankly admit that they dislike receiving restricted or labelled grants from foundations—that they would much prefer direct and unrestricted grants to their institutions; or, if a purpose must be attached to the grant, that the university be permitted to construct and direct the study as it wishes. But they will also admit that they hesitate to turn down any grant, however restricted, from a great foundation. After all, if they get on the wrong side of these sources of support they may be stricken from the list of beneficiaries.

As academic opinion today is the opinion of the intellectuals of tomorrow and will very likely be reflected into legislation and in public affairs thereafter, the opportunities available to the founda-

⁸ Mr. Sulzberger is also on the boards of several other foundations.

tions to influence the course of society through grants to institutions of higher learning are far reaching. That such influence has been exerted is beyond question.

In reply to the question: had the foundations been able to channel thinking down one narrow channel?, Professor David N. Rowe of Yale answered that "efforts to that end had been made." He then testified to an astounding example of a foundation attempting to exercise control of a university function in a most radical manner. His testimony ran:

* * * The effort to influence the content of area programs at Yale has been made by at least one foundation that I know of, namely, the Carnegie Corporation. I can't give you the precise date of this, but I would judge it was in about 1947. I think that isn't too much to say that this incident is rather typical of some types of foundation activity that are going on today. I don't pretend to know how constant they are or how general they are around the country.

This involved an effort on the part of the Carnegie Corporation through one of its representatives by the name of John Gardner, I believe, to influence the administration of Yale to eliminate the work we were doing in the far-eastern field and to concentrate our work on the southeast Asian field. This was a rather surprising suggestion. Yale has a long tradition of interest in the Far East. You may have heard of the organization known as Yale in China.

At the time this suggestion was made, we were spending a considerable sum of money each year on faculty salaries for teaching and research in the far-eastern field.

Mr. HAYS. What year was this, sir?

Dr. ROWE. I think it was about 1947. I can't give you the precise date.

Mr. HAYS. Just so we get some idea.

Dr. ROWE. Yes. This had to do with the desire on the part of Yale to develop and expand its work in the southeast Asian field, where again we had important work for a number of years. We have had some eminent people in the southeast Asian field for years in the past.

In this connection, the visit of Mr. Gardner to the university was undertaken, I believe, at that time the dean of Yale College was in charge of the whole foreign area program, and I was working directly under him as director of graduate and undergraduate studies as the biography indicated. We were rather shocked at Mr. Gardner's suggestion that we drop all our work on the Far East and concentrate on southeast Asia.

The dean questioned Mr. Gardner as to why this suggestion was being made. In the general conversation that followed—I got this second hand from the dean, because I was not present then—the philosophy of the foundations along this line was brought out. They look upon their funds or tend to look upon their funds as being expendable with the greatest possible economy. That is natural. They look upon the resources in these fields where the people are few and far between as scarce, which is correct, and they are interested in integrating and coordinating the study of these subjects in this country. Therefore, the suggestion that we cut out far-eastern studies seemed to be based on a notion on their part that no one university should attempt to cover too many different fields at one time.

The practical obstacles in the way of following the suggestion made by Mr. Gardner at that time were pretty clear. There were quite a few of the members of the staff on the far-eastern studies at that time who were already on permanent faculty tenure at Yale and could hardly have been moved around at the volition of the university, even if it had wanted to do it. The investment in library resources and other fixed items of that kind was very large. The suggestion that we just liquidate all this in order to concentrate on southeast Asian studies, even though it was accompanied by a suggestion that if this kind of a policy was adopted, the Carnegie Corporation would be willing to subsidize pretty heavily the development of southeast Asian studies, was met by a flat refusal on the part of the university administration.

Subsequently the dean asked me to write the initial memorandum for submission to the Carnegie Corporation on the basis of which, without acceding to their suggestion that we eliminate far eastern studies from our curriculum, that we wanted to expand our southeast Asian studies with their funds.

They subsequently did give us a grant for this purpose, and they have given a second grant. I don't know precisely what the amounts were in either case.

The only reason for my giving you this incident in somewhat detail is to indicate what I consider to be a real tendency in foundations today—in some foundations, not all—to adopt a function of trying to rationalize higher education and research in this country along the lines of the greatest so-called efficiency. I used the word "so-called" there designedly, because in my view, the notion that educational and research and scholarly efficiency can be produced this way in a democratic society is unacceptable. It seems to me that in a democratic society we have to strive for the greatest possible variegation and differentiation as between universities along these lines, and the suggestion that any one university should more or less monopolize one field or any few universities monopolize one field, and give the other fields to others to do likewise with, it is personally repugnant to me. It does not jibe with my notion of academic freedom in the kind of democratic society that I believe in. (Hearings, pp. 527, 528.)

This incident at Yale strikes this Committee as appalling. Any attempts by foundations, or concentrations of foundation power, to control research in the universities and colleges and to create conformity, uniformity or foundation-policed research should receive from Congress and the public the censure it well merits.

On the subject of conformity, Professor Rowe testified as follows:

* * * * *

In the academic field, of course, we have what is known as academic tenure or faculty tenure. After they get permanent tenure in a university, providing they don't stray off the beaten path too far from an ethical point of view, people can say almost anything they want. I have never felt that any of my colleagues should be afraid to express their opinions on any subject, as long as they stay within the bounds of good taste and ordinary common decency. Nobody in the world is going to be able to do anything to them. This is fact and not fiction. It is not fancy. Their degree of security is put there to be exploited in this way.

Now, of course, some of the people that complain most bitterly about the invasion of academic privilege along that line are those who indulge themselves invading it. What, for instance, is a professor to think when people with money come along and tell his university that what he is doing there is useless and ought to be liquidated, because it is being done much better some place else?

We hear a lot of the use of the word "conformity" nowadays, that congressional investigations are trying to induce conformity. The inducement of conformity by the use of power is as old as the human race, and I doubt if it is going to be ended in a short time. But one of the purposes of having academic institutions which are on a private basis is to maximize the security of individuals who will refuse to knuckle under to the pressures of money or opinion or anything of that kind. This problem is always going to be with us, because anybody that has money wants to use it, and he wants to use it to advance what he considers to be his interests. In doing so, he is bound to come up against contrary opinions of people who don't have that much money and that much power and whose only security lies in our system, whereby academic personnel are given security in tenure, no matter what their opinions are within the framework of public acceptability and security, to say what they want and do what they please, without being integrated by anybody.

Mr. WORMSER. Professor, this committee in some of the newspapers has been criticized in just that area. It has been said that it tended to promote conformity and exercise thought control or censorship. That of course is far from its intention.

I wonder if I gather from your remarks correctly you think that the foundations to some extent have tended to do just that?

Dr. ROWE. I would say that there are examples of foundations trying to engage in controlling the course of academic research and teaching by the use of their funds. As to whether this is a general tendency in all foundations, I would be very much surprised if that were so. But if this committee can illuminate any and all cases in which the power of foundations, which is immense, has been used in such a way as to impinge upon the complete freedom of the intellectual community to do what it wants in its own area, I should think it would be rendering a tremendous public service.

I am not prejudicing the result. I don't know whether you are going to prove any of this or not. But the investigation of this subject is to me not only highly

justifiable, but it is highly desirable in an age when we are confronted all around in the environment in which we live with illustrations of how great power can be concentrated and used to prevent the normal amount of differentiation and variation from individual to individual, university to university, and college to college. The totalitarian societies, of course, have none of this freedom in the intellectual field. (Hearings, pp. 532, 533.)

The control exerciseable by the great foundations through their patronage goes far deeper than the upper level of institutional management. For most academicians the route of foundation grants is the only one available for success in their professions. Moreover, badly paid as most of them are, it is generally only through foundation grants that their income can be amplified to a reasonable standard.

The pressure starts at the very bottom of the academic ladder. Instances of it have come to our attention but we shall not specify them for fear of injuring the reputations or hampering the careers of those who have succumbed to the temptation put before them by foundation funds. A foundation grant may enable a neophyte to reach that all-important doctor's degree through support of his graduate studies. If it seems necessary to conform to what he may think is the point of view promoted by a foundation which might honor him with its grace, is it unnatural that he conform? When he becomes a teacher, a foundation grant may supplement his meager salary; will he reject a grant because he does not like its possible objective? Foundations may finance a study leading to a book which will advance his standing and prestige in his medium, the bases for academic advancement. Is he likely to do a study that the foundation would find undesirable? Is it likely, indeed, to make the grant if it is not satisfied the recipient will comply with any predilections it may have? We do not mean to assert that all foundations impose conditions of conformity on all grantees. We point out merely that the power to do so is there, and that this power has been used. Some foundations set up more or less elaborate machinery for the selection of grantees, such as committees to sift the applicants. But control can be exercised as well through such machinery, by carefully selecting the committees or other human agencies.

A foundation may send the grantee to a foreign country to increase his knowledge and prestige. It may even accept his research proposal and set him up in business by making his proposal a project in one of its favored universities. A research organization may be set up under his direction. A foundation may recommend him to a university for a teaching vacancy. He may even come to be recommended by the foundation for the presidency of some college or university.

Will any of these lifts come to the academician if he does not conform to whatever predilections or prejudices the foundation bureaucrats may have? Perhaps—but the academician cannot often afford the risk. Just as the president of the institution, whose main job today may well be fund-raising, cannot afford to ignore the bureaucrats' wishes, so the academician cannot. Scholars and fund-raisers both soon learn to study the predilections, preferences and aversions of foundations' executives, and benefit from such knowledge by presenting projects likely to please them.

THE FOUNDATION BUREAUCRATS.

These executives are not generally the trustees of the foundations. The trustees, estimable citizens though they may be, do not spend the time necessary to engage in the intimate and frequent contact which is necessary in the actual making of grant-decisions. The executives, those who truly have the say, those to whom this right is delegated by the large foundation's board of trustees, are the professional managers of foundation enterprises. Thus, it often becomes a matter of one foundation-employed individual impressing his opinions and his predilections and his aversions on an institution or an individual recipient of a grant. Whatever methods of clearing grants may exist within a given foundation, it is frequently, in the last analysis, the decision of one man which prevails.

In a letter of October 1, 1953 addressed to the Chairman of this Committee, Professor Kenneth Colgrove said:

"In the aggregate, the officers of these foundations wield a staggering sum of influence and direction upon research, education and propaganda in the United States and even in foreign countries."

In a letter of August 4, 1951, J. Fred Rippey, Professor of American History at University of Chicago, writing to the late Honorable E. E. Cox, later Chairman of the Cox Committee, said:

"At present and for years to come, scholars in our universities will not be able to do much research on their own because of high prices and heavy taxes. The recipients of these tax free subsidies from the foundations will therefore have great advantages that will be denied the rest of the university staffs. The favored few will get the promotions and rise to prominence. The others will tend to sink into obscurity and have little influence in the promotion of ideas and culture. Unless the power to distribute these immense foundation funds is decentralized, the little controlling committees and those to whom they award grants and other favors will practically dominate every field of higher education in the United States. Even granting them great wisdom and patriotism, one might still complain against this injury to the great principle of equality of opportunity. But I have never been impressed by the superior wisdom of the foundation heads and executive committees. The heads tend to become arrogant; the members of the committees are, as a rule, far from the ablest scholars in this country."

The bureaucrats of the foundations have become a powerful group indeed. Not only do they, more often than the trustees of foundations, determine grants and grantees, but they exert an influence on academic life second to no other group in our society. They become advisers to government in matters of science. They are often consulted before the selection of teachers in universities. They serve on international bodies for the United States Government. They become virtual symbols of prestige, responsible only to a small group of foundation trustees who have come to follow their views. The fact is that those who control the great foundations possess opportunities for patronage which in some ways may exceed anything which the elected officials of government have to distribute.

The professionals, who exert so important an influence upon thought and public opinion in the United States, form a sort of professional class, an elite of management of the vast public funds available to their will. They can scarcely avoid getting an exaggerated idea of their own importance and becoming preoccupied with holding and enlarging their roles.

That this leads to arrogance was established by Prof. Briggs in testifying regarding the *Ford Fund for the Advancement of Education*:

I charge that the present officers of the *Fund for the Advancement of Education* have arrogated to themselves an assumption of omniscience, which responsibility for distributing millions of donated dollars does not automatically bestow, nor does it bestow a becoming humility and respect for the judgment of others.

* * * Whenever foundation officers, subordinate as well as chief, confuse position with ability and power with wisdom, losing the humility that would keep ears and mind hospitably open to what others think, the welfare of the general public is endangered.

It can hardly be wondered at that the officers of a foundation steadily tend, as Dr. Keppel once said, toward "an illusion of omniscience or omnipotence." Even a chauffeur feels that the powerful engine in the car that he is hired to drive increases his importance, is in a sense his own personal power. (Hearings, p. 97.)

The place of foundations in our culture cannot be understood without a recognition of the emergence of this special class in our society, the professional managers of foundations. They are highly paid; they ordinarily have job security. They acquire great prestige through their offices and the power they wield. They disburse vast sums of money with but moderate control, frequently with virtually no supervision. Their hackles rise at any criticism of the system by which they prosper. More often than not, the power of the foundation is their power. They like things as they are.

CRITICISM AND DEFENSE.

In the light of the power of the foundations, it is not surprising that the vocal critics of foundations are comparatively small in number. Professor Briggs made the reasons clear in testifying regarding his resignation from the Advisory Board of the *Ford Fund for the Advancement of Education*:

Especially disturbing in a large number of the responses to my letter of resignation was the fear, often expressed and always implied, of making criticisms of the fund lest they prejudice the chances of the institution represented by the critic or of some project favored by him of getting financial aid from the fund at some future time.

It is tragic in a high degree that men who have won confidence and position in the educational world should be intimidated from expressing criticism of a foundation whose administrators and policies they do not respect. (Hearings, p. 97.)

Prof. Briggs continued:

It has been stated that, unlike colleges and universities, foundations have no alumni to defend them. *But they do have influential people as members of their boards, and these members have powerful friends, some of whom are more inclined to be partisanly defensive than objectively critical.* Moreover, there are also thousands who, hopeful of becoming beneficiaries of future grants, either conceal their criticisms or else give expression to a defense that may not be wholly sincere. (Hearings, pp. 101, 102.) [Emphasis ours.]

The abuse which has been heaped upon this Committee and its staff for daring to consider serious criticisms of foundation management and operation well illustrates that some of the foundations do, indeed, have "influential people" on their boards and very "powerful friends" who are "partisanly defensive."

VII. THE CONCENTRATION OF POWER—THE INTERLOCKS

THE HAZARDS TO SOCIETY IN AN INTERLOCK.

Social scientists have been articulate in presenting the theory that concentration of Economic Power is a threat to the American system. The Temporary National Economic Committee during the years 1938 to 1940 devoted a great deal of effort to the study of the patterns of influence resulting from interlocking directorates, from voluntary associations of business, from growth tendencies in industry. The tradition of American Federal legislation is one of suspicion against any accumulation of power which enables a group of citizens to control economic and social aspects of our life. We have a consistent record of regulatory laws meant to prevent domination of important aspects of our social life by private powers outside of the system of checks and balances established by our Constitution. The anti-trust laws, the Federal Trade Commission, the Federal supervision of communications and of transportation serve to protect society against concentration of power. The existence of excessive power free from control by the administrative and judicial processes is contrary to the principle of free competition. The American system combats monopolism. The Supreme Court in recent decisions declared that not only actual collusions in restraint of competition, but the very existence of power to restrain competition, warrants remedial action.

Whatever dangers to society may exist in the great power which the large tax exempt foundations possess as individual units are multiplied to the point of enormous hazard if numbers of these colossi combine together. If some of these great foundations have acted together or are closely connected in operation, through interlocking directorates, interchanging administrative personnel and the use of intermediary organizations commonly supported, it may be necessary that we consider protecting ourselves against such a combine in the foundation world just as we would if it existed in the business world.

DOES A CONCENTRATION OF POWER EXIST?

It is the conclusion of this Committee that such a combine does exist and that its impact upon our society is that of an intellectual cartel. The statement filed with the Committee by the *American Council of Learned Societies* is typical of the generality of the foundations in emphatically denying the existence of a "conspiracy" among the operating organizations and the foundations. This Committee does not see any evidence that the concentration of power arose as the result of a "conspiracy". It has not been created as the result of a plot by a single group of identifiable individuals. It has not been "created" at all, in the sense of a conscious plan having been worked out in advance to construct and implement its essentials. It has, however, happened. Any informed observer would so conclude. Charles S. Hyneman, for example, a Professor of Political Science at Northwestern University and a firm friend of the foundations, in a letter to Committee Counsel, dated July 22, 1954, wrote:

"I have always supposed that there is indeed a 'close interlock or a concentration of power' between the foundations on the one hand and the so-called learned societies, such as the *Social Science Research Council* and the *American Council of Learned Societies*, on the other hand."

* See Appendix to Hearings.

The concentration has happened. And it is something as definite to reckon with as though it had, in fact, been consciously created. Its looseness of organization, its incomplete integration, its lack of formality, the inability to put a finger on all the exact mechanics of its connected operation, does not detract from its reality or from the dangers which it potentially carries. Even were its conduct simon-pure, such a concentration of power would, in essence, be un-American and undesirable. And the fact seems to be that it has not always worked to the benefit of the Nation.

Some of the foundations have fallen into a system or habit of working together, with each other and with the foundation-supported intermediary organizations which all exhibit most clearly that an interlock exists. It has been perhaps a convenience, and it is readily understandable how this could have developed without the trustees of foundations being conscious of the dangers this system involved. Most of them would probably be unable to recognize that a combine actually exists: its coordination and the integration of its parts result from executive action rather than from trustee direction.

Those who support this aggregation of power, and they are many, assert that its personnel comprises, for the most part, the persons most qualified in their respective fields of research, research direction, teaching and writing. They say, further, that this close association is both natural and desirable. But who is to judge whether this group is the truly elite? If it has the services of most of those social scientists who are eminent, is this because they are deservedly so or perhaps because the group has often closed its doors to those of contrary opinion or made it difficult for those of different approach to rise in their *metiers*?

We cannot possibly determine the cause-effect relationship between influence and scientific prestige. There are some strong indications, however, that scientific prestige is frequently the result rather than the cause of an appointment as an executive or a director of a foundation or a scientific council. The monetary power, the ability to supply jobs and research funds, has made many a man a presumed authority in the social sciences, although he started out with only modest knowledge in the area. In the last analysis, it is these executives who are the effective "*elite*." And even if it should be true that most of the "*best minds*" are in the group, do we wish to permit them virtual control of intellectual direction in our country? It smacks somewhat of the once-proposed "managerial revolution." *That the development of research and the consequent moulding of public opinion in the United States should lie in the hands of any dominating group seems contrary indeed to our concepts of freedom and competition.*

Assuming for the sake of argument (though it is subject to considerable doubt) that the presently guiding group has superiority, how can society be sure that it will maintain this superiority? Will it receive or open its ranks to contrary opinion? Will it permit entry to younger men who do not agree with its thesis? Will the group truly be the guardians of scientific objectivity, or become propagandists for that in which they happen to believe?

The risk is great. It is so easy for such a group, wielding the power which the support of the great foundations gives it, to become a bulwark against freedom of inquiry and freedom of instruction. Power does corrupt. Nor are the wielders of power always aware that their power is corroding their judgment.

There is the further risk that a few of the major foundations, those which contribute the principal support of the intermediary organizations through which the concentration, the intellectual cartel, largely operates, could come to exercise direct and complete control over the combine through the power of the purse, with all the far-reaching consequences of such control. The aggregate power, for example, of the *Ford*, *Rockefeller* and *Carnegie* funds, coming into the managerial hands of like-minded persons, might result in the complete domination of the intellectual life of the country.

Is this far-fetched? Foundations now controlled by admirable men of public interest could easily come into the control of others with political axes to grind. It has happened. The Institute of Pacific Relations was one of the "clearing house" organizations, supported to the extent of millions of dollars by the Rockefeller and Carnegie foundations and others. It came under the control of Communists and their sympathizers, with the result that it had tragically much to do with the loss of China to the Communists. *This ghastly example of how dangerous reliance on an intermediary organization can be, must not be easily forgotten. It should be ever present in the minds of foundation trustees to caution them against readily escaping their fiduciary obligation to see to the proper use of the public money they dispense, by handing it to others to do their work for them.*

An *Institute of Pacific Relations* could happen again! Indeed, it is a conclusion of this Committee that the trustees of some of the major foundations have on numerous important occasions been beguiled by truly subversive influences. Without many of their trustees having the remotest idea of what has happened, these foundations have frequently been put substantially to uses which have adversely affected the best interests of the United States. From the statements which they have filed with this Committee, we cannot agree that they have disproved this contention, nor that they have satisfied what is probably a fair affirmative burden to place upon their shoulders. That burden is to show, to demonstrate, that they have made strong, positive contributions to offset the baleful influences which they have sometimes underwritten through their financial power. These influences we shall discuss in some detail in subsequent sections of this report.

It is our opinion that the concentration of power has taken away much of the safety which independent foundation operation should provide; that this concentration has been used to undermine many of our most precious institutions, and to promote radical change in the form of our government and our society.

THE CARTEL AND ITS OPERATIONS.

Numbers of professors in the social sciences have pointed out the existence of an interlock, a cartel.

In testifying before the McCarran Committee (pp. 4023-27), Professor Rowe of Yale was asked by Counsel:

"Do you know anything, Professor, of the general tendency, to integrate studies and to bring about unanimity of agreement on any particular subject, with the foundations?"

This question led to the following testimony which seems to us important and revealing:

"Mr. Rowe. Well, let's take a possible hypothetical case. Let's assume that organization A wants to promote point of view B and they get money from founda-

tion C and allocate it to a lot of people. They want to have a place for these people to work. They want to maintain them. So they send them around to universities like Yale, Columbia, and California, three I have mentioned where this actually happened, you see. And they hold the final strings.

"Now, of course, in the interests supposedly of efficiency, integration, coordination, and all these shibboleths of the American foundation point of view, maybe this is a good thing. From my point of view, the foundations and these research organizations like the Institute of Pacific Relations have gone hog wild on the coordination of research. They have committed themselves so thoroughly to coordination of research that in fact instead of supporting a great variety of research projects, which would enrich the American intellectual scene through variegation, which is a value I very basically believe in, you have a narrowing of emphasis, a concentration of power, a concentration of authority, and an impoverishment of the American intellectual scene.

"These people like organization. They like to have a man in a university, for example, who will take the responsibility for organizing research around a narrow topic. This means he acquires a staff, and you go to work on a special project. You may spend \$250,000 or \$500,000 working on some narrow field, which may or may not ever yield you any results.

"If I were doing the thing, I would talk in terms of supporting individual scholars, and not in terms of supporting these highly organization concentrated narrow specialized research projects that are supported in some of the universities.

"Now, as I said, I am off on a hobbyhorse at this point. But it is of particular interest, because by exercising power over research in this way, you see, by insisting on the integration of research activity, anybody who wants to, can control the results of research in American universities. And I think this is a very questionable business that the public ought to look at very, very closely, and see whether they want a few monopolies of the money, like, for instance, the Rockefeller Foundation, the Carnegie Corp., who have done immense amounts of good, to emphasize narrow concentration to the extent that they have.

"Mr. MORRIS. Well, can you think of a particular example of how this would be applied, Professor?

"Mr. ROWE. Well, I can cite cases in which I think this method has been overdone, this kind of an approach has been overdone, cases in which a quarter of a million dollars is allocated over a 10-year period for research on a narrow topic in Chinese history, let's say, in which the graduate students who come into this field in that university are pushed into confining their research to this narrow field so as to contribute to it; where the personnel drawn into the university is drawn into this framework; and where, as a result, the broad general interest in the whole field of Chinese history is made difficult to maintain. All this is done in the interest of efficiency, you know, the great American shibboleth.

"I often say that if we try to become as efficient as the really efficient, supposedly, people, the dictators, then we destroy American scholarship and everything that it stands for. And I often wonder whether my colleagues realize who won the last war. *Intellectually speaking, this country has a great danger of intellectually trying to imitate the totalitarian approach, in allowing people at centers of financial power—they aren't political powers in this sense—to tell the public what to study and what to work on, and to set up a framework.*

"Now, of course, as you know, scholars like freedom. Maybe they come up with a lot of useless information. But in my value standard, as soon as we diminish the free exercise of unhampered curiosity, free curiosity, by channeling our efforts along this line, we then destroy the American mentality. Because the great feature of the American mentality is the belief in allowing people to rush off in all kinds of different directions at once. Because we don't know what is absolutely right. You can't tell that far in advance.

"If I may just continue one moment more, Senator, I would like to point out to you that Adolf Hitler very effectively crippled atomic research in Germany by telling the physicists what he wanted them to come up with. Now, this is true. And if you can do that in atomic physics, you can do it 10 times as fast in the so-called social sciences, which really aren't sciences at all, where really opinion, differentiation of opinion, is the thing that matters and what we stand for in this country.

"That is why I become very much inflamed when I even smell the first hint of a combination in restraint of trade in the intellectual sphere.

"Now, you see what I am talking about with this interlocking directorate? That is what bothers me about it. I don't mind if the boys go off and have a club of their own. That is their own business. But when you get a tie-in of money, a tie-in of the promotion of monographs, a tie-in of research, and a tie-in of publication, then I say that the intellectuals are having the reins put on them and blinders.

"Senator WATKINS. Otherwise, they do not get on the team.

"Mr. ROWE. That is right. They don't get on the team, and they don't get a chance to carry the ball.

"Now to the faculty member, this means money, income, what he lives on. It is vital. It is not just some recreational thing, you see.

"Senator WATKINS. What I wanted to ask you was this: As a matter of practice, is it not true that in graduate schools of most of our American universities and colleges, the head of the department usually pretty well dictates to the young man who is working for his Ph. D. or master of arts what he is going to write about or what field he is going to investigate?

"Mr. ROWE. No, sir, Senator, not in any department I have ever been connected with. The student is in an open market, where he can go and buy the specialty that any professor has got to offer.

"Senator WATKINS. It has to be approved, though.

"Mr. ROWE. Oh, yes. It has to be approved. But remember this. At this point, you get into the activities of the club. And this is one of the ways in which the individual has a chance to assert himself, because, as you know, if Mr. X doesn't approve of Mr. Y's project, then Mr. Y doesn't have to approve his project. I mean, there is a trade back and forth business.

"Senator WATKINS. There is an interlocking group.

"Mr. ROWE. In the interlocking group it is a different business. This has to do with monopoly of funds and support for research work in the large. I am not talking now about students and dissertations and things of that sort.

"Senator WATKINS. This is more or less research when the student is taking his work for his Ph.D. and he has to write his dissertation.

"Mr. ROWE. But you see, actually, Senator, the only place I know of where all students in the field of Chinese history are integrated into the study of one 15-year period of Chinese history, is in connection with one of these research projects.

"That is the only case in the United States that I know of. I have never seen it operate any place else.

"This kind of thing is supported by foundation money. And, of course, the temptation is to bring everybody in and integrate, through a genteel process of bribery. That is to say, you support the student, you give him a fellowship, if he will buy your subject matter area. And if you do this for 15 years, the only Ph.D.'s you turn out will be people who know that 12-year period or 15-year period of Chinese history. I say this is intellectual impoverishment."

"Senator WATKINS. You think that is not true, however, elsewhere?

"Mr. ROWE. It is not generally true.

"Senator WATKINS. I hope it is not, because I thought maybe it might be in some universities I know about.

"Mr. ROWE. It is not generally true, but it is the inevitable kind of thing which happens with this hot pursuit of efficiency, integration. And, of course, remember this. The foundation people have to have jobs. They have to have something to administer. They don't want to give away the money to the universities and say 'Go ahead and spend it any way you want.' They want to see that the activity pays. That is, we have got to have a regular flow of the so-called materials of research coming out. We want to see this flow in certain quantity. It has to have a certain weight in the hand. And to see that this happens, we do not just give it to a university where they are going to allow any Tom, Dick and Harry of a professor to do his own thing. 'No, we want an integration.'

"As I warned, Mr. Morris, you see—he set me off, here.

"Senator WATKINS. I take it that is a pretty good plea for the university as against the foundation.

"Mr. ROWE. Absolutely. And, as a matter of fact, I couldn't find a better illustration of the dangers of consistently over the years donating very large sums of money to organizations, you see, for research purposes, than is involved in the very Institute of Pacific Relations itself. It is a fine illustration of the fact that power corrupts, and the more power you get the more corrupt you get.

* * * * *

"Mr. ROBERT MORRIS (Special Counsel). Was any inducement ever made to you in connection with your membership in the Institute of Pacific Relations that would indicate it would be favorable to you—

"Mr. ROWE. Well, I would say this. I was indoctrinated at some point in my education with a general distaste for joining many organizations. I have a feeling I got this from my former professor of politics at Princeton, Prof. William Starr Myers. But wherever I got it, it is a fact. And when I first came back

from China and entered into my first academic job in Princeton in 1938, I refrained from joining the Institute of Pacific Relations.

"I was approached and invited, but I refrained from joining. And I will say that the only reason I ever did join was on account of a letter I got from Mr. Lockwood, who was then in the organization, the general tenor of which was that young people just starting out in the far eastern field are 'well advised to become a member of this organization.' It was a very genteel statement, but the meaning of it was quite obvious. And I joined only because I got that letter. It is the sort of letter that a young man beginning in a profession can hardly afford to disregard. Five dollars a year to protect yourself? O. K. You pay. You join. That is the only interest I had at the time.

"I later got involved in the organization, and as I told you this morning became a member of the board of trustees in 1947. But in 1938, well, \$5 was pretty important to me in those days. On a salary of \$2,000 a year, I didn't join more organizations than I had to." [Emphasis ours.]

The Committee is well aware that a parade of professors in the social sciences could be marshalled who would deny that a concentration of power exists, who would assert that the great foundations act independently, sagely and objectively throughout their work. We are inclined, however, to listen carefully to the voices raised by courageous, qualified critics in the profession. Professor Rowe, for example, had no axe to grind. He is an academician of eminence and exceptional ability who is friendly to foundations and by his own testimony has enjoyed grants from them. It does take courage to criticise the foundations whose benefactions are so important to academicians, both financially and professionally. The system is very likely to punish its critics, as it has, in instances, certainly done.

In this letter of August 4, 1951, to Congressman Cox, previously referred to,¹⁰ Professor Rippey stated that he had never been impressed with the great wisdom of foundation executives. He said they tended to be arrogant, and that members of the distributing committees are as a rule far from the best scholars. He recommended decentralization of control of the use of funds, suggesting the democratic progress of selection through faculty committees in the universities—"In numbers there will be more wisdom and justice." He continued:

"I believe our way of life is based upon the principles of local autonomy and equality of opportunity. I strongly approve those principles and I believe you do likewise. I should not be surprised if your proposed committee of investigation should discover that concentration of power, favoritism, and inefficient use of funds are the worst evils that may be attributed to the Foundations."

In a second letter to the Chairman of the Cox Committee on November 8, 1952, Professor Rippey wrote as follows (Hearings, p. 62):

DEAR CONGRESSMAN COX: Since I wrote you on August 4, 1951, Dr. Abraham Flexner, a man who has had much experience with the foundations, has published a book entitled "Funds and Foundations," in which he expresses views similar to those contained in my letter. I call your attention to the following pages of Flexner's volume: 84, 92, 94, 124, and 125. Here Dr. Flexner denies that the foundation staffs had the capacity to pass wisely on the numerous projects and individuals for which and to which grants were made, and contends that the grants should have been made to universities as contributions to their endowments for research and other purposes.

The problem is clearly one of the concentration of power in hands that could not possibly be competent to perform the enormous task which the small staffs had the presumption to undertake. This, says Flexner, was both "pretentious" and "absurd." In my opinion, it was worse than that. The staffs were guilty of favoritism. The small committees who passed on the grants for projects and to individuals were dominated by small coteries connected with certain eastern universities. A committee on Latin American studies, set up in the

¹⁰ Supra, p. 37.

1940's for instance, was filled with Harvard graduates. A single professor of history on the Harvard faculty had the decisive word regarding every request for aid presented by historians.

By granting these subsidies to favorite individuals and favored ideas, the foundations contribute to inequalities in opportunity and interfere with "free trade and ideas." They increase the power of favored groups to dominate our colleges and universities. Men whose power exceeds their wisdom, or men who are not guided by the principle of equality of opportunity, could become a menace. If possible, under the terms of our Federal Constitution, these foundations should either be taxed out of existence or compelled to make their grants to colleges and universities, to be distributed by faculty committees of these institutions. Evenhanded justice may not prevail even then because such justice is rarely achieved in human relations. But a greater approximation to evenhanded justice will be made because these local committees will have more intimate knowledge of recipients. This, as you know, is the fundamental justification for decentralization of power, for the local autonomy which was so prominent in the thinking of our Founding Fathers.

Interlocks in commercial enterprises have been studied frequently enough, and an analogy is apt. In monograph ii *Bureaucracy and Trusteeship in Large Corporations*, TNEC, the problem of interlocking directorships is explained as follows:

"The existence of interlocking directorships is not conclusive proof that the companies involved work in close harmony. Some directors in reality have little to say about management, either because they are relatively inactive, or because they are members of the minority, or, perhaps most common of all, because the officers of the particular companies run their enterprises without substantive assistance from their boards. Nevertheless, many directors are influential and in any case there can be little doubt that interlockings at least contribute substantially to the so-called climate of opinion, within which policies are determined. Moreover the majority of those who hold the most directorships among the largest corporations also have active positions in at least one of the companies they serve. It is possible that 'such men are likely to take a responsible share in the development of policy in any corporation in which they hold a responsible position.' " [Emphasis ours.]

Among tax exempt educational and charitable organizations there exists a pattern of relationships and interlocking activity somewhat similar to the structure of business as presented by the Temporary National Economic Committee.

WHAT MAKES UP THE INTERLOCK.

The component parts of the network or cartel in the social sciences are:

(1) Certain of the major foundations, notably, the various *Rockefeller* foundations, the various *Carnegie* foundations, the *Ford Foundation* (a late comer but already partially integrated), the *Commonwealth Fund*, *Maurice and Laura Falk Foundation*, *Russell Sage Foundation*, etc.

(2) What might be called intermediary, clearing house, or executive, organizations and in a way act as wholesalers, such as: *The Council of Learned Societies*; *The American Council on Education*; *The National Academy of Sciences*; *The National Education Association*; *The National Research Council*; *The National Science Foundation*; *The Social Science Research Council*; *The American Historical Association*; *The Progressive Education Association*; *The John Dewey Society*; *The Institute of Pacific Relations*; *The League for Industrial Democracy*; *The American Labor Education Service* and others.

(3) The learned societies in the social sciences.

(4) The learned journals in the social sciences.

(5) Certain individuals in strategic positions, such as certain professors in the institutions which receive the preference of the combine.

The patterns of interlocking positions of power may take various shapes. The following are the most frequent ones:

(1) Trustees or employed executives are successively or simultaneously trustees and executives of several foundations.

(2) Trustees or executives serve successively or simultaneously as officers of other tax exempt organizations receiving grants and/or retailing the wholesale grants from their own foundations.

(3) Trustees or executives accept appointments to positions of power in control of education and/or charity so as to multiply their influence beyond the budgetary powers of their foundation resources.

(4) Foundations jointly underwrite major projects, thus arriving at a condition of coordination restraining competition.

(5) Foundations jointly create and support centralized coordinating agencies that operate as instruments of control by claiming supreme authority in a field of education, science, the arts, etc. without any resemblance of democratic representation of the professionals in the management of these agencies.

(6) Rather than distribute money without strings attached, foundations favor projects of their own and supply the recipient institutions not only with the program, but also with the staff and the detailed operations budget so that the project is actually under control of the foundation, while professionally benefiting from the prestige of the recipient institution. The choice of professors often is one by the foundation and not one by the university. Foundation employees frequently switch from work in the foundation, or in the councils supported by the foundation, to work on sponsored projects and in professional organizations supported by their funds. They become most influential in the professional organizations, are elected to presidencies and generally rule the research industry.

One example of interlocking directorates, officers and staff members, out of many which could be given, is the case of *The Rand Corporation*, a corporation in the nature of a foundation. It plays a very important part in the world of research for the government and would bear careful study in connection with the extent of interlocked foundation influence on government projects. Among the trustees of *The Rand Corporation* are the following, shown with their foundation connections:

Charles Dollard.....	Carnegie Corporation
L. A. Dubridge.....	Carnegie Endowment
	National Science Foundation
H. Rowan Gaither, Jr.....	Ford Foundation
Philip E. Mosely.....	Ford Foundation
	Rockefeller Foundation
Harvey S. Mudd.....	Mudd Foundation
	Santa Anita Foundation
	American Heritage Foundation
Frederick F. Stephan.....	Rockefeller Foundation
Clyde Williams.....	Batelle Memorial Institute
Hans Speier.....	(Ford) Behavioral Science Foundation

This example is particularly interesting because the Chairman of *The Rand Corporation* is also the President of *The Ford Foundation*, which granted it one million dollars in 1952. The filed statement of *The Ford Foundation* states that the research being conducted under its grant is entirely "unclassified." It does not explain, however, why the president of a foundation should be the Chairman of a semi-

governmental research organization dealing not only with unclassified material but also with, we understand, highly secret material.

Apart from the interlocking of directorates, but parallel to it, we observe a high concentration of foundation favors on a limited number of recipient organizations. It is common knowledge that there are favored universities and favored individuals. The practice is defended on the ground that these are the most qualified institutions and individuals. This contention is subject to reasonable doubt. And if it were true, it is possible that the foundations have contributed to make it so. It is hard to believe it would not be better for the country if more institutions and more individuals were encouraged and trained in research.

The direction of foundation policies and operations by a group of persons influencing the actions of more than one tax exempt organization is *per se* of greatest concern, for it indicates the existence of the power to control, even if the actual control and the detailed manner in which it restrains cultural competition were not always provable. A condition of control calls for protection against its abuse. Foundations, becoming more numerous every day, may some day control our whole intellectual and cultural life—and with it the future of this country. The impact of this interlock, this intellectual cartel, has already been felt deeply in education and in the political scene.

THE SOCIAL RESEARCH COUNCIL.

As an example of the association of individual foundations with one of the intermediary or executive foundations, let us take *The Social Science Research Council*. It has been supported by contributions from: *The Laura Spellman Rockefeller Memorial*, *The Russell Sage Foundation*, *The Carnegie Corporation*, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., *The Commonwealth Fund*, *The Julius Rosenwald Fund*, Revell McCallum, *The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching*, *The Maurice and Laura Falk Foundation*, *The General Education Board* (Rockefeller), *the Spellman Fund*, *Trustees of W. E. Upjohn Unemployment Trustee Corporation*, *The Committee of Trustees on Experimental Programs*, *The Grant Foundation*, *The Scripps Foundation for Research in Population Problems*, *The American Philosophical Society*, *Carnegie Corporation of New York*, *The John and Mary R. Markle Foundation*, *The Ford Foundation*, *The Twentieth Century Fund*, the U. S. Bureau of the Census, *The East European Fund*, and *The Rockefeller Brothers Fund*.

The Social Science Research Council is now probably the greatest power in the social science research field. *That this organization is closely interlocked in an important network is affirmatively asserted by its annual report of 1929-30 as follows:*

"With our sister councils, the *National Research Council*,¹¹ the *American Council of Learned Societies*, and the *American Council on Education*, cooperation remains good and becomes increasingly close and significant. *There are interlocking members and much personal contact of the respective staffs.*" [Emphasis ours.]

Professor Colgrove testified to the tendency of the "clearing house" organizations to move their offices to Washington and to cause their constituent societies to make the same move. This geographical con-

¹¹ Active in the natural sciences.

centration is in the interests of efficiency, but is also a way of effecting a greater concentration. He stated that:

* * * There is more day-to-day conversation and consultation between the officers of the professional societies and the officers of the operating societies, like the American Council of Learned Societies, and the officers of the foundations.

I think that the officers of the professional societies are extremely good listeners and follow pretty carefully the advice that is given them by the foundation officers. (Hearings, p. 570.)

He also testified that there has been a conscious concentration of research direction, mainly through the "clearing house" organizations. (Hearings, pp. 570, 571.)

In Vol. 1, No. 3 of the 1947 *Items*, a publication of *The Social Science Research Council*, Donald Young and Paul Webbink present the role of the SSRC in improving research. Their recitation includes this statement:

"The particular role of the Council, however, is that of a *central agency to promote the unity of effort in attacking social problems* which is required to assure maximum returns from the work of a multitude of individual social scientists and of independent private and public institutions." [Emphasis ours.]

While the article says that the *Council* does not "attempt to operate as a coordinating agency in any compulsive sense", its very availability, well-supported by major foundations, seems to have given it a control over social science research which is, in its effective use, undoubtedly compulsive.

To deny that the SSRC is an element in a concentration of power in the social sciences is difficult in the face of this statement of *The Ford Foundation*, quoted by Pendleton Herring in Vol. 4, Number 3 (September, 1950) of the *SSRC Items*:

"The Social Science Research Council has been included in this program because it is *the instrumentality most used by individual scholars, universities and research organizations for interchange of information, planning and other cooperative functions* in the fields described * * * Its grant will be used not so much for the support of independent research projects but rather for any additions to staff or improvements in facilities which would enhance the service it performs for other organizations and scholars." [Emphasis ours.]

The SSRC may be visualized as the center of a net-work of relations reaching into every layer of social activities related to the social sciences. If we draw a graphic "sociogram", we will see the pattern of its operations:

Constituent societies:

Represented at various other nationwide "councils."

Financial support:

By closely cooperating foundations, which themselves interlock through directorates.

Supported scholarly activity:

Concentration on graduates of a few major institutions, which also supply most of the directors of the Council, who since a change of by-laws are chosen by the Council board, not any longer freely elected by constituent associations.

Influence of government spending for research:

SSRC or similar foundations-supported groups decisively influence *National Science Foundation* policy and Defense Department spending on research via its officers serving as consultants and board members.

The peculiar nature and construction of *The Social Science Research Council* is worthy of examination. It is a self-perpetuating organization, sharing this characteristic with foundations in general. It has, however, some unique features. It purports more or less, to represent seven of the social science disciplines through their professional societies. Yet these societies are not, in any sense, members of the SSRC. They elect delegates to the Board of the SSRC, but are permitted to elect only from panels of candidates nominated by the SSRC itself. Thus the SSRC Board is able to, and does, control its own character. This process, rather undemocratic to say the least, further tends toward the totalitarian by the fact that the "members" of the SSRC are its former directors.

Some social scientists suspect that this strange system of election of directors has been used in order to maintain a board of a character or bent satisfactory to those in control. The fact remains, whether the control has been used unhappily or not, that it is essentially undemocratic and unrepresentative of the professions which it assumes to represent, and could very easily be used for power purposes.

Some of the results of close cooperation of the foundations supporting the *Council* and of *Council* officers and chosen directors may be illustrated by the following examples:

a.) *The Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, published in 1935 in fifteen volumes, contains many contributions of *Council* officers. This publication (to be discussed in more detail later), though not sponsored by the *Council*, was endorsed by the identical associations which constitute the *Council* and carries an imprint similar to the listing of constituent associations on present *Council* stationery.

b.) We find the names of *Council* directors and officers on lists of *The Rand Corporation*, of *The Ford Behavioral Science Fund*, in government advisory groups, and wherever social scientists congregate in leading positions. We find that some of these SSRC officers have advanced into positions controlling the sources of funds (e. g., Messrs. Young and Cotrell now at *Russell Sage*), and since the start of foundation support for the *Council* in the early twenties we find foundation officers participating as *Council* members in running *Council* affairs. (Messrs. Ruml, Herring, etc.)

The *Council* stationery gives the misleading impression that it is a representation of its constituent membership. In reality, since the change in its by-laws, the "constituent" societies have served mainly as the prestige-lending background of the *Council*, creating the impression that the *Council* is a democratically constituted mouthpiece and representation of all social scientists in America.

Even if the *Council* were democratically elected and not operating by continuing the control through a core group, it would not represent all or even most American social scientists. We do not know whether

the seven "constituent" associations of the *Council* can be considered democratically ruled, but in response to our inquiries the seven associations gave us their membership figures. From these it became quite clear that they are only a part, even if in some instances a substantial part, of the total. Whatever the composition may be, the SSRC has in the past gained leadership, among other reasons, because it successfully created the impression of representing the majority of all social scientists in America.

The power of the SSRC seems to be used to effect control of the field of social sciences. *The concept of an efficient central clearing house, available to foundations to assist them in spending their funds is attractive on its face. But this type of delegation by foundations, resulting in the concentration of enormous power into a few executive hands, not only violates the essential quality of foundation-trustees' fiduciary responsibility but gives to the individuals controlling the delegated mechanism, in the interests of efficiency, a power which can be dangerous by reason of that very fact.*

There is evidence that professorial appointments all over the United States are influenced by SSRC blessing. With great foundation support at its command, it has the power to reach in various directions to exercise influence and, often, control. The 1933-34 Report of the National Planning Board (prepared, incidentally by a committee of the SSRC) stated:

"The *Council* (the SSRC) has been concerned chiefly with the determination of the groups and persons with whom special types of research should be placed."

To have this function (gained by foundation support) gives it a power the ultimate results of which can be far-reaching.

It would be interesting in any continued investigation to study the part played by *The Social Science Research Council* and the societies associated with it in controlling book reviews and the literary production of social scientists. In the American academic world scholars are largely rated by their publications, and it is often on a quantitative as well as a qualitative basis. Consequently, the opportunities for securing publication of scientific papers can have much to do with the academic career of a social scientist. Similarly, the type of reviews given to such books as he may write can obviously have a bearing upon his future and his standing.

Professor Rowe (Hearings, p. 549), speaking of the influence of foundations in educational institutions, said:

"* * * you have to realize * * * that advancement and promotion and survival in the academic field depend upon research and the results and the publication thereof. Here you have, you see, outside organizations influencing the course of the careers of personnel in universities through their control of funds which can liberate these people from teaching duties, for example, and making it possible for them to publish more than their competitors."

Thus the control over a scientific journal permits any group in power to favor or disfavor certain scholars and to impress its concepts and philosophy on a generation of school teachers, textbook authors, writers and others. A careful study should be made to ascertain whether the professional journals in the social sciences have been truly objective in their editorial and reviewing approach.

It can be contended that there are other powerful centers of social studies in the United States in competition with SSRC: the *Ford Behavioral Science Fund*, *The Twentieth Century Fund*, *The American*

Academy of Political and Social Sciences and others; but with almost all of them there exist personal and organizational ties and cross connections via supporting foundations. Moreover, there is a strange similarity of approach among such groups; they all seem to fall into the same "liberal" economic and social points of view. Is this accident or coincidence? It suggests itself to us (and it is a matter requiring far more investigation) that the concentration of power to which we refer has been consciously used to foster and develop this attitude.

Charles Dollard (President of *The Carnegie Corporation of New York*) contributed an article, in *Items, The Social Science Research Council Publication, The Strategy for Advancing the Social Sciences*, in which he refers to the errors of election polls and to the statistical mistakes of Kinsey, and says:

"The third strategic move which I would suggest is that *social science initiate a more rigorous system of internal policing.*" (Page 19.) [Emphasis ours.]

We ourselves are extremely dubious of the scientific character of the methods used by Dr. Kinsey, as we shall discuss later. We cannot understand why his work should have been supported by *The Rockefeller Foundation* or any other foundation. But we cheerfully grant to Dr. Kinsey the right, as an individual working with other than public funds, to make any mistakes he wishes and to select any methods or objectives he chooses. The concept of "policing" is rather terrifying. Did Mr. Dollard mean to say that *The Social Science Research Council* and other "clearing house" organizations should do the policing? That any such organization should even entertain a proposal to create uniformity—even in the interests of efficiency and better method—or to press grantees, whether individual or institutional, into common moulds in any way, would be deeply regrettable. Few could risk criticizing, few academicians at least. There would emerge what has been called a "Gresham's Law in the field of professorships in the social sciences."

We could not more strongly support the statement made by President Grayson Kirk of Columbia University in an address on May 31, 1954, in which he said:

"We must maintain the greatest possible opportunities for the free clash of opinions on all subjects, trusting to the innate good judgment of men and women to reach decisions that are beneficial to society."

The very fact that a leading foundation executive, in an America traditionally opposing restrictions of free speech and thought, can call for a system of internal policing indicates the chasm between a concept of scholarly orthodoxy and the real freedom of inquiry to which Dr. Kirk referred.

The various organizations which compose the center of the concentration of power, the "clearing house" organizations, can all clearly point to admirable and valuable work which they have done. It would be difficult, indeed, to find a foundation which is wholly bad, and the "clearing houses" to which we refer have a great deal to their credit. What concerns us at the moment is that a power exists, concentrated in a comparatively small number of hands, a power which, though it has been used often for much good, can be used for evil. *The existence of such a power, dealing with public trust funds, to us seems to involve at least a potential danger or risk, however benevolently to date its relative despotism may have acted.*

THE AMERICAN COUNCIL ON EDUCATION.

Another of the "clearing houses" is *The American Council on Education*. It is a council of national education associations, financed by membership dues and government contracts, and by heavy contributions from major foundations and comparable organizations, such as *The General Education Board* (Rockefeller), *The Carnegie Corporation of New York*, *The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, *The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching*, *The Rockefeller Foundation*, *The Ford Fund for Adult Education*, *The Alfred P. Sloan Fund*, *The Payne Fund*, *B'nai Brith*, *The National Conference of Christians and Jews*, *The Edward W. Hazen Foundation*, *The Grant Foundation*, *The Ellis L. Phillips Foundation*, and others.

A pamphlet issued by *The American Council on Education* in July 1953 frankly calls this organization a "clearing house."

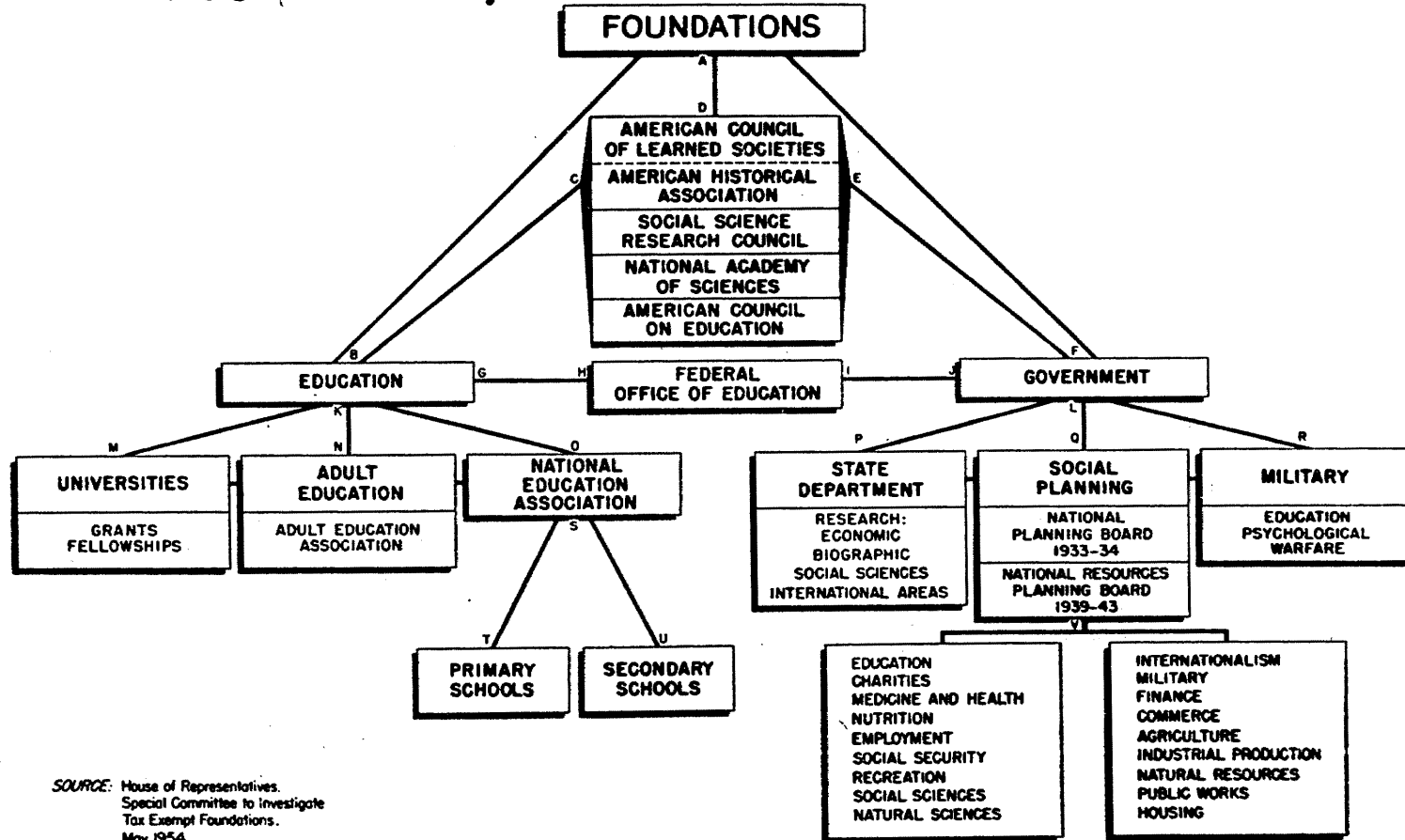
"More specifically, the Council has been a clearinghouse for the exchange of information and opinion; it has conducted many scientific inquiries and investigations into specific educational problems and has sought to enlist appropriate agencies for the solution of such problems; it has stimulated experimental activities by institutions and groups of institutions; it has kept in constant touch with pending legislation affecting educational matters; it has pioneered in methodology that has become standard practice on a national basis—* * *; it has acted as liaison agency between the educational institutions of the country and the federal government and has undertaken many significant projects at the request of the Army, Navy and State Departments and other governmental agencies; and * * * it has made available to educators and the general public widely used handbooks, informational reports, and many volumes of critical analysis of social and educational problems."

The *Council* maintains imposing offices in Washington, D. C., which may not be without significance as, among its many committees, some are concerned with tax, social security and other legislation as it affects institutions of higher learning. Its committee most interesting to us is that on Institutional Research Policy. A *Brief Statement of the History and Activities of the American Council on Education*, dated July 1953 describes the functions of the *Research Policy Committee* as follows:

"Established 1952 to study the interrelationships of sponsored research from the viewpoints of federal agencies, industries, and foundations sponsoring such research, and the effect on institutions doing the research. This latter angle involves the distribution of grants among institutions and the concentration of research in fields at the expense of other fields and the distortion of the institutional picture as a whole. The magnitude of the problem is shown by the fact that 20 or more federal agencies are currently subsidizing more than \$150,000,000 worth of research a year; industrial and business concerns and private foundations also sponsor research. The numerous 'special interest' involved may approach the same problems in different ways and come up with different solutions. It is the aim of this Council committee—composed of college presidents, vice-presidents for research, business officers, and faculty members directly engaged in sponsored research projects—to attempt to formulate a policy for the national level based on cooperative relationships." [Emphasis ours.]

Note that, like *The Social Science Research Council*, this *Council* is an interrelating agency, coordinating the work of other research organizations and researchers, establishing policy and acting as a distributing agent for granting-foundations along planned and integrated lines. That may well create efficiency, but is it solely efficiency we want in research in the social sciences? As Professor Rowe and others have said: it would seem far better to lose efficiency and give individuals of quality the opportunity to go in their own respective directions unhampered by any group control, direction or pressure.

INTER-RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN FOUNDATIONS, EDUCATION AND GOVERNMENT



SOURCE: House of Representatives.
Special Committee to Investigate
Tax Exempt Foundations.
May 1954

However laudable much or most of its work may have been, the *Council* has certainly been one of the media through which foundation funds have been used to effect considerable control or influence over education in the United States. Some may argue that this control or influence has been wholly good—were this so, we would still believe that the power of great foundations to affect educational policies and practices is one which should concern the public. By the same token, we believe that “clearing house” organizations, while they may serve a purpose in the direction of efficiency, are of questionable desirability when interlocked financially or by personnel with these foundations. *The aggregate power involved in such a concentration gives us concern.*

OTHER INTERLOCKS AND FURTHER DANGERS.

Opposite this page there appears a reproduction of a chart introduced by the Assistant Director of Research, showing the *Interrelationships Between Foundations, Education and Government*. As Mr. McNiece explained:

“The relationships between and among these organized intellectual groups are far more complex than is indicated on the chart. Some of these organizations have many constituent member groups. The *American Council of Learned Societies* has twenty-four constituent societies, the *Social Science Research Council*, seven, the *American Council on Education* seventy-nine constituent members, 64 associate members, and 954 institutional members. In numbers and interlocking combinations they are too numerous and complex to picture on this chart.” (Record, p. 1018.)

There are, moreover, other organizations in some number not noted at all on the chart which fulfill some intermediary function in association with foundations and other organizations which are indicated.

There is, in addition, a *Conference Board of Associated Research Councils*, composed of *The American Council of Learned Societies*, *The American Council on Education*, *The National Research Council* and *The Social Science Research Council*, organized “to facilitate action on matters of common concern.” It “continued earlier informal consultations of the executives of the Councils. Its functions are limited to administration of joint activities authorized by the *Councils* and consideration of mutual interests.” (From the 1943-45 Annual Report of the SSRC, page 16.)

The central organizations, such as *The Social Science Research Council*,

“may be considered as ‘clearing houses’ or perhaps as ‘wholesalers’ of money received from foundations inasmuch as they are frequently the recipients of relatively large grants which they often distribute in subdivided amounts to member groups and individuals.” (Record, p. 1019.)

Nor does the chart show all the functions of government in which foundations operate or to which they contribute.

“The lines connecting the various rectangles on the chart symbolize the paths followed in the flow or interchange of money, men and ideas * * *.”

But this process, highly concentrated through the intricate interrelationships, is both complex and ominous. A high concentration of power is always dangerous to society. As we have said, it can be constructed or come into being for wholly benign purposes, but it can readily be used by those whose objectives are against the public interest.

The Cox Committee record shows that a conscious plan by the Communists was inaugurated to infiltrate the foundations for the purpose of appropriating their funds to Communist uses. We know from the evidence that the Communists succeeded in the case of seven foundations: *The Marshall Field Foundation*; *The Garland Fund*; *The John Simon Guggenheim Foundation*; *The Heckscher Foundation*; *The Robert Marshall Foundation*; *The Rosenwald Fund*; and *The Phelps Stokes Fund*; and we are aware of the tragic result to our nation and to the world of communist infiltration into *The Institute for Pacific Relations*. We know also that (then undisclosed) Communists and their fellow-travellers had been able to secure grants from other foundations, including *Carnegie* and *Rockefeller*. We know, further, what the Cox Committee report referred to as "the ugly unalterable fact that Alger Hiss became the President of *The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*." We do not know the full extent to which there has been penetration or use of foundations and their resources. It is too much to assume that Communist success was limited to the exposed instances. Indeed, where foundations are involved in so high a concentration of power as the chart discloses, we may assume that some advantage may have been taken by Communists to use this interlock, directly or indirectly, for malign purposes.

This Committee is not in a position to assess the extent of such use but warns against the inherent danger that a concentration of power constitutes a weapon at hand for such as may wish to suborn it for evil designs. The number of grants made to Communist agents or agencies is relatively tiny in comparison with the aggregate grants by foundations. But this numerical comparison casts no light on the degree of damage which has been done. One grant of comparatively small amount may do frightening damage. Professor Rowe testified (Hearings, p. 534, 535) to the effect that the *test of damage is qualitative and not quantitative*. Moreover, the Communists do not always work directly. In their desire to undermine our society they operate more frequently than not by indirection, supporting causes which merely tend to the left but cannot be identified as actually Communist.

The main concern of this Committee is not with Communism. We agree with Professor Rowe in his estimate that the greater danger lies in the undermining effect of collectivist or socialist movements. Externally, Communism is the greater danger; internally, socialism offers far greater menace.

In either event, whether the penetration is by outright Communists or by some other variety of socialists or collectivists, the danger of its occurrence is far greater when there exists a complex of interrelated and interlocked organizations. There are more opportunities for shifting both personnel and grants. There is much less control through supervision by the trustees of the foundations which supply the basic funds used by the intermediaries. After they have poured these funds into the managerial hands of others, the detailed distribution is beyond their control. Perhaps the *Rockefeller Foundation* trustees might well have recognized a Communist penetration in their own foundation had it existed to the extent it did in the *Institute of Pacific Relations*. They did not recognize it in this intermediary to which they granted millions. The difficulty of watching over the disbursements of an intermediary is not the only danger in the current

system. Foundation trustees are inclined to shrug off responsibility on the unsound theory that, having selected a recipient organization, the granting foundation bears no responsibility for what that intermediary does. The menace of extreme leftist penetration of the foundation world is thus multiplied in seriousness by the existing system of interlock and the use of intermediary organizations.

Aside from this direct menace, the dangers of so close an interlock, so high a degree of concentration of power in intellectual fields, tends to violate an essential of the American system, competition. *Some unfriendly newspapers have accused this Committee of trying to establish "thought control" in the foundation world, or to act as a "censor", or to wish to promote "conformity". The exact opposite is the case. This Committee is highly critical of the system of concentration under discussion for the very reason that it promotes conformity, acts in effect as a censor of ideas and projects, and produces a tendency toward uniformity of ideas.*

In this area of discussion it becomes most important to realize that the United States Government now expends annually on research in the social sciences far more than all the foundations put together. This might be a factor offsetting the concentration of power which the foundations and their supported creatures constitute, were it not for the fact that government-financed research in the social sciences is virtually under the direction of the very same persons and organizations who dominate the foundation concentration of power. Thus, not only are great parts of the vast public funds which the foundations represent used in largely coordinated fashion by the concentration, but even larger sums of public money directly provided by government are, to all practical purposes, employed by the same groups.

This situation is quite distasteful. Americans do not cherish the concept that society should be directed by a clique. Though it may indeed be elite, we do not wish it to direct us. Moreover, there is considerable doubt that the presumed elite is indeed so. One of the most important of the "clearing-houses", *The American Council of Learned Societies*, an intrinsic part of the concentration of power, presumes to represent the elite in the disciplines. To this organization, foundations annually grant large sums of public money. Through it a great amount of research in the social sciences is done or directed. Yet its executive secretary for a long period has been MORTIMER GRAVES. In the Cox Committee Record at page 544, Mr. Keele, its Counsel, read from a long list of Communist-front organizations of which MR. GRAVES was a member, and Mr. Keele did not exhaust the list.

We do not accuse MR. GRAVES of being a Communist. But it amazes us that one with so evident a lack of political and social discernment, with such apparent lack of objectivity, should be retained as a directing officer in what purports to be the representative organization for all the social sciences and humanities. MR. GRAVES still holds his position, though the Cox Committee hearings brought out his extensive record of Communist-front affiliations. This leads us to conclude one of two things; either his personal power is astounding or the extreme political slant of an executive is deemed of no moment by that tax-exempt agency of the foundations.

Under date of August 23, 1954, General Counsel to this Committee addressed a letter to MR. GRAVES, a copy of which is attached to

this report as an appendix.¹² A reply was received stating that Mr. GRAVES was abroad and would not return until early in September. A reply was finally received from Mr. GRAVES in November. In the letter addressed to him, fifteen detailed questions were asked concerning his reported Communist-front affiliations,¹³ his sponsorship of known extreme leftists, recommendations made by him (on behalf of *The Council of Learned Societies*) to government agencies (the lists reputedly containing some Communists or fellow-travellers), and concerning other matters important to this investigation.

Mr. GRAVES' reply (Hearings, page —) gave the Committee certain responsive material but failed to disclose the recommendations made by him to government agencies. The Committee cannot understand his failure to do so unless it was by intention. Mr. Graves' reply seeks to explain away his Communist-front associations, but the aggregate number of those with which he has been charged by other investigations raises a grave question as to his capacity or willingness to act without bias as a foundation executive.

Mr. GRAVES is one of the leading characters in the *dramatis personae* of the foundation world, a major executive of a powerful intermediary organization which is an intrinsic part of the foundation-supported concentration of power, a key figure in academic circles, an adviser to government. The foundation world continues to accept him as one of its leading lights.

So, we ask again, are these officers and directors of the foundations and clearing houses and those whom they favor with their benefactions "elite?" The specialists in the social science fields are obviously better informed in their specialties than is the general public. This does not, however, establish that their judgment regarding the application of their knowledge is sound. We have had plenty of examples of brilliance in a specialty, accompanied by a social judgment so deficient as to be tragic. No one can doubt the genius of Klaus Fuchs, for example, nor his sincerity; neither offered him any basis for sound social judgments.

There is the further danger that an elite group tends to perpetuate itself, both as to personnel and as to opinion and direction. It is only through competition in the intellectual fields, just as in business, that progress can safely be accomplished. Anything which tends to prevent or restrict competition seems to this Committee fraught with frightening danger to our society.

Public opinion is greatly determined, in the long run, by the influence of intellectuals. Therefore, it seems essential to this Committee that intellectual life be as unhampered and freely competitive as possible. Any concentration of intellectual effort, any mechanism tending to conformity, is essentially undesirable, even if, for the moment, directed solely to desirable ends. A political dictatorship may be benevolent, but we want none of it. Similarly, an intellectual-group-dictatorship may be benevolent, but we want none of it.

We urge a detailed reading of the testimony of Mr. McNiece, beginning at page 465 of the Hearings, in which he explains the extent and working of the interlocking concentration of power which has been financed by foundations and has taken over much of government function in the social science areas. We are dealing here

¹² See p. —.

¹³ See p. — for list of affiliations.

with vast sums of money, the impact of which can be and has been terrific. Mr. McNiece noted that six foundations alone have made grants aggregating over \$60,000,000 to some of the intermediate or clearing-house organizations. Significant also, incidentally, were aggregate grants of over \$4,000,000 to *The London School of Economics*, at a time when it was a fountain-head of Fabian socialism. (Hearings, p. 475.)

POLITICS—POWER FLOW—PLANNING.

Mr. McNiece described a "central or main stream of influence" running from the foundations and their centralized agencies into government. (Hearings, p. 601, et seq.) There was considerable evidence to show that the government has come to rely upon the "clearing houses" for lists of men who can assist as specialists in the "social sciences." On its face this practice seems desirable enough, but closer inspection discloses severe dangers. As Mr. Reece, the Chairman of the Committee, remarked:

The CHAIRMAN. We have in the United States the colleges and universities which, while large in number, are very accessible to be advised about the requirements of Government. While there is nothing wrong in asking one of the societies to furnish a list of names, as I see it, do we not know from practical experience that when a council such as the Council of Learned Societies is put in the position of furnishing a list of scholars to advise the Government, that list will be pretty much the recommendation of the man who happens to be administrative officer of the council that makes up and supplies the list. Insofar as that is the case, that puts in the hands of one man a tremendous influence. If he happens to be a man that has certain inclinations, he is in a position to give very wide effect in those inclinations, if he is put in a position where he furnishes the list of the experts the Government calls into the service as advisers. That is the angle that I see that becomes, to my mind, Mr. Hays, very important.

It is the concentration not only in one organization, but ultimately largely in the hands of one man. (Hearings, pp. 602, 603.)

We discuss elsewhere the power which executives of foundations and "clearing houses" exercise. Professor Colgrove gave important testimony in this area. He said that academicians are reluctant to criticize foundations. He testified to the "fawning" over those who distribute foundation funds, giving as an example the attitude of professional associates toward Professor Merriam, long a power in the social-science-foundation world. Professor Merriam himself had said:

"Money is power, and for the last few years I have been dealing with more power than any professor should ever have in his hands." (Hearings, p. 565.)

In the last analysis it is frequently individuals, or small groups of individuals who perform the act of recommendation and virtual appointment of "scientific" personnel to the government. The political slant of these individuals may thus seriously affect the character of government operations. We have seen many Communists and fellow-travellers recommended by foundation executives for government posts. *In the case of the recommendations to the government made by the Institute of Pacific Relations and the American Council of Learned Societies for experts to be used by our occupation forces in Germany and Japan, the lists were heavily salted with Communists and their supporters.* (Hearings, pp. 559, 560.)

The Chairman seriously questioned the process of the government relying on the existing mechanism for making social-science appoint-

ments. He said that the administrative officer of an operating society who made such recommendations

"is a man that has no public responsibility, not like the President or a cabinet officer, whom we know who do have public responsibility. Nor like the President of a college who is identified in the public mind, and to a very large degree is held responsible not only by the board of trustees, but particularly by the alumni of the institution, and a very wide segment of the public, which is quite different from some man that is ensconced in the office of a learned society that is in a building downtown here. At least I see a very wide difference. In so far as there is a disposition to concentrate into one or a few places—it probably should not be described as authority to recommend—the privilege of recommending people for government consultants. I would have quite a serious question in my mind about it." (Record, p. 1342.)

In reply to Counsel's question whether he did not think foundations might better turn to the universities and colleges for research instead of to intermediate organizations, Professor Rowe testified:

Dr. ROWE. Yes, sir. There has, of course, been a mixed method on the part of IPR. You get a very interesting carrying down the line of the funds and the projects. Foundations will give funds to organizations like IPR. Some of this money for research purposes will be directly handled by the IPR. Young people, scholars, will be brought into the organization to do specific jobs for the organization. However, they will also go to universities and ask universities as they did once in our case to provide, so to speak, hospitality for one of the men that they want to have perform a research function under guidance and direction, subsidized by IPR, which money came from *Rockefeller Foundation* in this case. Then they will do other things. For instance, the IPR organization will give money to the university personnel themselves directly for either research or publication purposes. So there are all kinds of ways and manners of doing this. I would submit that in much of this procedure the choice of personnel, the passing on their qualifications, the framing of projects, and the guidance of the researchers in the process of carrying out projects, is not adequately provided for by these organizations, such as the *Institute of Pacific Relations* was and still is today.

In the case of universities, where appointments are made, the universities' faculties are people of long standing, they may be good, bad, or indifferent, but the organization and the procedures of appointment and approval thereof are sufficiently complex and involve sufficient safeguards to cut the errors down considerably below the errors that are possible and probable without these forms of supervision and sanction.

It seems to me that the foundations in giving funds to organizations such as the *Institute of Pacific Relations* are in general on rather weaker ground than if they give funds to established organizations for research purposes in which the criteria for the appointment of people, for their promotions, for their advancements and things of that kind have been worked out over a long period of time.

The informality of the arrangements in the IPR was one of the things that I have always wondered at. To make it possible for so few people to have so much power and influence in determining who got funds for what purpose and determining what kind of projects they worked on and how these projects were supervised seemed to me to be very lax. Of course, toward the end the money that IPR got was heavily given to publications. They would subsidize the publication of works that were produced by research workers in universities and other such organizations, as well as their own people. This seemed to me to be getting away a little bit from the evils of the previous system in which they were directly involved in the research function. But it still put a tremendous lot of power in the hands of a very few people, since they went all over the United States, looking over the products of research in the far eastern field, and deciding which of these they would subsidize and which they would not.

This is not to say for a moment that the foundations have not given funds directly to universities. Of course they have. I suppose they have given far more funds for research purposes directly to universities than to organizations such as the IPR. But it seems to me, and you can, of course, consider the source here—I am a member of a university community—it seems to me logical to say that in those communities you get better safeguards as to quality and personnel than you can get in any such organization as the *Institute of the Pacific Relations*, set up to a heavy extent for research purposes outside of academic communities. (Hearings, pp. 544, 545.)

Later the following colloquy took place:

Mr. WORMSER. * * * I would like to get on another subject, which one of your previous remarks introduced. We were discussing the undesirability perhaps of using intermediate organizations like IPR. Would your comments apply also, and perhaps you might discuss this general area, to what we have referred to at times as clearing house organizations? We have talked about a certain interlocking or close relationship between the foundations and intermediate organizations, like *The Social Science Research Council*, and *The American Council of Learned Societies*. I would like you to comment on that, Professor, as well as whether you think the resulting concentration of power through this interlock is a desirable thing or not.

Dr. ROWE. I suppose the proof of it is in what comes out of it. My feeling is that here is another very clear evidence of the difficulty for the foundations in making policy regarding the expenditure of their funds. *The Social Science Research Council* handles social science matters. They will give a large lump sum of money to these people. Then *The Social Science Research Council* has to set up the operations of screening of applications, screening of candidates, supervision of operations and evaluation of results and all that. This costs the foundations something, because part of the money they put in has to go for these administrative purposes. But the foundation doesn't want to do it itself. *The Social Science Research Council* being supposedly a specialized agency simply, it seems to me, relieves the foundation of this to the extent that the foundation gives large sums of money to *The Social Science Research Council*.

What the *Council* does is the responsibility of the foundation, it seems to me, to a very great extent. There is no use trying to blink at that fact in any way, shape, or form. I suppose there is no ideal solution to the problem of the application of expertness to the supervision of the expenditure of money by big foundations. This is why some foundations go in for rather narrow kinds of specialization. They will do one kind of thing and not another. *The General Education Board* is an example of what I am talking about, because their work has been rather narrowly oriented, certainly during the last decade or two. But the big foundations in general spread themselves over the landscape.

The Ford Foundation is the latest and greatest. *The Ford Foundation* is even going in for general public education, although I understand this emphasis is decreasing some in the last year or two. But when they first began they were very much interested in general adult education through all kinds of media, radio, conferences, great book seminars all over the country. We had 2 or 3 of them in our immediate area in Connecticut, all financed by *The Ford Foundation*.

The job of running an extension course for universities is a big job. When you start doing this all over the United States, I should think it would be almost impossible to supervise it adequately. If I am right about the tendency in recent years, it might be that this is a conclusion they have reached on the matter, if they are cutting down. I would not know what has guided their policy along this line.

There is inevitably going to be this problem, that as knowledge and as research become more specialized and more technical, and the problem of deciding what you want to do researchwise becomes more difficult, the foundations that have big money to spend are just up against a tremendous policy problem. How do they operate, and how can they possibly guarantee the maximum effectiveness and efficiency in their operations in the light of the objectives which they profess and which underlie their whole activity?

Mr. WORMSER. Does it impress you as socially desirable that the large foundations should concentrate a certain large part of their operations in the social sciences in one group or association of groups, like *The Social Science Research Council*, *The American Council of Learned Societies*, and others?

Dr. ROWE. I suppose the theory behind this is that these organizations, like *The Social Science Research Council*, are truly representative of social science all over the United States. I suppose that is the only possible theoretical justification for this kind of policy. I don't know.

Mr. WORMSER. The question we have, Professor, in that connection is whether that type of concentration, even though it might be efficient mechanically, is desirable insofar as it militates against the competitive factor, which is sort of intrinsic in our society.

Dr. ROWE. There is no question but what an organization like *The Social Science Research Council* has a tremendous amount of power. This power which it exerts, it exerts very heavily on educational institutions and their personnel,

because when you get down to it, who is it that does research in social science? It is educational institutions, because they have the faculties in the various fields, like political science, economics, anthropology, sociology, geography and so on. That is where the people are. To understand the importance of this function, all you have to realize is that advancement and promotion and survival in the academic field depend upon research and the results and the publication thereof. Here you have, you see, outside organizations influencing the course of the careers of personnel in universities through their control of funds which can liberate these people from teaching duties, for example, and making it possible for them to publish more than their competitors.

This, therefore, means that there is a tremendous responsibility here to apportion their awards in a just way—in such a way as takes into account the differences of approach and the differences of opinion in these fields; the theoretical differences from one school to another. *The possibility exists that at all times in any of these organizations that the people in charge thereof become convinced that there is one way to do a job in the social science field, and that only this way will get their support.*

If and when that time comes—I don't know whether it is here or ever will come—then you will have a combination in restraint of trade within the limits of public acceptability that may have very deleterious effects upon our intellectual community. [Emphasis ours.] (Hearings, pp. 548, 549, 550.)

Let us see whether in the field of social science research such a movement “in restraint of trade” has not, in effect, come about.

VIII. THE FOUNDATIONS AND RESEARCH IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

THE PREDOMINANCE OF EMPIRICISM.

There has been frequent and severe criticism of foundations on the ground that, in their support of research in the social sciences in association with the concentration of power described in the previous chapter, they have promoted an excess of empirical research.

The normal scientific process employs both theoretical and empirical research. The theoretical is deductive reasoning from accepted premises. The empirical is inductive reasoning from observed data. The usual process is to set up a hypothesis, derived from some form of reasoning, or selected by accident or arbitrarily. This hypothesis is then generally tested by various means, including both deductive and inductive approaches. Empirical research can produce material of usefulness by way of the collection of data; but it is rare indeed when such research, without relation to or counter-check by theoretical research, can produce a result upon which any new course for society can safely be recommended. Empiricism by the very nature of its approach, ignores moral precepts, principles and established or accepted norms of behavior, and seeks to base conclusions solely upon what the senses will take in by means of observation.

These critics, therefore, say that empirical research is obviously a necessary component of the general investigatory method but, unless combined with the theoretical approach, it can lead into serious and often tragic error. They urge that the foundations are misdirecting their funds in social science research areas if they do not see to it that empirical research is balanced by theoretical. It seems impossible to deny the validity of the comment made by Professor Hobbs in his testimony (Hearings, p. 167):

I would feel very definitely that so-called empirical findings must be fitted into a framework of the legal precepts, the traditions, the history, the moral codes, the military principles of the area in which they are applied. That in and of themselves, by their very nature, they exclude the intangibles which may be not only important but may be crucial in a final decision.

It is difficult to decide which is the cart and which the horse; whether a predominance of empirical interest started in the universities and took over the foundations, or whether the foundations have been the controlling factor in filling the universities (and thus research) with empiricists. It seems to this Committee that it makes little difference. If the controlling thought in the universities and in the foundations is in the direction of empiricism, to the virtual exclusion of theory, a situation exists which, in its imbalance, may be very dangerous.

Predominant opinions tend to perpetuate themselves. If a university department is predominantly empiricist, it is likely, through what might be called "intellectual nepotism", to exclude the entrance of teachers of the opposite research persuasion. If a foundation, particularly when associated with the concentration of power which has been referred to, tends predominantly to the empirical, it is likely to promote this approach to the exclusion of the opposite school. Thus, in the course of time, and this seems often to have happened, the whole field is dominated by persons of one persuasion.

A numerical Gallup Poll of "authorities" in the social sciences would undoubtedly show that most of the "best people" in the field would support the predominant empirical approach. That does not prove that they are right. It is quite possible, as the critics suggest, that theorists have not had an equal opportunity to get into the ranks and to rise in them. It might well be as though a group of Republicans, having obtained control of foundation management and of university departments, had steadily increased their control by excluding Democrats and now claim that most people who are prominent in the trade are against Democratic research. This might then be true, but does it prove that the Republicans were right in excluding the Democrats?

If the public money which goes into research in the social sciences through the operation of foundations has been and is being directed consciously and overwhelmingly into one theory of research, to the virtual exclusion of another theory held necessary to be integrated by many men of competence and stature, the Committee would conclude that this favoritism for one theory is against the public interest.

There is considerable evidence to show that this favoritism and exclusion does exist, and to a marked degree.

The Social Science Research Council, the most important of the "clearing house" organizations in the social sciences, apparently maintains a program for the development of researchers in these fields. The funds are supplied by major foundations, in substantial amounts; but the SSRC seems to be the chief executive of what is apparently a program widely supported by the foundations to produce more researchers. On the face of it, this seems a most admirable enterprise. However, the conclusion is inevitable that its program is directed overwhelmingly toward the production of empirical research. Pamphlets issued by SSRC announcing "Fellowships and Grants" describe the fellowships as of two classes. The first is "Those designed exclusively to further the training of research workers in social science." The second is "Those designed to aid scholars of established competence in the execution of their research," namely, the *Travel Grants for Area Research*, *Grants-in-Aid of Research*, and *Faculty Research Fellowships*.

In a letter to a member of the Committee staff, the President of SSRC says:

"In the case of the faculty research fellowship program it was agreed that the recipients would be chosen in terms of their competence 'in formulating and testing hypotheses concerning social behavior by *empirical*, and if possible *quantitative methods*.'" [Emphasis ours.]

The pamphlets, on the other hand, referring to the other group of fellowships—those intended to train researchers—says:

"These fellowships may be granted for programs that will afford either experience in the conduct of research and *first hand analysis of empirical data* under the guidance of mature investigators, or further formal training, or both." [Emphasis ours.]

Thus all the neophytes who are to become "social scientists" must operate empirically to get any help through these fellowships. Similarly, having attained positions on a faculty, it seems they cannot have one of these faculty fellowships except for empirical studies. That leaves only part of the second class, namely, "*Travel Grants for Area Research*", and "*Grants-in-Aid of Research*." Perhaps empiricism is not demanded for a *Travel Grant*, but it would seem clear that it is again a prerequisite to a *Grant-in-Aid of Research*. The pamphlets recite that "Grants will not be given to subsidize the preparation of textbooks or the publication of books or articles, or to provide income in lieu of salary." Therefore, and because much theoretical research requires little equipment and merely financial support while the time is taken to do thinking, reading and analysis which almost always results in the production of a book or an article, theorists, as against empiricists, seem to be given short shrift.

In *Fellows of the Social Science Research Council 1925-1951*, the Council writes, describing the Research Training Fellowships begun in 1935, as follows:

"There has been no arbitrary assignment of quotas by disciplines, but a constant effort to encourage training by rigorous *empirical* research in all fields." [Emphasis ours.]

THE "FACT-FINDING MANIA".

No laboring of this point is needed. The executives of the major "clearing house" organizations on the whole would not only admit that they overwhelmingly support empirical research; they would acclaim it as highly desirable. They maintain that, whatever the weaknesses of data-collection, an accumulation of empirical results adds to the great body of knowledge and forms additional bases for further research. Moreover, it is probable that an opinion census of social science professors would show that most of them believe (1) there is an adequate balance of theoretical with empirical research and (2) that, in any event, there cannot be too much empirical collection of data. A letter to Counsel from Professor of Sociology C. Arnold Anderson, of the University of Kentucky, for example, expresses what is certainly the majority point of view of the present social scientists. He says: "* * * we must recognize that it is impossible to have too many empirical facts." He adds: "The answer to inadequate facts is more facts." He concludes emphatically that "There has not been an unfair or undesirable preponderance of empirical research. What the social sciences need is enormously more money for the collection of facts, and for the testing of theories by facts."

There are eminent professors and social science technicians, however, who insist that empirical research has unfairly predominated. They point out that the mere collection of "facts" unrelated to theory and untested, or unchecked and uncheckable in many instances, adds nothing of any consequence to the sum total of human knowledge. Indeed, Professor Anderson himself says in his letter that "Fact and theory are constantly at play, one upon the other. Every reputable social scientist strives constantly to balance and integrate those two facets of scientific work." Those of the critical point of view believe that great numbers of foundation-supported social scientists, in their anxiety to use the factual approach to research, have failed to do that very integration between "fact" and theory which Professor Anderson indicates is essential to sound work.

In a paper, *New Concepts in Education*, delivered before the *American Association for the Advancement of Science* at Cleveland on December 27, 1950, Stuart A. Courtis commented on one aspect of fact-finding as follows:

"As a result we are today in possession of mountains of quantitative data whose interpretation is not furthered by our experiments, and we have discovered no laws as the exact sciences know law. We possess only large masses of quantitative conclusions nearly worthless for purposes of prediction."

For a full presentation of the absurdity of accumulating facts merely as facts, and also for an analysis of what constitutes a "scientific" fact, we refer the reader to Professor Hobbs' notable book, *Social Problems and Scientism*. In it, Professor Hobbs attacks the excessive and uncontrolled use of empiricism, and points out that the result is often what he refers to as "scientism", or what a layman would call "fake science." He states that many books and articles have been written which purport to give "the facts" regarding some phase of human behavior—the "facts" about marriage, the "facts" about sex, the "facts" about crime, etc. In all too many instances he says, we are not then presented with scientific data but with a collection of scientifically meaningless material (pp. 211-2).

This mania for "fact-finding" has reached a stage which has been sometimes referred to as the "comptometer compulsion." Morton Clurman, in *How Discriminatory are College Admissions?*, in *Commentary* of June, 1953, calls it the "IBM fallacy." He says (p. 622):

"Every trade in every age has its special delusions, and a major application of social science might be called the IBM fallacy. This delusion reflects the endemic conviction of 20th-century man that machines can do everything for him—including thinking. In the case of the social scientist it takes the form of a certainty that if you feed enough data through enough electric circuits what you are looking for is bound to come out. The corollary of this hypothesis is the conviction that only a minimum of human cerebration need be combined with a maximum of electronics to produce miraculous results.

"* * * The laboratory experiment, or natural observation, which are analogous to the collection and processing of data in the social sciences, are simply ways of verifying the scientist's hypothesis. They cannot create a hypothesis, only confirm one. Where that hypothesis comes from, God may know, but certainly no one else does. Where it doesn't come from, however, is a machine or any specific body of data. If it did, scientific creation would be possible for almost any high school boy."

Professor Hobbs calls the mania the "fetish of statistics." He writes (*Social Problems and Scientism*, p. 212):

"An over-emphasis on facts as facts is one of the characteristics of what is sometimes called the empirical approach. Ideally, empiricism could mean that

the investigators relied solely upon controlled observation and experimental evidence. Actually, much of the empiricism in social science involves no rigid experimentation, and the facts are questionable, fragmentary, and slanted. Empiricism in social science seems to owe its extreme popularity more nearly to desperation rather than plan. Philosophic and scientific justification for the type of empiricism generally employed in social science is extremely tenuous. It seems to spring more from a frantic effort to acquire the external appearance of science and the accolade of 'practicality' than to grow out of any carefully thought out system of either philosophy or science. * * * A belief appears to exist that somehow empiricism is more advanced, more modern, than reliance on reason and logic, such as rationalism involves."

We quote heavily, throughout this report, from the testimony and writings of Professor Hobbs because his testimony before us was so lucid, impressive and seemingly incontrovertible. Lest it be thought that Professor Hobbs is alone in his observations and opinions, we shall quote, in support, letters to Counsel from three of the most eminent and erudite sociologists in the United States. Each has done extensive research in a variety of fields. Each has published scores of books and articles of a professional nature. It is unlikely that any other three sociologists living have such a wide background or such extensive publications to their credit as these three senior scholars. They are Professor Pitirim A. Sorokin of Harvard, Professor Carle C. Zimmerman of Harvard and Professor James H. S. Bossard of Pennsylvania.

Professor Pitirim A. Sorokin, in a letter to Committee Counsel, said:

"* * * I can state that so far as social sciences are concerned, most of the foundations certainly favor to an excessive degree empirical research and greatly discriminate against theoretical, historical, and other forms of nonempirical research. This one-sidedness by itself would not be objectionable, if (a) empirical research were not still more narrowed and reduced to either statistical research or research along the line of the mathematical and mechanical models, or other imitative varieties of so-called natural science sociology; (b) if the topics investigated were of some theoretical or practical importance; and, (c) if most of the favored researchers were competent social scientists. Unfortunately, in cases of overwhelming bulk of granted financial help, these three conditions were absent."

Similarly, Professor Carle C. Zimmerman:

"The tax exempt foundations in the United States have unfairly and undesirably emphasized empirical research to such an extent that the whole meaning of social science research has come to be ridden with sham and dubious practices."

Professor Bossard:

"For some years, I have regarded with increasing apprehension the development of what I have called the comptometer school of research in social sciences. By this I mean the gathering of detailed social data and their manipulation by all the available statistical techniques. Not that I am objecting to such methods—my reluctance rather lies in an unwillingness to accept these as the core of research in human behavior.

"My own interest lies more in the development of qualitative insights. This accords with my judgment of the life process, that it cannot be reduced to statistical formulae but that it is a richly diversified complex of relationships. The chief purpose of research for university people, most of whom are limited to working with small groups, should be weighted heavily in the direction of research in qualitative insights rather than manipulation of mass data.

"I am particularly concerned with the impression which the recent emphasis upon the comptometer approach has created among younger sociologists as to what constitutes social research. The monies and influences of the large foundations naturally do a great deal to set the norms of professional acceptance in a given field, and it is in this respect, difficult to measure statistically but possibly of very great importance, that a distinct disservice may be done to sociological research by an undue emphasis upon any particular emphasis or methodology."

In his letter, Professor Bossard disqualifies [himself 'as] an unprejudiced observer, saying:

"* * * I am indicating the reasonable suspicion that I may be prejudiced in that I have never been able to obtain a single grant from any research foundation or organization."

He adds, however, that he has had no difficulty in getting research grants from his University or from people of means who are familiar with his work. *The conclusion is reasonable that this eminent professor cannot obtain foundation grants because his interests in research are qualitative and not empirical, a rather sad commentary on the objectivity of the foundations. Nor is he alone in being discriminated against because of his research theories. This Committee is confident that an analysis would show that it is far from easy for academicians of Professor Bossard's research persuasions to obtain grants from the major foundations.*

The following discussion, by Professor Rowe in his testimony, of research as promoted by foundations is illuminating:

Dr. ROWE. That is one of the most difficult things to get agreement on, as to what the objectives of research should be. The easiest, quickest way to get massive results is to engage in fact-finding for fact-finding's sake, or the mass accumulation of facts for the sake of accumulating facts. This produces stuff that is big and heavy in your hand, but I don't think it is any more valuable, to put it mildly, than the kind of research that allows a scholar the time for reflection and contemplation, out of which come many of the ideas and thoughts which alone can make valid framework for analyzing the great masses of data that may be accumulated, many times by people who don't have much capacity for effective thinking or for theory or don't have much inclination for that kind of thing. (Hearings, p. 528.)

Asked later if he thought there had been an over-emphasis on empirical research as financed by the foundations, he testified as follows:

Dr. ROWE. It would be very difficult for me to answer that question vis-a-vis all research sponsored by or supported by all foundations because I just don't have the knowledge necessary to make that kind of a comment. Taking it outside of the field of foundation support, I do think in my own field for example, the general field of political science, there has been an overemphasis upon empirical research at the expense of theoretically oriented thinking and analysis. There is a tremendous emphasis upon the census type of thing in political science. Statistics are coming into greater and greater importance. Whereas, this is of course always a valid tool for research workers, the emphasis here tends to detract from the kind of fundamental thinking about great issues and about values which characterize the work of earlier students of politics in the United States, such as for instance, President Wilson, and people of that kind. Those studies, of course, were rooted in history and rooted in law. To the extent that political scientists have tried to divorce themselves from historical and legal study, and from historical and legal background in their study, they have tended to become very pointed fact-gatherers, census-takers and the business of arguing about great issues has been played down to this extent.

Of course, it is much easier and much simpler for political scientists to justify their existence on the basis of a mass production of factual materials than it is for them to justify their existence as great thinkers, because fact-gatherers are a dime a dozen and people who can think are hard to find. This is a comment on the fallibility of human nature. After all, political scientists are human beings.

Mr. HAYS. Professor, is what you are saying, in other words, that thinkers could not get the products of their thinking across because the people would not be able to comprehend and they can comprehend statistics?

Dr. ROWE. No; I don't mean to imply that. I mean to say that ideas and concepts and values are far more important, it seems to me, than much of the indisputable, completely noncontroversial factual material that political scientists seem to occupy themselves with so much in the present day. (Hearings, pp. 531, 532.)

These words of Professor Rowe impress us greatly. It is the position of this Committee that foundations should have the greatest possible freedom of operation consonant with the protection of our society and our institutions. But if it is true, and the evidence persuades us it is, that the large foundations are financing researchers who are almost exclusively empiricist, the saturation of the academic atmosphere with this particular and narrow approach could have very serious effects upon the colleges and secondary schools.

It may well be that we are not competent to evaluate research methods. We are not certain that this is so, for we have the impression that the executives of the foundations and the clearing house organizations make more of a mystery of the social sciences, and the methodism in them, than is justified. But we do not see how Congress, in any event, can regulate methods of research, nor should it wish to. What we do urge is that the trustees of the large foundations make it their business to determine reason and balance for themselves, seeking the advice not only of their own executives and professional employees but also of those academicians who represent the critical point of view, those who believe, as Professor Rowe said, that "ideas, and concepts and values are far more important" than mere "factual material", however the latter may be useful as contributive material.

These trustees might well alert themselves to the dangers and limitations of the empirical method as a primary approach to social problems.

They might well become more conscious also, of the necessity of a foundation justifying its tax-exempt status through a positive demonstration of strong contributions to the public welfare, and not being content merely to "experiment" with that welfare.

LIMITATIONS AND DANGERS.

This Committee wishes to make it clear that it has not attacked, and does not attack, empiricism. To do so would be an absurdity. To allege any implicit vice in empirical research as such would also be palpably ridiculous. It is the excess and the misuse of empiricism and empirical research which appears to this Committee to merit criticism.

Mr. Pendleton Herring in the statement which he filed with the Committee as President of the *Social Science Research Council*, referred to John Locke as the philosopher "who also developed the doctrine that knowledge is derived from experience." Surely, Locke and philosophers like him believed in the importance of empirical thinking. But we are sure they believed that observations should be based on actual conditions with all facets of a condition taken into consideration. *Much of the empiricism in which foundation-supported research today indulges seems to eliminate all but quantitative, statistically manipulative variables, and eliminates the qualitative factors which Locke and any other respectable philosopher would have deemed essential.*

The very term "social sciences" is misleading because it is so often identified with the same scientific procedures employed in the natural sciences; many, seeing the word "science" mistakenly conclude that social science results are equally exact and accurate.

Professor Hobbs emphasized in his testimony that the social scientists supported by the foundations have failed to alert the public to the *unscientific* character of much of what is called "social science." On the contrary, the attempt has been made "to convince the readers

of the textbook, and trade books," that what they are reading is "science" when in fact it is not. He said (Hearings, p. 122):

I think it should be the burden and the positive responsibility of persons making the study and publishing the study. If they call it science, it should be their positive responsibility to point out the limitations, and not only point them out, but to emphasize them to avoid misleading the reader into the belief that it is science in the same sense that it is used in physical science. * * *

There has been a growing movement to apply the methods used in the natural sciences to research in the social sciences. But a complete translation of these methods into the social sciences is impossible. There are a number of reasons for this. Perhaps the most important is that experiment, except in a very limited way, is not available to the social scientist. The natural scientist, as part of the procedure of investigation, tests a hypothesis through experiment upon the materials to which the hypothesis applies. The social scientist deals with human beings; these he cannot easily use for experimental purposes. He cannot use them as one would use a simple raw material or even lower forms of life in natural science experimentation. Even under a dictatorship which offered him human sacrifices for his experiments, he could rarely isolate individual factors, traits and conditions, making them independent of the complex of factors in individual and group human life. He cannot be certain that he is dealing with one factor at a time. He cannot exercise the controls which are used by natural scientists, on materials simpler than human beings, in order to eliminate error in observation and conclusion when tests are to be applied. He cannot, for example, test people to see whether they or society would be better off if they had extra-marital sex relations.

DR. KINSEY COUNTS NOSES.

The social scientist, therefore, falls easily into the use of mere observation (empiricism) as a substitute for experiment. Unable to use the experimental method, he takes statistics, he "counts noses." This process is subject to many possibilities of error. It is a process which is valuable in research, but it must be controlled by specific hypotheses; even then, the results will generally be only of qualified, contributory usefulness. Studies such as the Kinsey reports, for example, might disclose that a certain number of people *seem* to have become maladjusted because of a lack of sex experience at an early age, or because they maintained the sanctity of the marriage bond. To conclude, from such limited and questionable observations, that the general public would be better off through early sex experience or by ignoring the sanctity of marriage, would be unwarranted. Various errors of observation would be almost unavoidable in such a collection of statistical material. Were the interviewed cases truly a population cross-section? Were the cases selected at random, or only by the volunteer method? Did all the cases tell the truth? Was there a check made (and could there be?) to take into account the relationship between volunteering and "normality?"

To arrive at a conclusion as to advisable behavior (or as to laws desirable in the field of sex) merely on the basis of such statistical material, would fail to take into account many basic premises in social reasoning, such as: the effect of tentative proposals upon our standards of morality; their effect upon the construction of the state; their effect upon the family and upon the rearing of children; and their

effect upon the mental and social health of individuals left free of moral restraint.

All that a study such as a Kinsey report can prove is that "other forms of sexual behavior, such as pre-marital intercourse, prostitution, extra-marital intercourse, and homosexual behavior *sometimes* occur among *some* members of *some* segments of the population." ¹⁴ Many years of labor were spent, and very large amounts of the public's money, contributed by the Rockefeller Foundation, were expended, to produce this stupendous fact. This is perhaps as good an example as any of the extremely limited positive value (combined with extremely grave possibilities of adverse social effect) of much of the empirical research in the social sciences, research for which the public's money is employed through foundation grants.

Though empiricism has its essential place in scientific investigation, its use is dangerous except within the control of accepted social premises. To use it alone and to base conclusions solely upon the method of observation, is to jump to conclusions—to violate the cardinal principle of scientific investigation that there must be cross-checking through the alternate use of the inductive and the deductive method and by relating to actual or apparent axioms. True, Dr. Kinsey has claimed that he has not derived any conclusions from his work. But the advertising of his first report stated that it "answers and clarifies an almost innumerable number of sex behavior problems * * *." The report itself, in the use of terminology, derives conclusions as clearly as though they were so stated. And countless persons who should know better, among them many college professors, have taken up these works and used them to substantiate their own conclusions as though these were Kinsey's. Professor Llewellyn of the Columbia University Law School went so far, in connection with the first Kinsey report, as to recommend that pressure should now be brought on the lawmakers to change our laws regarding sex behavior. Professor MacIver of Columbia proclaimed that the Kinsey report would now "prepare the way for a happier and more enlightened program of public education."

Other writers travelled the same road. Dr. R. L. Dickinson, in a preface to *American Sexual Behavior and the Kinsey Report*, said:

"Surely new programs are indicated. We need to start with parents, educating them to educate their children. Then we can educate the educators—teachers, doctors, ministers, social workers and all concerned in the sexual patterns which Professor Kinsey finds are set so early in life. First and foremost we will train for attitudes. Later we will teach techniques."

The danger of such loose and isolated, uncontrolled empirical studies, particularly when given the seeming authority of support by a major foundation, is great. As Prof. Hobbs has put it regarding Kinsey:

"Despite the patent limitations of the study and its persistent bias, its conclusions regarding sexual behavior were widely believed. They were presented to college classes; medical doctors cited them in lectures; psychiatrists applauded them; a radio program indicated that the findings were serving as a basis for revision of moral codes relating to sex; and an editorial in a college student newspaper admonished the college administration to make provision for sexual outlets for the students in accordance with the 'scientific realities' as established by the book." (*Social Problems and Scientism*, p. 93.)

Hobbs, *Social Problems and Scientism*, p. 94.

Prof. Hobbs narrates many such reactions, among them the statement in *About the Kinsey Report*, by Donald Porter Geddes and Enid Curie, published as a *Signet Special* at 25 cents:

"It does not matter that the report is unscientific, the important thing is that it be publicized and serve as a basis for reform of sexual behavior and of laws which deal with violations of sexual mores."

The Committee wonders whether *The Rockefeller Foundation*, which made the Kinsey study possible by the investment of substantial funds, is proud of its work. Research of this type, of which there is much outside the sex field, seems predicated upon the premise that what is wrong with our society is that our moral codes are seriously in need of re-study and revision.

These excerpts from Professor Hobbs' testimony before this Committee are illuminating (Hearings, p. 124):

The CHAIRMAN. As I understand, you are raising a question about the scientific approach which Dr. Kinsey made in conducting this research in the first place, and then some of his comments and conclusions which he wrote into his report, which did not necessarily arise from the basis of his research which he had made?

Dr. HOBBS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And which might have damaging effect on the psychology of the people, particularly the young people of the country.

Dr. HOBBS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And at the same time undertaking to give to the country the overall impression that his findings and his comments were based upon a scientific study which had been made, as the basis of a grant.

Dr. HOBBS. Yes, sir; a scientific study of the type by implication which you have in physics and chemistry, and, therefore, its conclusions cannot be challenged.

The CHAIRMAN. Enumerating in the preface that it was made by a grant from one of the foundations giving it further prestige, possibly, that it was of scientific value, and so forth.

Dr. HOBBS. That would be correct. I have a statement to that effect to show that very type of influence, which I will come to a little bit later.

Dr. Hobbs' detailed testimony is well worth reading. Considerable criticism was made of Dr. Kinsey's work on the basis of statistical theory and because the impression was left that the study made upon a selected number of persons produced a result projected to the entire population of the United States.

Dr. Hobbs, moreover, criticized the Kinsey reports for referring to "socially approved patterns of sexual behavior" as "rationalization". That is:

* * * socially approved patterns of sexual behavior are frequently referred to as rationalization. That is, the socially approved patterns of sexual behavior throughout the Kinsey works are referred to in terms of ridicule, as being mere rationalization, and justifications for types of behaviour which by implication are not the best or even the most desirable.

Socially condemned forms of sexual behavior and criminal forms of sexual behavior are usually in the Kinsey volumes referred to as normal, or normal in the human animal.

The presentation of moral codes, codes of sexual behavior, is such that they are contrasted with what Kinsey calls normal mammalian behavior, which could give the impression, and it gave the impression to a number of reviewers, that things which conform to the socially approved codes of sexual conduct are rationalizations, not quite right, while things which deviate from it, such as homosexuality, are normal, in a sense right. (Hearings, p. 126)

Prof. Hobbs stressed the danger that pseudo-scientific studies could condition the conduct of the public. Statements and conclusions produced by a scientific rather than scientific approach could even severely impair public morality. He testified (Hearings, p. 129):

* * * But what I am trying to illustrate is the manner in which studies can influence important aspects of human behavior. I don't mean to impugn Professor

Kinsey's motives, nor the motives of the members of the foundations or anything of that type. I am merely saying that this can happen and this is an illustration of where it does happen.

For an illustration, in connection with the question of heterosexuality compared with homosexuality, Kinsey in the first volume has this statement:

"It is only because society demands that there be a particular choice in the matter (of heterosexuality or homosexuality) and does not so often dictate one's choice of food or clothing."

He puts it in terms of it is just a custom which society demands.

In the second volume it is stressed, for example, that we object to adult molesters of children primarily because we have become conditioned against such adult molesters of children, and that the children who are molested become emotionally upset, primarily because of the old-fashioned attitudes of their parents about such practices, and the parents (the implication is) are the ones who do the real damage by making a fuss about it if a child is molested. Because the molester, and here I quote from Kinsey, "may have contributed favorably to their later sociosexual development." That is a molester of children may have actually, Kinsey contends, not only not harmed them, but may have contributed favorably to their later sociosexual development.

Especially emphasized in the second volume, the volume on females, is the supposed beneficial effects of premarital sexual experiences. Such experiences, Kinsey states: "provide an opportunity for the females to learn to adjust emotionally to various types of males."

That is on page 266 of the volume on females.

In addition, on page 327 he contends that premarital sexual experience may well contribute to the effectiveness of one's other nonsexual social relationships, and that many females—this is on page 115—will thus learn how to respond to sociosexual contacts.

On page 328, that it should contribute to the development of emotional capacities in a more effective way than if sexual experiences are acquired after marriage.

The avoidance of premarital sexual experience by females, according to Professor Kinsey, may lead to inhibitions which damage the capacity to respond, so much that these inhibitions may persist after years of marriage, "if, indeed, they are ever dissipated." That is from page 330.

So you get a continued emphasis on the desirability of females engaging in premarital sexual behavior. In both of these volumes there is a persistent emphasis, a persistent questioning of the traditional codes, and the laws relating to sexual behavior. Professor Kinsey may be correct or he may be incorrect, but when he gives the impression that the findings are scientific in the same sense as the findings in physical science, then the issue becomes not a matter of whether he as a person is correct or incorrect, but of the impression which is given to the public, which can be quite unfortunate. (Hearings, pp. 129, 130.)

It is difficult for this Committee to understand the propriety of *The Rockefeller Foundation* supporting the dangerous sociological experiment which the Kinsey reports constitute. To use the public money to produce such socially dangerous material as a "best seller" seems beyond all reason.

Not only is there the danger that the public itself can be directly affected by the impact of works of this kind, but it seems to follow that many take up pseudo-scientific results, treat them as established scientific verities and use them for propagandizing for changes in morals, ethics and law. Here are some further examples of this.

Anne G. Freegood in the leading article in the September 1953 *Harpers*, *Dr. Kinsey's Second Sex*, refers to Kinsey as "the American prophet crying in the wilderness, make straight in the desert a pathway for reform." She proceeds:

"The desert in this case is our current code of laws governing sexual activities and the background of Puritan tradition regarding sex under which this country still to some extent operates."

She speaks of the "torrent of *reaction*" that followed the publication of the first Kinsey book. Later, she says that the second (then forthcoming) book

"has gained momentum from the effect of its forerunner, which has already been cited in court decisions and quoted in textbooks as well as blazoned from one end of the country to the other."

Dr. Hobbs referred to a book which was edited by one Albert Ellis, and published in 1954, called *Sex Life of the American Woman and the Kinsey Report*, in which an attorney writing in this volume, says: "It may sound strange to say that the most encouraging note about the new Kinsey Report is its indication that more and more women are beginning to commit more and more sex crimes." (Hearings, p. 130.)

Dr. Hobbs cited statements by a prominent clergyman who labeled social science research as a form of religious devotion. Referring to Kinsey's findings this clergyman states:

"These results are the facts with which the moralist will have to work and build."

The same clergyman also said:

"Yet we cannot go back to the legalistic morality which has prevailed so long. That has really outlived its usefulness if the Kinsey books are right."

And again:

"That legalistic conformism has outlived its usefulness by about 2,000 years, if the New Testament is right. It is an emeritus ethic, due at least for honorable retirement." (Hearings, p. 130.)

The responsibility of *The Rockefeller Foundation* for financing the Kinsey "best sellers" comes sharply home to roost in a quotation offered by Dr. Hobbs from an article in *Harpers Magazine* written by one Albert Deutsch (Hearings, p. 131):

"So startling are its revelations, so contrary to what civilized man has been taught for generations, that *they would be unbelievable but for the impressive weight of the scientific agencies backing the survey.*"

That,

said Dr. Hobbs,

is the unfortunate thing that you have involved here. I do not mean that the foundations meant it to be that way. I do not mean even that Professor Kinsey meant it to be that way. But unfortunately the public does get that impression—that this is something that is final and infallible, which you cannot and should not question. I think that is extremely unfortunate. [Emphasis supplied.]

Further illustrations were given by Dr. Hobbs (and there are more starting at page 99 of his book *Social Problems and Scientism*) of the danger of others promoting pseudo-scientific material financed by foundations and using them as a basis for propaganda. He cited a review of the Kinsey Report in the December 1948 issue of the *Scientific Monthly* in which a respected psychologist said it recorded "tremendous implications for scientists, legislators, physicians and public officers." He contended that the report "shows clearly that our current laws do not comply with the biologic facts of normal sexual behavior."

In other words, said Dr. Hobbs:

* * * the implication is that the laws should be changed to conform with biology. If you have a biological urge, the laws should permit you to express that biological urge as it is demanding on you. (Hearings, p. 131.)

MORE "SCIENTISM."

Professor Hobbs was asked by Mr. Hays whether he agreed with a statement in Mr. Dodd's opening report that foundations are willing to "support experiments in fields that defy control". This colloquy followed (Hearings, pp. 174, 175):

Dr. HOBBS. It is true that in any study of the significant aspects of human behavior, such as criminality, juvenile delinquency, political behavior, the studies are such that they defy control, in the sense that there are intangibles involved which, no matter how conscientious you are in making the study, these intangibles still remain.

The word "control" in scientific investigation means that you are able to control, to measure the significant variables, and that no other variables can come into the investigation to significantly influence the results.

That is not the case with studies of human behavior.

Mr. HAYS. That is right. But any field, unless it is completely comprehended—and I don't know that there is any such field—and any research into the unknown would probably defy control, would it not?

Dr. HOBBS. But there is a difference in the usage of the term. A physicist can make a study which is a complete controlled study. His study may be one which involves the weight of matter. He may and can create conditions under which he has to all intents and purposes complete control over the conditions of his experiment. You cannot do that in social science, unfortunately.

To quote Prof. Hobbs again, he has said that the

"zealots" of the new research in the social sciences "lead people to believe that techniques exist in social science which provide accurate description and enable prediction of social behavior. We are told to pattern our behavior and to change our society on the basis of such conclusions regarding criminality, race relations, marriage, mental health, war, divorce, sex, and other personal and social affairs. Yet in these areas of behavior the pertinent knowledge is extremely limited and unreliable, the rules of behavior are vague and changeable, the techniques are crude and untested, and even the basic units required for measurement are non-existent."¹⁵ Again: "character and integrity are dissolved in the acid ridicule of cultural determinism."¹⁶

It seems to this Committee that there is a strong tendency on the part of many of the social scientists whose research is favored by the major foundations toward the concept that there are no absolutes, that everything is indeterminate, that no standards of conduct, morals, ethics and government are to be deemed inviolate, that everything, including basic moral law, is subject to change, and that it is the part of the social scientists to take no principle for granted as a premise in social or juridical reasoning, however fundamental it may heretofore have been deemed to be under our Judeo-Christian moral system.

Perhaps as good an example as any of scientism is the successive methods which social "scientists" have given us by which to raise our children. Each was the last word in the "science" of child psychology. And each was detracted by the advocates of its successor. The *New York Times* of August 15, 1954 reports an address by Dr. Hilde Bruch, of the Department of Psychiatry and Pediatrics at Columbia University's College of Physicians and Surgeons, to a session of the International Institute of Child Psychology that "the time has come to leave mother and child alone." She is then quoted as having said:

"One might go so far as to say that an outstanding common factor of the many different approaches in child-care advice is the recklessness with which they are recommended as the 'best' for the future development of a child, without an effort having been made to verify these predictions.

¹⁵ *Social Problems and Scientism*, pp. 248, 261.

¹⁶ *Ibid*, p. 261.

"Yet they are *presented as scientific facts*, often with the implied or open threat that any neglect might injure the child and result in neurosis in the dim and distant future." [Emphasis ours.]

That is a plain accusation that the child psychologists who have inflicted "scientific" methods for raising children on the public have practiced *not science but scientism*.

SCIENTISM AND CAUSALITY.

The principle of causality is a bog into which social scientists are prone to fall when they attempt to translate the methods of the natural sciences into the social sciences. Cause and effect relationships are obviously infinitely easier to establish in the natural sciences than in the social sciences. Human beings are motivated by a complex of factors: by goals established, in turn, by complex processes; by ethical and moral concepts; by exercises of free will. Some of the social scientists seem to have wholly rejected the concept of free will. It is at least debatable whether man has a free will; to reject the concept outright and to base research and "scientific" conclusions on the theory that there can be completely ascertainable causality in human behavior is hardly in itself scientific. These pseudo-scientists excuse their imperfection by the assertion that they are struggling along the way—that the natural sciences have progressed much further, but that they hope to catch up with them. Give us time, they say. We are a young "science." Our principle is correct—it is only that we have not yet learned how to perfect our methods.

This approach of the social scientists has behind it [a] wholly materialistic concept of life and behavior. Its natural outcome is an approach to Marxism—it is not surprising that so many of the social scientists tend to collectivism. They believe they can satisfactorily rearrange society; given time and an improvement of their more or less mechanical methods, they will find all the answers. It is a rather pitiful assumption that the springs of human behavior can be reduced to formulae.

THE AMERICAN SOLDIER.

Professor Hobbs used *The American Soldier* as an example of a scientific approach to an important national problem. This book was prepared and edited under the auspices of a special committee of the *Social Science Research Council* and published by the Princeton University Press in 1949 and 1950. It illustrates "the influence of supposed social science on military policy at a high level * * *." (Hearings, p. 150.) [The story is interesting and, in the opinion of this Committee, tragic.

A group of social scientists, *against the constant reiterated opposition of the military authorities of the United States*, managed to "incorporate their own ideas in a matter of highest military significance against the opposition of the military of the United States." (Hearings, p. 151.) The incident concerns the methods to be used to discharge some part of our armed forces at the termination of World War II. A Research Branch was officially established in October 1941, within what was known, successively, as the Morale Division, Special Services Division, and Information and Education Division. This division came into the control of social scientists, many or most of them associated with foundation work, and their achievements were

finally lauded in *The American Soldier*, a project of *The Social Science Research Council*. Professor Hobbs told the story in detail (Hearings, pp. 150, et seq.), of how *these social scientists, against the reiterated opposition of the Army, insisted upon a demobilization method determined largely by taking an opinion poll of the soldiers themselves.*

Frederick Osborn, a trustee of the *Carnegie Corporation*, in a paper read at the University of Minnesota in April, 1951, commended the social engineering involved in *The American Soldier* project as a "typical example of social science prediction." If this statement is true, it utterly destroys any claim the social scientists may make to the role of "social engineers." Mr. Osborn said that "by weighing the different factors" which "would seem to entitle a man to priority" in discharge, "it would be possible to devise a system of points earned by each man which apparently would decide the order of discharge to the satisfaction of the greatest number of men, and hence with the least injury to morale." So shallow and fractional an approach to the problem of what men to release and when, can hardly be deemed a scientific method. It involved the most casual and dangerous prejudgment, preevaluation. It assumed that no other factors of importance related to the morale problem. It also assumed that no other military or political factor was of any consequence.

Dr. Hobbs made clear that two highly unfortunate results followed. First he held that the polling method was certain to result in the decline in morale. He said (Hearings, p. 153):

* * * If you give members of the armed services the notion that they are to be and should be consulted on vital military policy, then this fact in itself can create dissatisfaction, unrest, of the very type of thing which the Secretary previously had anticipated.

Moreover, Dr. Hobbs pointed out that the method of demobilization produced by the social scientists was one which failed to take into account the military necessities of the nation. Prof. Hobbs stated that our military "sensed or knew that we were going to run into a situation in Europe with one of our then allies, that is, Russia." Yet they were forced to demobilize men in such a manner that effective units were disorganized and military efficiency was very sadly impaired.

"In other words",

said Professor Hobbs (Hearings, p. 159):

"they pressed the military group, and if they had as their reason the possibility of Russian aggression and encroachment into European territories, such as actually did happen, if the military had that in mind, they could not publicly announce it because Russia at that time was an ally. And from a standpoint of both military policy and from a standpoint of diplomatic policy, it was just something that they could not do. Yet this group pushed them into a position where they had to do it or accept this point system of discharge which the military consistently opposed."

The detail of Dr. Hobbs' testimony in this area is well worth reading. For the Army to have been obliged by social scientists to go to the enlisted man himself for his opinions before promulgating a redeployment and demobilization policy illustrates the way, according to Dr. Hobbs, "in which social science can and does encroach on and expand into areas not only of morality but of politics and in this instance military policy which was of the very highest order." (Hearings, p. 161.)

Had immediate use of our armed forces become necessary after demobilization, the social scientists would have played the major role in reducing our armed forces to a nadir of efficiency. *What had happened is of the utmost significance. The military policymakers were defeated by the social scientists. This was another victory in the struggle of the "social engineers" to gain control of all the throttles of control. Assuming, from their expertness in a single field, that their judgment is superior to that of others who are not "social scientists" (even superior in military matters to the experts of the military arm of government), they presumed to press upon government a social theory of their own and managed to achieve superior influence over the military experts. A few more such victories for "social engineering" might indeed be fatal.*

An interesting appendix must be put to this story. When one scholar had the temerity to question the findings of *The American Soldier* he was castigated as "a young man at the periphery of the profession and hence, perhaps, less heedful of its imperatives toward discretion." This statement Dr. Hobbs has characterized as follows: "If you want to get in with us, watch your step and don't criticize our work." (Hearings, p. 162.)

SOME RESULTS OF EXCESSIVE PROMOTION OF EMPIRICISM

Professor Carle C. Zimmerman of Harvard, in a letter to Counsel to the Committee dated May 25, 1954, after stating that empirical research had been unfairly emphasized by foundations, described the results as follows:

"A. It has made research grants large and expensive and few in number.

"B. A special class of fund getters has grown up who spend all their time getting funds, and have little time or capacity to do original work.

"C. A special class of administrators of these funds have grown up and research is dominated by the administrators rather than the persons who pursue ideas.

"D. As a result the large institutions, or a few institutions with prestige, get the most of the money in large grants. Smaller institutions, or professors there, get scant encouragement in seeking out new ideas. These large grants are to big and unity percent wasted and equally brilliant Ph. D.'s, who graduated in the same classes, get no support at all. In the meantime a careful analysis of the origins of scientific men who make a mark (Ph. D.'s who finished by 1940 and were outstanding by 1945) show that they come from these smaller institutions. Of course some argue that all the best men are at the big institutions with prestige but that is *not* true. Finding jobs for young Ph. D.'s puts more good over at the small institutions because there are only a very few places each year opened at the others.

"E. Since social science is concentrated in a few urban institutions and bossed both at the foundations and at the institutions by 'public opinion' men, prosaic and important aspects of our life (where real social science needs exist) never get studied. Illustrations among many possible, it is apparent that no institution in the United States pays great attention to the problems of our Appalachian-Ozarkian people, although institutions located in that region do get grants for extraneous things, involving cultures far away (like South America). No institution in our arid west studies the total relations of modern man to arid or semi-arid conditions. A biologist will turn naturally to dirty pond water, because the 'cultures' he is interested in are found there, but our human ponds do not have public opinion prestige, and are not generally studied. (These statements are not a reflection upon any of the provincial groups in America.)

"F. The emphasis upon false empiricism is not only a matter of the biasas of the 'bosses' or administrators, the biasas of the concentrated favored institutions, and the neglect of the provincial and needed problems for study, but it also has lead to a malfeasance or injury in method and has harmed the growth of social science.

"1. Social science is about 95% macroscopically, or broad-scale observational. It is not inevitably less scientific for that reason, as geology and astronomy are not less scientific than zoology or chemistry. The extreme

methods of overluscious empiricism on a few prestige problems is as ridiculous as trying to build a house with the use of a micrometer for each measurement.

"2. As a result we overstudy certain aspects of a few problems and nerve touch the others. As a professor, well renowned for his own social science researches (which have not been supported by the big tax exchange foundations), remarked, 'We research ceaselessly upon getting married, but never study what to do about the problems involved in the act over the next 40 or 50 years.'

"3. We have many persons who can work out correlation coefficients but no one so far has told us what they mean in 'causal' analysis. Our social science is increasingly dominated by meticulous clinical procedures and becoming more and more illiterate as to logic and common observation.

"4. As a result we are creating a social science merely which is the doctrine of a 'cult', read only by a few other social scientists, abstruse to the point of illegibility, valueless for social direction, constantly repeating itself upon immaterial problems, and ending in an aimless existential philosophy. As a prominent European philosopher indicated clearly within the past decade, 'modern social science is becoming an aspect of the existential philosophy of decadence.' (This is a paraphrased quotation from Nordberto Bobbio, *Existentialism the Philosophy of Decadence*, New York, 1947 (English Translation)."

Professor Zimmerman then commented on the undesirability of excessively training researchers in the empirical approach. He said that:

"the overemphasis upon empirical training and support led to a division in the social scientists between those who follow abstruse theoretical 'systems' and those who follow equally abstruse pointless research. Our abstruse theoretical systems have become increasingly only taxonomic (classifying a society into minute details according to one scheme or the other) and useless repetition. There is little or no integration between theory and research, because they deal with different things. As a result the empiricist has no theoretical foundation for valid conclusions.

"To illustrate this, without citing names, one man gathered numerous empirical facts upon the existence and widespread use of small scale torts within our society and came to the conclusion that torts (he did not use this word because he had only empirical training) should all be classified as crimes. Another group gathered a million facts of the same nature in regard to sex ramification and came to the conclusion that there should be no social control of sex. Both studies were, in the opinion of many thoughtful persons, extremely socially disadvantageous and misinforming and both received tax exempt support in large sums.

"As a result of this I feel that the whole emphasis in training, as dominated by our tax exempt foundations, should be overhauled. Our research of an empirical nature is so unrelated to theory that it becomes interpreted in extraneous surface philosophies, socially harmful, and of no material meaning. (I can prove this but it would involve me into polemics, and that I consider inadvisable in a public document.)

"One of the aspects and results of this, is the general feeling that social science should have no 'aim' no 'utility', but should be a 'study for studies sake.' 'We might discover something which will be good fifty years from now', is a shibboleth of this school. Now cast back to 1900, and tell me what could have been discovered by such an activity then, which could have been valuable in the changed social conditions of today? The idea is ridiculous. Yet this feeling is most prevalent in the groups who have the easiest access to tax exempt foundation funds. On the other hand, it is fitting with our culture that the activities of men should aim to do some 'good' or create some understanding. Directly or indirectly, I imagine these foundations are created by funds from persons who are in the very high brackets of taxation, and the public, in a large sense, supports almost entirely these exaggerated empirical falsities. Now just why should the public contribute to an activity which has no social aim?"

MORAL RELATIVITY.

In answer to Counsel's question whether the over-balance of empiricism did not result in the promotion of "moral relativity," Professor Hobbs testified as follows:

Dr. HOBBS. In this type of empirical approach, by definition you must attempt to reduce the things you are studying to the type of units which I indicated yester-

day, to quantitative units, which are measurable. By the very nature of the approach, therefore, you exclude intangibles, such as sentiments, love, romance, devotion, or other tangibles, such as patriotism, honesty, and things of that type.

So if it is strictly empirical, then the behavior involved is reduced to cold quantitative items which are important, perhaps, but which if presented alone give a very distorted picture of love or sex or patriotism or whatever else the topic may be.

Mr. WORMSER. Is it analogous, perhaps, to use a syllogism without including all the premises? The missing premises being moral codes and basic principles of government and so forth.

Dr. HOBBS. It would be analogous to that. I would say that in the context of the scientific method it is using just one of the elements instead of including all of the elements which should be involved. That is unfortunate. (Hearings, p. 172.)

Professor Colegrove testified on moral relativity as follows:

Then I think on the philosophical side; the psychological side, Harvard went the same way as Columbia did. One of the leaders, of course, was William James. And his book called *Varieties of Religious Experience*, I think, has undermined the religious convictions and faith of thousands of young people in the United States.

You know, Mr. Wormser, with all the attacks that have been made upon religion by certain scientists, by the empirical school, and right at Columbia University and Harvard University, I think that we are finding among scientists themselves a realization that science doesn't have all the answers to reality; that there are experiences of religion, questions of religious faith, that may, after all, be just as much a part of reality as the study of the stars or the study of atomic energy, or anything else.

I see, so far as science is concerned, a move away from the complete control of empirical thinking and a return to a little more rational or a little more humanistic consideration for religious principles, moral principles, and ethics.

Mr. WORMSER. You do not think, then, that you social scientists are capable of producing all the answers?

Dr. COLEGROVE. Oh, absolutely not. No. No, we do not have all the answers in social science. We are rather dangerous people to trust implicitly. (Hearings, p. 574.)

Professor Colegrove also testified to the effect that an excess of empiricism resulted in a decline of morality.

The attitude of many social scientists toward moral codes is evidenced by the discussion of *The Promise of Sociology*, by Ellsworth Paris of the University of Chicago, published in *The American Sociological Review* in 1938. Professor Paris said:

"Morals spring from the human struggle and, while every code has a certain sacredness, yet none is sacrosanct, and *all are subject to change*. It was our distinguished chairman, Professor Rose, who once wrote in a book that was highly and publicly commended by the president of the United States. '*We need an annual supplement to the decalogue.*'" [Emphasis ours.]

It is the privilege of any individual to doubt our existing moral codes. When social scientists presume, however, to approach solutions of human problems, or problems of human relationships, upon the major premise that there is doubt concerning the validity of our basic moral precepts, they run counter to what the public is convinced is its own interests. Consequently, this Committee sees no justification for the use of the public funds which foundation capital and income represent to finance research with such an approach.

In the letter to which we have previously referred, Professor Sorokin of Harvard stated that the excessive empirical research which the foundations have promoted for roughly 30 years has had two results:

"(1) the bulk of this sort of research has been perfectly fruitless and almost sterile from a theoretical or practical standpoint;

"(2) some of the investigations, made especially along Freudian and similar theories (or popularizing this sort of views), have been rather

destructive morally and mentally for this nation." He said, moreover, that the "exceptional emphasis on training researchers along (these) lines, with almost complete exclusion of the theoretical approach, is certainly undesirable for our society, either from a purely scientific or from a practical standpoint."

Professor Sorokin has a book now in process and to be published this year with the title *Fads and Delusions in Modern Sociology, Psychology, Psychiatry, and Cultural Anthropology*. In it, he says, he is "critically examining exactly all the main currents of empirical research in the social sciences particularly favored by the foundations—sometimes by colleges and regularly by the United States Navy, Army, and Air Corps—spending a considerable amount of funds for this sort of research."

One more quote from Professor Sorokin, one of our foremost sociologists:

"The futility of excessively favoring this sort of research (the empirical) particularly is well demonstrated by its sterility—in spite of the many millions of dollars, enormous amount of time and energy expended by research staffs. Almost all of the enormous mass of research along this line in the United States of America for the last 25 or 30 years has not produced either any new significant social theory or any new method, or any new technique, or any scientifically valid test, or even any limited causal uniformity. This sterility is perhaps the most convincing evidence of unwise policies of the foundations, colleges, and Army, Navy, and Air Corps research directors."

SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH IN THE UNIVERSITIES AND COLLEGES.

Some interesting and critical comments were made, in the testimony before the Committee, regarding the types of research supported by the foundations in institutions of higher learning. Professor Hobbs, for example, testified as follows:

Particularly where large grants are involved, the grants tend to be geared into programs of "empiricism"—and I wish the word would be kept in quotes whenever it is used here—and then graduate students receive their training through these grants. I don't mean to imply in any sense that the foundations have organized their grants for this purpose, or that they are promoting intentionally and purposefully the type of thing I am going to describe. I merely wish to point it out as a situation which does arise and which I believe is quite unfortunate.

These graduate students, who, of course, will be the researchers and the teachers of the future, are subjected by the very nature of the situation to enter in disproportionate numbers into this one small area, an important area, to be sure, but just one area of their training. They are encouraged through the situation to embark upon study projects which are extremely narrow, and with the aid of the grant, the persons running the research are able to employ professional interviewers, for example. One part of graduate training should be some acquaintance with people. The graduate student, I would feel, would gain much more if he were to do his own interviewing, rather than merely take the results which were collected by a professional interviewer. In failing to do his own interviewing, he has thereby lost an important element, I would say, of what should be his training.

Furthermore, these projects aid these students to a disproportionate degree. Other students who, through differing interests, through a broader viewpoint of society and behavior, who do their own work and who don't have such assistance, are handicapped in comparison with the ones who receive the aid through foundation grants.

So that there are cases where the graduate student in his training has concentrated in a very small area of the statistical computations—and I wish to add that in themselves there is nothing wrong with that, but they are a very small part of the overall picture—but in such training they neglect studies of the traditions of the country, the studies of the history of the country, they neglect actual experience with people, they neglect studies of the philosophies which have been developed in connection with human civilization, and they even

neglect—and this may sound extreme, but I can vouch that it does happen—they even neglect studies of science.

One of my favorite questions when I am examining students for a graduate degree is a question of this sort. Here you are, you are going to get a doctor of philosophy degree. What have you read in philosophy? I appreciate that this sounds extreme, but there are graduate students who get such degrees who have never read a book in philosophy.

Then another question along the same lines: What have you ever read in the philosophy of science; and some of them have read little or nothing in that area either.

So you get this tendency to overspecialize, overconcentrate in one area which admittedly has its merits, but which leads to a narrowness of mind, not the broader outlook which we need in the present undeveloped conditions associated with social science.

Another aspect of this same situation is that graduate students and faculty members are discouraged from applying for grants unless they, too, are willing to do this type of "empirical" investigation. (Hearings, pp. 168, 169.)

Professor Hobbs then referred to the bulletin of *The Social Science Research Council* regarding the award of research fellowships, which we have previously described. He pointed out that the bulletin—

* * * does tend in the direction of giving the people in the field the impression that unless research involves statistical computation, then they don't have much chance of getting a grant. Now, perhaps that impression is incorrect. It may well be incorrect. I just say that the impression does spread, so that if it does occur to you to ask for a grant to make a broader study of the history of the development of social science or something of that sort, then after having read such things you are likely to be discouraged.

It may be your own fault. Perhaps if you had gone ahead and requested you would have obtained it. I am just saying that atmosphere is created and I think the foundations themselves would regret that this is the situation and would probably be willing to do whatever they can to change that atmosphere to create one which everybody appreciates they are interested in, broader types of research instead of this particular empirical one. (Hearings, p. 170.)

Professor Rowe made this lucid criticism of foundation practices. He stated that the former tendency had been to support the training of individuals, a personnel training program. Now, he said, foundations had turned to an emphasis on sponsoring research as such. (Hearings, pp. 525, 526.) In particular, he was critical of the co-operative or group type of research, giving as an example of this variety of research in which foundations invest heavily, the Tai Ping Rebellion research project. He testified:

Dr. ROWE. You are probably referring to the *Rockefeller Foundation* support of a group study at the University of Washington at Seattle. I don't believe they ever made a single grant of \$200,000, but I think the sum of their grants probably came to that much. This was a grant for the purpose of group research on the Taiping Rebellion, which was a rebellion which took place in China during the middle of the 19th century, about the same time as the Civil War was raging in this country. The importance of this rebellion can be seen from the fact that historians estimate that 20 million persons lost their lives either in the fighting as a result of disease, epidemics, destruction, and so forth, that raged up and down China from south to north during that period of 12 to 14 years, I think. The Taiping Rebellion has long interested historians, and it is worthy of a great deal of study. Here we get into a rather interesting conflict, it seems to me, between the attitudes of foundations on the scarcity of personnel and human resources in the far eastern field on the one hand, and their willingness to financially support a tremendously narrow focus of interest in research on the other hand.

There are a large number of highly controversial questions of method involved here. The question of how to conduct research. There is valid room for experimentation on these matters. But the least that can be said about the University of Washington project is that it was a rather drastic, in my view, experiment in the use of the so-called collective-research project, in which the individuals

counted for a good deal less than the team. The team was put together and people blocked out areas of subject-matter, as I have understood it, and areas of data and evidence and worked on these, and their results were pooled in the shape of card files of detailed information on this episode in Chinese history, the idea being that out of this kind of a team pick and shovel approach, you get a lot of facts together, and out of these facts will be brought forth a series of monographic studies.

There is room for this kind of thing, but I always thought they went a little bit far with it, because I understood—and I beg to be corrected if I am wrong on this, I have never had any official connection with this project—I understood that they even integrated into their Taiping Rebellion studies the work of their doctoral candidates, so that people in Chinese history, for example were brought in there and given support to write theses on some aspect of the Taiping Rebellion.

I thought that in view of the scarcity of human resources and the need for general training on Far Eastern matters, that this was focusing it down pretty firm. It is a wonderful project from the point of view of research. If you believe in gadgetry, this had all the gadgets you will ever want to find. If you believe that the best way to promote research is to pick out highly trained and able people and set them free in a general field, like Chinese studies, to follow their own interests wherever they may lead them, then you see this is the very opposite of that kind of thing. It does achieve a certain kind of mechanical efficiency, it seems to me, at the expense of inhibiting the kind of thing that Mr. Hays was talking about, namely, the freedom of the individual to go down any number of blind alleys he wants to go down in the free pursuit of his curiosity, in the interests of honestly trying to come up with important things. (Hearings, pp. 530, 531.)

There is considerable criticism of foundations for their failure to spread their largess among the smaller colleges. Professor Colegrove expressed this criticism several times in his testimony. For example:

Then I would like to see the foundations sprinkle more of these research projects around the small colleges. There is a wealth of brains, a wealth of competence, in our small colleges and universities, which does not have its share in research grants at the present time. I would hope that the foundations would give much more attention to what is going on in the small colleges. The tendency is to concentrate this in the large universities, if they use the universities, or concentrate in the operating societies.

* * * * *

Mr. WORMSER. Professor, two university presidents told me that they thought in principle it would be a good idea to distribute it among the smaller colleges, but actually it was only in the larger universities that you found the men competent to do research in these various areas.

I think one partial answer to that is that in some of these empirical studies no talent is required. They are more or less quantitative studies, which a professor in a smaller college might be able to do just as well as a university professor. What is your idea as to that?

Dr. COLEGROVE. I would agree with that. There are many small colleges located near the center of a State where the professor—if he is dealing with the area situation—could quite easily do a lot of traveling just as well from a small college as from a large university; I think the foundations have not yet explored enough into the talent that can be found in the small colleges.

Of course, there is a tendency for a young man in a small college who gets a grant and thereby attracts attention to himself to be pulled into a university. Personally, I regret to see the small colleges raided in this way by the great universities taking off the faculties of these small colleges—teachers who are doing so much good for the American people.

The CHAIRMAN. But there would be less likelihood of the so-called raiding both of the faculty and the graduate students in the small colleges if grants were more general and made available to the outstanding faculty members and the outstanding students, don't you think?

Dr. COLEGROVE. Oh, yes, quite true. Quite true. We have had a number of universities that have raided small colleges almost to their destruction. President Harper of the University of Chicago raided Clark University, took pretty largely all of its talent to the University of Chicago. But that was before the foundations were greatly operative; and of course he did it by offering, on the one hand, research facilities, and on the other hand, much higher salaries than they were getting at Clark University. (Hearings, pp. 582, 583.)

The Social Science Research Council, in its publication, *Items*, of June, 1952, analyzed the statistics of its grants and reported that 89.1 per cent of their fellowship grants went to sixteen institutions; and that Columbia, Harvard and Chicago universities received 47.6 per cent of the total for the period 1925-51. An analysis of the grants made by *The American Council of Learned Societies* will show a lesser concentration but still a marked favoritism for certain institutions. The offered explanation of such favoritism is that these schools have, in general, the best faculties and the best student body. We are not in a position to judge. It would, however, seem to us important for the trustees of foundations to consider whether it might be advisable to distribute their grants in such manner as to increase the number of institutions which have sufficiently high standards. By a judicious spreading of grants, it might be easy to raise the stature of some of the smaller institutions to the standard which the foundation executives assume is the exclusive property, now, of a few large institutions.

A glance at the list of recent recipients of favor from, and consultants to, the *Behavioral Sciences Division* of *The Ford Foundation* indicates a definite concentration among favored institutions or their faculties. Of the committees which formulated policies for this *Fund*, including a total of 88 persons with university connections, 10 seem to have been from Harvard; 8 from Chicago; 7 from Yale; 5 from California; 5 from Stanford; and 5 from Columbia. A total of 59 of these men (out of 88) represented 12 institutions. There is additional significance in the fact that some of these recipients and consultants were on a multiplicity of committees. For example, Professor Lazarsfeld of Columbia, was on six; Professors Carroll of North Carolina, Merton of Columbia, and Tyler of Chicago, on five; Professors Lasswell of Yale, Simon of Carnegie Tech., and Stouffer of Harvard, on four, etc. Counting the number of times each person with a university connection appears on committees of the *Fund*, we reach this representation:

University of Chicago-----	23
Harvard-----	18
Columbia-----	16
Yale-----	13
North Carolina-----	8
California-----	7
Stanford-----	7
Cornell-----	7, etc.

Note also that associates of *The Rand Corporation* are represented 11 times. This interlock with *The Rand Corporation* is highly interesting.

We must add the intriguing fact that the *Behavioral Science Fund* provided a grant-in-aid program under which each of fifty persons were to receive \$5,000 to be spent at their own discretion for the purpose of enriching their own work. The associates and consultants distributed this largess, and included a goodly number of themselves in their lists.

Note also that *The Social Science Research Council* took part in the policy-making of the *Fund* and that considerable funds were made available to it and through it.

In the Summer of 1950, \$300,000 was given to each of seven universities and to *The Social Science Research Council* (beyond other large grants to the SSRC). Why this money was concentrated on this limited group of institutions, we do not know.

This *Behavioral Science Fund* has vast resources at its command. Its list of objectives indicates an underlying assumption that human behavior can be understood as an object of the natural sciences would be, within the framework of limited numbers of cause-effect relationships. This doctrine is not by any means universally accepted, and there is the danger that the huge sum available to the *Fund* to promote its underlying thesis can make this the ruling doctrine in the social sciences. A full examination of the current and intended operation of this great fund is indicated, as well as a study of why certain institutions have been so greatly favored by it.

"THE SOCIAL SCIENCES AT MID-CENTURY"

One of the most important pieces of literature which has come to the attention of the Committee relating to the methods and accomplishments of the social sciences is the booklet, *The Social Sciences At Mid-Century*, published for the Social Science Research Center of the Graduate School by the University of Minnesota Press. It contains a series of papers delivered in honor of Guy Stanton Ford, a former president of the *Social Science Research Council*, April 19-21, 1951. In the first of these papers, Frederick Osborn, trustee of *The Carnegie Corporation of New York*, admits that all social science is influenced by preconceived value judgments. He says that "the social scientist can at best gather only a few of the facts" and thus must engage in evaluation. This certainly distinguishes the social sciences from the natural sciences and gravely weakens the claim that the natural science processes can be applied to the social sciences. Mr. Osborn admits that social scientists are only at the "beginning of knowledge."

Yet, Mr. Osborn later makes the claim that the social scientist "can provide a careful appraisal of the facts" bearing on any "given problem" and thus give the administrator "new and important tools." By inference, however, he admits that this alleged contribution by social scientists is not scientific for he says that "Experience, judgment and intuition must still play a part in making decisions." The sum total of these various statements is that the social scientist does not know all the facts and cannot collect all the facts but, nevertheless, fulfills an important function in giving some of the facts to administrators. It is easy to see that the emphasis produced by a selected group of facts might be worse than producing no facts at all, in so far as it might well imbalance logical decision.

In the same volume, Charles Dollard, president of *The Carnegie Corporation of New York*, calls attention to the "widespread suspicion that social scientists are interested not so much in studying the behavior of men and the social situations and problems which involve men, but rather in planning fundamental changes in our society." However, he does not expressly deny that this suspicion is warranted. He goes so far, in fact, as to admit that there are "those who use the label of social science to validate ideas and programs which are in no sense scientifically derived." He adds that "the social sciences have suffered an incredible amount of damage through the rash pronouncements of some of our number on all manner of subjects on which no real scientific data are available and through predictions and forecasts which have turned out to be lamentably wrong."

Mr. Dollard includes in his paper the rather startling suggestion, to which we have referred, that social science should "initiate a more

rigorous system of internal policing." As he expounds his idea, he intends that such policing should result in higher standards of research. On the other hand, the concept of policing requires police. The concept is eminently dangerous if any one group is to be granted the right to use an intellectual nightstick.

Philip M. Hauser, professor of sociology at the University of Chicago, points out that in the institutions which are most research-minded, "recognition in the form of promotion, salary advancements, etc." depends more on the quantity of research activities and publications than their quality. This is a sad inferential commentary on the contribution of foundations to research in the colleges. Elbridge Sibley, of *The Social Science Research Council*, in his paper admits that "the average 'quality' of students specializing in the social sciences both in undergraduate and graduate schools is indeed inferior to that of those specializing in the 'hard' sciences * * *".

The most interesting of the papers is that by Carl O. Sauer, professor of geography at the University of California, entitled *Folkways of Social Science*. Professor Sauer said that he came to "admonish", and he did indeed, severely criticising the research methods and controls promoted by the great foundations and the clearing house organizations which they support in what we have referred to as the "concentration of power." Those who may believe that freedom of inquiry and freedom of spirit are essential to the preservation of the American way of life will read these quotations from Professor Sauer's paper with profit:

"In American social science it has indeed become a dominant folkway to associate progress with putting the job inquiry into large-scale organizations, under formally prescribed methods, and with limited objectives. Having adopted the name 'science,' we are impressed by the 'method of science' as inductive, quantitative, experimental. We are even told that such is the only proper method."

* * *

"The more we get committed to keeping counts and tests going in ever lengthening series, and to adding suitable items as additional series, the more do the limits of social science become defined by what may be measured. And thus the more restricted does the range of personalities and temperaments become who are attracted into social studies. There is further risk that we attach such merit to quantification as to confuse means and ends, industriousness with intellectual achievement."

* * *

"At mid-century the social sciences have moved far away from where they stood at the beginning of the century. In numbers of workers they have multiplied greatly. Thousands fill the places manned by a few score in those early years. When memory calls the roll, however, of that elder generation, we look up to them with respect and admit that they opened up wide horizons that we in part have lost."

* * *

"Most of those I knew were detached observers, unconcerned about choosing or directing their work in terms of social or political ends. (The reform element came along somewhat later. In my Chicago days this intrusion of emotional drive was noticeable only in some students of sociology, then already in some numbers refugees from divinity schools, seekers for a new faith in social welfare. In economics I saw the welfare motivation come in with the young labor economists.)"

* * *

"We have less and less time for thinking, and again we turn to organization to simplify and regulate that part of our activity that is left for research. We acquire space, equipment, manpower, and budgets and put them into a table of organization as research bureaus and institutes. Obviously, long-term projects are favored that project an orderly series of steps in the acquisition of data and of processes for their analysis. Workers are assigned to designated posts and

tasks. Again we have set up an assembly line for mass production, resembling the operations of industry and government. In some cases the product is subjected to scrutiny, even as to policy clearance. And often a distinction develops between directing staff and working staff."

* * *

"I think we must admit, however, that more often the idea of an institute has come first, thereafter the question as to who should run it, and last of all the matter as to why it was needed. Should not the questions be, Is there a problem that has become so complex and sufficiently far advanced that an organized and concerted effort is necessary for further advance, and is it to be under the direction of the man who has thought himself farthest into this matter? I fear that not many institutes originate or are maintained thus. We tend to raise up career administrators, able at finding funds, tactful, energetic operators, who at best have been scholars too briefly and who by temperament and the course of their lives become more and more removed from the contemplation and concentration that are needed for creative work. Thus they may lose even the sensitiveness and understanding by which they know who a scholar or what a piece of creative work is."

"Of all fields, we have perhaps become most given to conferences and committees for the planning of research. We agree as to division of labor, as to preventing duplication of research, as to priority of topics, as to assembling specialists for a cooperative project. *In these and other ways unwittingly are we going about shackling freedom of inquiry.* Borrowing a term from the engineers, we recommend 'pilot studies,' serving as models to be reproduced until another design is approved for another series of studies. Conferences require agenda, and these have offspring that result in another conference. The common variety of scholar is awkward, bewildered, and often bored by these uncongenial procedures, which pass into the control of our entrepreneurial colleagues. *Thus we develop hierarchies of conference members who speak a common language, obscured from us by its own ceremonial terms. They become an elite, fashioning increasingly the directions and limits of our work, as they become more and more removed from the producers.*"

"A serious and delicate problem is posed by the growing role of the national research council and foundation, the last years having seen a continually increasing concentration of influence. *Although there are more and more individual workers, there is no such rise in diversity of interests.* With the growth of central advisory, planning, and granting agencies, perhaps simply as a matter of economy of attention, it has come about that a reduced number of directions are selected for approval and support. Thus is introduced a grave and growing disorder into the body of our scholarship. When preferments and rewards are being posted for doing certain things and not doing others, the pliable and imitative offer themselves most freely, and the stubborn ones hold out. Local authority is impressed by the objectives expressed by the distant patron. He who is not deflected from his chosen direction to take part in the recommended enterprise is the unhappy guest who sits out the party. Thus conforming to a behavior pattern comes to prevail. Yet the able researcher will always know best how he should employ his mind, and his own inclination will be to seek his own way. The dependent and complaisant ones do not matter. Paved with good intentions, the roads down which we are being urged do not lead toward the promised land of freedom of the spirit. No group can or should wish to be wise and farseeing enough to predetermine the quest for knowledge."

* * *

"Research programs are set up in terms of social goals, and it is assumed that professional training provides the deep insight needed. *Having set up schools for the training of prophets, it gratifies us to hear that the great task of social science is to remake the world.*"

* * *

"In my experience the talented, original student is the only one for whom it is difficult to find a place. He may be as likable as another and as willing to work at the customary tasks of his trade. But it is usually safest not to call attention to any unfamiliar direction his mind is taking. What the market wants and gets is persons who can fill job specifications neatly. We dislike having juniors around who think about matters beyond our ken and reach. We build sheltering walls against the unknown by making organizations and methods, curricula, and research programs. And we get no more than we make room for."

* * *

"Will those who come after us say that we offered protection and encouragement to young minds differing from our own, that we raised no barriers to seeking and

thinking, that we blocked no paths into the unknown, that we turned no one from whatever most roused curiosity and gave delight, that we 'have loved no darkness, sophisticated no truth' ? "

THE SLANT TO THE LEFT.

The evidence leads this Committee to the conclusion that the research in the social sciences with foundation support slants heavily to the left. A book written by STUART CHASE called *The Proper Study of Mankind*, published in 1948 by Harpers, and written at the instance of Donald Young of the *Social Science Research Council* and Charles Dollard of the *Carnegie Corporation* to "run a kind of chain and compass line across the whole front of the sciences devoted to human relations", is illustrative. The book was planned and developed according to the publisher's announcement "in consultation with dozens of social scientists in all parts of the country, and Messrs. Young and Dollard followed the project step by step to its completion." The project was initially financed by the *Carnegie Corporation* and may fairly be characterized as a project of *The Social Science Research Council*; it is virtually an exposition of the SSRC point of view.

Mr. Hays of the Committee questioned whether the book had a wide circulation. The publisher reported that approximately 50,000 copies had been sold. Taking into account the fact that academicians and many other people would normally read this type of book out of the library, its impact must have been great.

Professor Hobbs questioned why a man like STUART CHASE was selected by foundation representatives to write this particular book giving a survey of the social sciences. He described CHASE as a man "who has in his work definitely indicated his leanings toward collectivism and social planning and that sort of thing * * *". (Hearings, p. 134.)

Professor Hobbs quoted from a book written by the late Congressman Shafer and one John Howland Snow, called *The Turning of the Tide*, in which the active association of STUART CHASE with the *League for Industrial Democracy* (the original name of which was *Inter-collegiate Socialist Society*) was delineated. (Hearings, circa p. 134.) Prof. Hobbs also quoted from an address by STUART CHASE to the Department of Superintendents of the *National Education Association* on February 25, 1935, in which CHASE said as follows (Hearings, p. 135):

"If we have even a trace of liberalism in our natures, we must be prepared to see an increasing amount of collectivism, Government interference, centralization of economic control, social planning. Here again the relevant question is not how to get rid of government interference, but how to apply it for the greatest good of the greatest number."

Prof. Hobbs offered a further quotation from a declaration by STUART CHASE in the *NEA Journal* of May 1934, that an abundant economy requires

"the scrapping of outworn political boundaries and of constitutional checks and balances where the issues involved are technical, * * *". (Hearings, p. 135.)

This Committee, like Dr. Hobbs, cannot understand why a man of STUART CHASE's obvious leanings should have been selected to make a "chain and compass" survey of the social sciences. The book he produced with foundation support seems replete with what might have been expected of him, including, as Prof. Hobbs explained (Hearings, p. 135, et seq.), a promotion of the completely false notion

that the methods of the physical sciences can be translated to the social sciences.

In his book MR. CHASE said (Hearings, p. 137):

"I am grateful to J. Frederick Dewhurst, Charles Dollard, John Gardner, Pendleton Herring, Ralph Linton, H. A. Murray, Talcott Parsons, Don K. Price, and Paul Webbink for a reading of the manuscript, but I am, of course, responsible for the final draft."

We understand that all the persons mentioned have been actively associated with foundations or heavily supported by them. The conclusion seems fair that they have endorsed Mr. Chase's ideas and that they themselves lean strongly to the left or at least strongly support that scientism which seems to produce or be an ally of leftism. Indeed, Mr. Charles Dollard, in his statement filed with the Committee in behalf of *The Carnegie Corporation of New York*, of which he is President, registered wide approval among social scientists. He said:

"* * * competent authorities who reviewed *The Proper Study of Mankind* found no lack of balance in MR. CHASE's treatment of the various social sciences." (Hearings, p. 988.)

The approach advocated by the author and supported by foundation funds derogates conventional morality. He says:

"Social science might be defined on a high level as the application of the scientific method to the study of human relations. What do we know about those relations that is dependable? The 'wisdom of the ages' obviously is not good enough as the state of the post-war world bears eloquent witness."

* * * * *

"The scientific method does not tell us how things ought to behave but how they do behave. Clearly, there is no reason why the method should not be applied to the behavior of men as well as to the behavior of electrons." (Hearings, p. 138.)

The author, continuing with the following statement, gives the impression that there is no substantial difference between social science and natural science:

"There are social experiments and physical experiments, and the scientific method can be used most advantageously in both."

Upon which quotation Prof. Hobbs commented as follows (Hearings, p. 139):

"I would like to interject, again, there are social experiments and there are physical experiments, but I would like to point out in the physical experiments you are dealing with electrons and things of that type. With the social experiments you are dealing with human beings and it makes quite a different situation."

The author also commits the error of presenting an unbalanced set of ideas. There is, for example, testified Prof. Hobbs, a stress on "cultural determinism", a doctrine which is subject to very serious doubt. As Prof. Hobbs put it (Hearings, p. 139):

"Sir, it is not a matter of there being no validity whatsoever. It is a matter of a theory of this type being presented to the public with the weight of the foundations behind it, as though it were the scientifically proved fact. In that context, it is not correct."

The book discusses in some detail the theory that by manipulating society you can change not only society itself but also the people in it. "Theoretically," says the book, "a society could be completely made over in something like 15 years, the time it takes to inculcate a new culture into a rising crop of youngsters." (Hearings, p. 141.)

Obviously; "culture determinism" has been a weapon of both Fascism and Communism. And it might readily be concluded that the author thought the use of this method desirable. It is a technique, as Prof. Hobbs pointed out, close to "brain washing".

The following quotation from the Chase book is truly disturbing (Hearings, p. 142):

"Prepare now for a surprising universe. Individual talent is too sporadic and unpredictable to be allowed any important part in the organization of society. Social systems which endure are built on the average person who can be trained to occupy any position adequately if not brilliantly."

This, said Prof. Hobbs, is reminiscent of the Russian (Pavlov's) experiments on the conditioning of dogs.

During Professor Hobbs' testimony the question was raised whether he was not perhaps discussing only isolated books, after which the following colloquy took place between Counsel and the witness (Hearings, p. 146):

Mr. WORMSER. Mr. Chairman, may I suggest to Dr. Hobbs that I think he ought to make clear, which I believe is the fact, that he does not intend merely to discuss 3 or 4 books as the only books in this area which have any unpleasant connotation to him. What he is really doing is giving them as illustrations, perhaps particularly sharp illustrations, of the use of what he calls scientism and its promotion by foundations. Please answer this yourself, Dr. Hobbs, but isn't your main thesis that what you call scientism widely promoted by foundations and that in itself has a deleterious effect on society?

Dr. HOBBS. The thesis is not in the book in relation to the foundations specifically, but I would say that, speaking in general terms, the thing which I call scientism is promoted in an appreciable measure by the foundations. And scientism has been described as a point of view, an idea, that science can solve all of the problems of mankind, that it can take the place of traditions, beliefs, religion, and it is in the direction of that type of thing that so much of the material in the social sciences is pointed. I am not saying that we have reached that, or that many would come out blatantly and say that now that can or should be done. But it seems to me, and I may be wrong, but it does seem to me that we are going in that direction, and it is time that we might take a little stock of it.

Professor Hobbs criticized the discussion of the "cultural lag" theory in CHASE's book, namely that:

* * * technology has advanced very greatly, but that our ideas, our beliefs, our traditions, have not kept pace with it. Therefore, there is a lag between the technological advance and the culture, and the implication is that the beliefs, ideas, sentiments and so on, about the family, the church, about government; should be brought up to date with the technology, which superficially sounds reasonable enough, except when you begin to analyze it it really settles down to being in the first place, a nonscientific notion, because the two things being compared are not commensurable, that is, they have not been reduced to any common denominator by which you can measure the relative rates of change in between them. (Hearings, p. 147.)

This "cultural lag" theory is expressed in the statement filed by *The Rockefeller Foundation*:

"The experiences of World War I and the painful uncertainties of the post-war and depression period seemed to reflect a growing and menacing gap between man's technical and scientific capacity and his apparent inability to deal with his own affairs on a rational basis."

The Rockefeller Foundation has long been addicted to the cultural lag theory. As early as 1922, Beardsley Ruml recommended to the *Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial Fund* that it enter the field of the social sciences. He advanced that false analogy between the social and the natural sciences which has led social scientists into "nose-counting" and a mathematical approach to the solution of human

problems. He promoted the idea that the collection and tabulation of social science data should have greater foundation support. Moreover, he strongly supported the cultural lag theory, saying (as quoted in Raymond Fosdick's history of *The Rockefeller Foundation*):

"Unless means are found for meeting the complex social problems that are so rapidly developing, our increased control of physical forces may prove increasingly destructive of human values."

Such a statement may appear to have some validity at first reading. Reading into it, however, what is implicit in its point of view and approach, it proposes that the social scientist can find better ways for human beings to live together, by reorganizing our ideas, our beliefs, our traditions, to keep pace with advancing technology.

Professor Hobbs said that the cultural lag notion:

* * * has the implication that we should keep religion up to date, and patriotic sentiments, ideas about marriage and the family.

Well, if you do this, of course by implication to take an extreme illustration, then you would have to modify your religion every time there was a significant technological change with automobiles or airplanes, things of that sort, which would give you of course a great deal of lack of permanence.

The cultural lag theory has appeared in many if not most of the sociology textbooks with the implication that we should abandon the traditional forms of belief about the family and religion. Inescapably that tends to be the implication. The way Stuart Chase puts it:

"The cultural concept dissolves old ideologies and eternal verities but gives us something more solid to stand on, or so it seems to me. Prediction takes shape, the door to the future opens, and light comes through. Not much yet, but enough to shrivel many intellectual quacks, oververbalized seers and theorists, whose theories cannot be verified."

At the very time he is talking about a theory which cannot be verified. (Hearings, p. 148.)

An interesting recent example of the prevalence of the "cultural lag" theory is to be found in a letter dated August 20, 1954 by Edward L. Bernays, President of *The Edward L. Bernays Foundation*, to the *New York Herald-Tribune*, and published in its issue of August 23, 1954. Mr. Bernays offers \$2,500 on behalf of *The Bernays Foundation* for a private study centering on the four Brooklyn boys who shortly before had shocked the public by violent and murderous acts. These boys had apparently come from good homes and Mr. Bernays' approach to discovering why they could have gone so wrong is disclosed by this quotation from his letter.

"A terrific gap exists between our ability to control the technological elements of our society and our ability to cope with societal problems."

It is very much to be doubted that the "cultural lag" theory can account for the behavior of the four Brooklyn lads.

Moral relativism and the cultural lag theory strike at the very roots of the average American's traditional values. Promulgation of such unverified, pseudo-scientific theories dissolves the belief that religion gives us certain basic verities upon which we must construct a moral and ethical life, that certain basic and unalterable principles underlie our system of government and should be maintained faithfully for the preservation of our society. It is not our province to prove that such radical theories as relativism and cultural lag are wrong. It is the responsibility of those who advance them under the protecting cloak of "science" to prove that they are accurate and correct. Until such verification has been produced it is difficult to justify the use of tax-free funds for what is an unscientific

attack on the very fundamentals upon which the convictions of the American citizen are based.

The statement filed by Mr. Charles Dollard (Hearings, p. 945, et seq.), as President of the Carnegie Corporation of New York, supports the selection of MR. CHASE to write *The Proper Study of Mankind*. MR. CHASE is held to be, and he undoubtedly is, "an extremely able writer." But we have stated that MR. CHASE is far to the left and thus a strange selection to make for the job of writing the bible of *The Social Science Research Council*. This Mr. Dollard seeks to answer by stating that MR. CHASE just previously had done a job for the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey. Mr. Dollard's observation in this regard is a *non-sequitur* applied in a frantic attempt to obscure the real issue, which is the pattern of MR. CHASE's intellectual background. How about MR. CHASE's record of Communist front associations. They will be found in the Appendix. They do not make him a Communist, but they place him among those whose extreme leftist tendencies have led them into the support of many dangerous organizations. What sort of judgment may be expected from such a man! We find the answer in his adulation of both Lauchlin Currie and Harry Dexter White whose demise the nation need not mourn (*The Proper Study of Mankind*, pages 211, 205).

"AN AMERICAN DILEMMA"

Just as we cannot understand why MR. CHASE was selected to write the bible of the SSRC, we cannot understand why Gunnar Myrdal was selected to make the study which resulted in *An American Dilemma*. This project involved an expenditure of some \$250,000 of funds granted by *The Carnegie Corporation of New York*. The subject of the study, the negro problem in the United States, was of course highly desirable. In a preface to the book written by the President of *The Carnegie Corporation* it is explained that because the subject is charged with emotion it was felt desirable to select as a director "someone who could approach the task with a fresh mind, uninfluenced by traditional attitudes or by earlier conclusions." This eminently commendable statement, however, contrasts with the fact that Gunnar Myrdal, a Swedish social scientist, was selected. Dr. Myrdal was and is a socialist. How an unbiased point of view could be expected from one of Dr. Myrdal's persuasion we cannot understand.

The following quotations from the book itself indicate Dr. Myrdal's bias. They also expound theories regarding the American people and their government which this Committee finds most unfortunate.

"Indeed, the new republic began its career with a reaction. Charles Beard in 'An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States', and a group of modern historians, throwing aside the much cherished national mythology which had blurred the difference in spirit between the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, have shown that the latter was conceived in considerable suspicion against democracy and fear of 'the people.' It was dominated by property consciousness and designed as a defense against the democratic spirit let loose during the Revolution." (Page 7.)

"This conservatism, in fundamental principles, has, to a great extent, been perverted into a nearly fetishistic cult of the Constitution. This is unfortunate since the 150-year-old Constitution is in many respects impractical and ill-suited for modern conditions and since, furthermore, the drafters of the document made it technically difficult to change even if there were no popular feeling against change." (Page 12.)

"Modern historical studies of how the Constitution came to be as it is reveal that the Constitutional Convention was nearly a plot against the common people. Until recently, the Constitution has been used to block the popular will: the Fourteenth Amendment inserted after the Civil War to protect the civil rights of the poor freedmen has, for instance, been used more to protect business corporations against public control." (Page 13.)

"Another cultural trait of Americans is a relatively low degree of respect of law and order. This trait, as well as the other one just mentioned is of paramount importance for the Negro problem as we shall show in some detail in later chapters. There is a relation between these two traits, of high ideals in some laws and low respect for all laws, but this relation is by no means as simple as it appears." (Page 14.)

"Undoubtedly the idealistic concept of American law as an emanation of 'natural law' is a force which strengthens the rule of law in America.

"But, in another way, it is at the same time most detrimental to automatic, unreflecting law observance on the part of the citizens. Laws become disputable on moral grounds. Each legislative statute is judged by the common citizen in terms of his conception of the higher 'natural law'. He decides whether it is 'just' or 'unjust' and has the dangerous attitude that, if it is unjust, he may feel free to disobey it." (Page 16.)

"This anarchistic tendency in America's legal culture becomes even more dangerous because of the presence of a quite different tendency: a desire to regulate human behavior tyrannically by means of formal laws. This last tendency is a heritage from early American puritanism which was sometimes fanatical and dogmatic and always had a strong inclination to mind other people's business. So we find that this American, who is so proud to announce that he will not obey laws other than those which are 'good' and 'just', as soon as the discussion turns to something which in his opinion is bad and unjust, will emphatically pronounce that 'there ought to be a law against . . .'. To demand and legislate all sorts of laws against this or that is just as much part of American freedom as to disobey the laws when they are enacted. America has become a country where exceedingly much is permitted in practice but at the same time exceedingly much is forbidden in law." (Pages 16 and 17.)

"And many more of those unrespected laws are damaging in so far as they, for example, prevent a rational organization of various public activities, or when they can be used by individuals for blackmailing purposes or by the state or municipal authorities to persecute unpopular individuals or groups." (Page 17.)

"For example, it cannot be conducive to the highest respect for the legal system that the federal government is forced to carry out important social legislation under the fiction that it is regulating 'interstate commerce,' or that federal prosecuting agencies punish dangerous gangsters for income tax evasion rather than for the felonies they have committed.

"So this idealistic America also became the country of legalistic formalism. Contrary to America's basic ideology of natural law and its strong practical sense, 'the letter of the law,' as opposed to its 'spirit,' came to have an excessive importance. The weak bureaucracy became tangled up in 'red tape.' The clever lawyer came to play a large and unsavory role in politics in business, and in the everyday life of the citizen. The Americans thus got a judicial order which is in many respects contrary to all their inclinations." (Page 18.)

"We have to conceive of all the numerous breaches of law, which an American citizen commits or learns about in the course of ordinary living, as psychologically a series of shocks which condition him and the entire society to a low degree of law observance. The American nation has, further, experienced disappointments in its attempts to legislate social change, which, with few exceptions, have been badly prepared and inefficiently carried out. The almost traumatic effects of these historical disappointments have been enhanced by America's conspicuous success in so many fields other than legislation. One of the trauma was the Reconstruction legislation, which attempted to give Negroes civil rights in the South; another one was the anti-trust legislation pressed by the Western farmers

and enacted to curb the growth of monopolistic finance capitalism; a third one was the prohibition amendment." (Page 19.)

"If in the course of time Americans are brought to be a law-abiding people, and if they at the same time succeed in keeping alive not only their conservatism in fundamental principles and their pride and devotion to their national political institutions, but also some of their puritan eagerness and courage in attempting to reform themselves and the world—redirected somewhat from the old Biblical inclination of thinking only in terms of prescriptions and purges—this great nation may become the master builder of a stable but progressive commonwealth." (Pages 20 and 21.)

"The popular explanation of the disparity in America between ideals and actual behavior is that Americans do not have the slightest intention of living up to the ideals which they talk about and put into their Constitution and laws. Many Americans are accustomed to talk loosely and disparagingly about adherence to the American Creed as 'lip-service' and even 'hypocrisy'. Foreigners are even more prone to make such a characterization." (Page 21.)

Mr. Dollard in his statement filed as President of *The Carnegie Corporation* cited other quotations from *An American Dilemma* which are kinder in tone toward the American people. It is our opinion that the sections quoted by Mr. Dollard do not offset the unpleasant and prejudiced references we have quoted above. Nor are we impressed with Mr. Dollard's attempt to characterize Dr. Myrdal as a moderate sort of socialist. Professor Colgrove, who, as Secretary-Treasurer of the *American Political Science Association* for eleven years, ought to know, testified that Myrdal was a "very left wing socialist" and "very anticonservative." He said:

Dr. Myrdal was a Socialist, pretty far left, indeed extremely left. He was not unprejudiced. He came over here with all the prejudices of European Socialists. And the criticism that he makes of the American Constitution, the criticism that he makes of the conservatives of the United States, are bitter criticisms. He didn't have any praise at all for the conservatives. He did praise what he called the liberals. And he implied that it was the conservatives in the United States who created the problem and who continued the difficulties of any solution. I felt the foundations did a great disservice to American scholarship in announcing his study as an objective nonpartisan study whose conclusions were wholly unbiased. It was almost intellectual dishonesty. (Hearings, p. 577.)

This Committee would be far less concerned about the leftist slanting of so many products financed by great foundations in the social sciences if there were a reasonably commensurate number (and weight) of such products slanted in the other direction. There can be no doubt that the greatest freedom consonant with public responsibility is desirable in the conduct of foundation work. *However, we conclude that the freedom which most of those who direct the work of the largest foundations, and some others, insist upon is merely the freedom to propagate leftist propaganda.*

THE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES.

This work is one to which closer study should be given than this Committee was able to give. Though somewhat out of date, it is still the "Supreme Court" of the social sciences, the final authority to which appeal is made in any social science field by many students and researchers. It was estimated as late as 1952 that it was being used at least a half million times per year. Apparently *The Rockefeller Foundation*, *The Carnegie Corporation of New York* and *The Russell Sage Foundation* financed the project or materially supported it. It was, clearly enough, a highly desirable venture. But it does seem,

in view of its enormous importance in conditioning the thinking of reference-users, that every means should have been used by the foundations who made it possible to see that it was a truly objective and representative piece of work. Was it? Let us see.

Perhaps a Communist was not so reprehensible a character in the thirties as one would be today. But a Communist was still a Communist; objectivity could hardly be expected of him, whether in 1930 or 1954. Communists have a way of bringing things political into almost any subject. In the case of the *Encyclopedia*, Communists and pro-Communists were permitted to write articles on subjects in which their slant could obviously be heavily applied, and it was.

The key man in the creation of the *Encyclopedia* was DR. ALVIN JOHNSON, an Associate Editor. In his book, *Pioneer's Progress*, he said:

"In enlisting assistant editors, I forebore all inquiry about infection with Marx. Like a common cold, Marx was in the air, sometimes cutting editorial efficiency, but not irremediably. * * * I had two assistant editors who asserted that they were Socialists. That was nothing to me; they were good and faithful workers. And one was so considerate of my reactionary bent as to inform me that a new editor I had taken on was a Communist."

DR. JOHNSON then told how he interviewed the man and told him he would keep him on—"Your private political views are your own business", said the good Doctor. Incidentally, his reference to himself as "reactionary" was humor—his own Communist-front associations have been recorded; he may certainly be judged as considerably to the left.

The article on *The Rise of Liberalism* was written by HAROLD J. LASKI, a British socialist. He also did the articles on *Bureaucracy*, *Democracy*, *Judiciary*, *Liberty*, *Social Contract*, and *Ulyanov, Vladimir Ilich*.

Atheism, *Modern Atheism* was written by Oscar Jassi, a socialist of Hungarian origin. *Bolshevism* was written by Maurice Dobb, an English radical. *Capitalism*, by Werner Sombart, a socialist who became affiliated with the Nazis.

Communism was written by MAX BEER, a Marxian of the University of Frankfurt, Germany. *Communist Parties* was written by LEWIS L. LORWIN, whose views may be gleaned from this statement in the article: "The view common in the United States that the Communists are either cranks or criminals is largely a reflection of a conservative outlook." He also wrote the article on *Exploitation*.

Corporation, written by two New Dealers, Adolph A. Berle, Jr., and GARDINER C. MEANS, clearly reveals their bias at that time. (Mr. Berle has since written *The 20th Century Capitalist Revolution* and repudiated some of his former views regarding corporations.) They say that the corporation may well equal or exceed the state in power. "The law of corporations, accordingly, might well be considered as a potential constitutional law for the new economic state: while business practice assumes many of the aspects of administrative government."

Criticism, Social, was produced by ROBERT MORSE LOVETT, of wide Communist front associations. *Education*, *History*, was produced by GEORGE S. COUNTS, a radical educator concerning whom we shall have more to say in the section of this report on education. *Fabianism* was written by G. D. H. Cole, a British socialist. He also wrote the article on *Industrialism*. *Fortunes*, *Private*, *Modern*

Period, prepared by LEWIS COREY, is easily recognizable as a Marxist analysis.

Freedom of Speech and of the Press was written by Robert Eisler of Paris who destroys the Christian ethic with this authoritative pronouncement:

"No one today will consider the particular ethical doctrine of modern, or for that matter of ancient, Christianity as self-evident or natural or as the morality common to all men. The modern relativist theory of values has definitely shattered the basis on which such artificial churches as the various ethical societies orders rested."

Government, Soviet Russia was prepared by Otto Hoetzsch of the University of Berlin who gives us kind thoughts about the Soviets—for example:

"Although the elections are subject to pressure of Communist dictatorship, this workers' democracy is not entirely a fiction." [Emphasis ours.]

The article on *Labor-Capital Co-Operation* is credited to J. B. S. HARDMAN, whose Communist front affiliations are recorded in Appendix, Part IX of the Dies Committee Reports, 78th Congress (1944). He also wrote *Labor Parties, General, United States, Masses and Terrorism*. *Laissez-Faire* is the product of the socialist, G. D. H. Cole; his job was done with a hatchet. *Large Scale Production*, by Myron W. Watkins, is an attack on the production methods of Big Business.

Morals is the product of HORACE M. KALLEN, whose extensive Communist-front associations are a matter of record. *Philosophy* was produced by Horace B. Davis, with ex-Communist-front associations (See Appendix IX). *Political Offenders*, by MAX LERNER, a radical, contains a diatribe against the treatment of political offenders. *Political Police*, is by ROGER N. BALDWIN, recorded by Appendix IX as having Communist-front associations. *Power, Industrial*, by Hugh Quigley, seems to be a plea for more control of business. *Proletariat* is by Alfred Meusel of Germany and seems to admire the Soviet system in Russia.

Social Work, General Discussion, Social Case Work, is the work of a Communist-fronter, PHILIP KLEIN. *Socialism* was written by a socialist, OSCAR JANSKI. It is not unsympathetic to Communism.

Stabilization, Economic, was written by GEORGE SOULE, of extensive Communist-front affiliations. It expresses doubt that "stabilization" can be accomplished under our present order. *Strikes and Lockouts* is by JOHN A. FITCH, of wide Communist-front affiliations. *Vested Interests* is the work of MAX LERNER.

One of the theses in *Woman, Position in Society*, by the Communist-fronter, BERNHARD J. STERN, is that we are not doing right by our women, while the Soviets are.

This list is not inclusive. Many more instances of radical selection could be given, plus the multitude of articles by moderately slanted writers. What is amazingly characteristic of the *Encyclopedia* is the extent to which articles on "left" subjects have been assigned to leftists; in the case of subjects to the "right", leftists again have been selected to describe and expound them. This is reminiscent of the reviews in the *New York Times* of books on China, in which both pro-and-con-Communist volumes were assigned to pro-Communists for review.

"EXPERIMENT", "RISK CAPITAL" AND THE COLLEGES.

The intense application of some of the great foundations to the social sciences seems, by the evidence, to stem from what amounts to a current intellectual fad having its origins in the "cultural lag" theory to which we have referred. It runs that foundations should not longer expend their funds in helping to create a better and healthier physical world—it has already advanced mechanically beyond the ability of human beings to live properly within their new environment. Foundation funds should now be applied to human welfare in the social sense. The social scientists are to be able to give us ways of living together better than those which religious, educational and political leaders have been able to devise for us in the past. We must improve "man's relation to man." This concept, widely touted in the foundation world, is illustrated by the underlying report upon which the work of *The Ford Foundation* was based. It contains this statement:

"In the Committee's opinion the evidence points to the fact that today's most critical problems are those which are social rather than physical in character—those which arise in man's relation to man rather than in his relation to nature."

How are the social scientists to accomplish this reform in our social relations? With financial assistance by the foundations, they are to "experiment". We have explained some of the dangers of such experimentation for which foundations are to "risk" their funds. Here is part of Professor Hobbs' testimony about it:

Mr. WORMSER. Dr. Hobbs, do I express your opinion correctly by this statement? The foundations, or some of them, in the Cox hearings last year, maintained that the best use of their funds would be in experiment in reaching out for new horizons, in considering their precious funds in what they call risk capital. You would approve of experiment in the sense of trying to reach new horizons, but you would caution, I assume, against experiment as such where it relates to the relationship of human beings and basic factors in our society?

Dr. HOBBS. Yes, sir; a great deal of caution, I think, should be applied in those areas. For one thing, because of the points I tried to establish yesterday, that the mere fact that the thing is being studied can change the situation; and secondly, because the findings of a study can affect human behavior and we should be extremely cautious when we are entering into areas of that sort. (Hearings, p. 167.)

This Committee strongly supports Professor Hobbs' opinion that the utmost caution should be used when experimentation with human relationships is involved in a foundation grant or project. We suggest, moreover, that the trustees of foundations consider carefully whether they have not been induced by their executive associates to "go overboard" on the general concept of "experiment." Among the many letters received by the Committee staff from colleges, criticising the foundations for failure to contribute direct support, and for preferring "new projects" is one from Barnard College (Columbia University) which contains this:

"My only comment about foundation policies is that the foundations all seem to have the point of view that they should contribute only to 'new projects.' The College's largest problems are to maintain faculty salaries and scholarships at a reasonable level, and to keep ancient buildings repaired, so that the basic work of teaching can be continued. It is discouraging to have to add 'new projects' in order to secure foundation support when the financial structure of the college has not yet become adjusted to the increase in the cost of living."

The almost frantic search for something new and experimental in which to invest foundation funds, is a phenomenon with many unhappy repercussions. Among them is the situation of which this college administrator complains. *Would it not be better, in the long run, for foundations to give more direct assistance of widespread nature to sound educational institutions which are dependent on private support, rather than to waste gigantic aggregates of money annually on the pursuit of something "new"?*

IX. THE POLITICAL ACTIVITIES OF FOUNDATIONS

THE QUANTITATIVE TEST.

Once a tax-exempt foundation has obtained its initial gift or estate tax exemption, it may spend all its capital, perhaps hundreds of millions, in the support of any "ism" it cares to, and by active propaganda. Nothing prevents it from using its capital in political activity. The only "unless" might be if the Bureau of Internal Revenue, acting soon enough and on sufficient evidence, were able to prove that there had been fraud at its inception.

One penalty is imposed by the tax law if a foundation engages in politics. Its income tax exemption is lost if any "substantial part of the activities" of the foundation is used for "carrying on propaganda, or otherwise attempting to influence, legislation."¹⁷ Proof that it was violating this prohibition would mean loss of income tax exemption, and subsequent donors to the foundation would not be given gift or estate tax exemption for their donations. *But the foundation could go right on spending its existing principal for its selected "ism".*

Let us look at the quantitative facet of the prohibition. A "substantial part of its activities" is the test. It is evident that a quantitative test, particularly one so vaguely described, is futile and impossible to administer. Take Foundation X with a capital of \$500,000,000 and Foundation Y with a capital of \$50,000. Is the measure of "substantial" to be the amount of money spent, or the proportion of money spent? Y can do far less harm spending all of its income for political purposes than can X, spending but one per cent of its income. The contrast illustrates one of the difficulties of applying a quantitative test.

Is the test, then to be the amount of energy, or time, or effort spent on political action? How could that be measured with sufficient accuracy? Or is it the impact of the work upon society which is to be measured—and if so, how?

It is true that measures of "substance" are sometimes necessary in tax and other laws. In this instance, however, it is a futility. The tax law might better proscribe *all* political activity, leaving it to the courts to make exceptions on the principle of *de minimus non curat lex*.

¹⁷ The 1954 Internal Revenue Code added this further condition on tax exemption: " * * * and which does not participate, or intervene in (including the publishing or distribution of statements), any political campaign on behalf of any candidate for public office." The interpretation of this addition by the courts will be watched with great interest. Among the interesting issues will be this: will attacks on a candidate for office be construed as activity "on behalf" of his opponent? Again, where a foundation is the substantial owner of a newspaper which actively supports candidates, will the foundation have violated this new provision? Can a foundation any longer safely hold substantial ownership in a newspaper? This Committee has given little attention to the problems raised by the new wording because it came into the law at the very end of its research period and because other, less blatant, types of political activity seem far more important and more difficult to combat.

THE QUALITATIVE TEST.

A reading of the testimony of Internal Revenue Commissioner Andrews, and his Assistant, Mr. Sugarman, will show that the qualitative test of political use is weak; it has been further enfeebled by court decisions to the point where it is of use only in the most extreme cases. Most of the foundations impinging upon the political area get their tax exemption as "educational" institutions. Yet the courts have so construed the term "educational" that much that is truly political propaganda may be justified within that term. Again, the tax law itself, in referring to "propaganda", ties it in to the phrase "to influence legislation", so that general political propaganda, however forceful and forthright it may be, does not deprive a foundation of its exemption. Only propaganda directed at "influencing legislation" is proscribed, and even this proscription is further weakened by the quantitative test.

The Committee takes it as axiomatic that, whatever the defects in the tax law as it stands, foundation funds, constituting public money, should not be used for political purposes or with political bias or slant. It is admittedly extremely difficult to draw the line between what is permissible as "educational" and what should be avoided as "political". Indeed, it may be impossible to find any legislative or regulatory way to delineate the border with clarity. This Committee offers no easy answer, but urges that the problem receive intense attention in the light of our disclosure of political activity by foundations.

THE LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY.

One of the more obvious cases of political activity disclosed by the Committee's research is that of *The League for Industrial Democracy*. This very influential foundation became the subject of litigation in 1932. Its tax-free status was questioned by the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, but in the case of *Weyl v. Commissioner*, 48 Fed. (2d) 811, the tax exemption was supported on the ground that the foundation was an "educational" organization. We suggest, under the facts to be related, that the Bureau should revive its study of this foundation and move against its tax exemption. To continue to grant this foundation tax exemption would create a precedent for granting tax exemption to all political parties and political organizations.

The witness who testified concerning the League was Mr. Ken Earl, a lawyer formerly on the staff of two subcommittees of the Senate Judiciary Committee—the Subcommittee on Internal Security, and the Subcommittee on Immigration. Mr. Earl's contention was that the LID "is an adjunct of the Socialist Party," a contention which seems soundly concluded from the evidence he produced out of publications of the LID itself, and accounts of its activities and proceedings.

[Whenever in the following quotations italics appear, we have supplied them.]

Quoting from a publication of an affiliate, *The Inter-Collegiate Student Council* of the LID, Mr. Earl gave their statement of "what the LID stands for":

The L. I. D. therefore works to bring a new social order; not by thinking alone, though a high order of thought is required; not by outraged indignation, finding an outlet in a futile banging of fists against the citadel of capitalism; but by the combination of thought and action and an understanding of what is the weakness of capitalism in order to bring about socialism in our own lifetime. (Hearings, p. 740.)

The LID was originally *The Intercollegiate Socialist Society*, founded in 1905 after a call by Upton Sinclair and George H. Strobel (Hearings, p. 740) "for the purpose of promoting an intelligent interest in Socialism among college men and women." In 1921 its name was changed to the League for Industrial Democracy. There was a mass of evidence to show that the aims were not purely socialist education, but that action, *political action*, was a purpose of the organization. The following quotation from the LID publication *Revolt* (the very name has significance) illustrates:

"The League for Industrial Democracy is a militant educational movement which challenges those who would think and act for a 'new social order based on production for use and not for profit.' That is a revolutionary slogan. It means that members of the L. I. D. think and work for the elimination of capitalism, and the substitution for it of a new order, in whose building the purposeful and passionate thinking of student and worker today will play an important part."

as well as this:

"Men and women who would change a world must blast their way through the impenetrable rock. No stewing over drinks of tea or gin, no lofty down-from-my-favorite cloud, thinking more radical thoughts than thou attitude makes a student movement or a radical movement. L. I. D. students talk and write about conditions. L. I. D. students act about them.

"* * * a staff of 6 or 8 leave the Chicago or New York offices to help coordinate activities. They get into classrooms, they talk to classes. * * * In addition these speakers furnish a valuable link between students and their activities later on. After graduation the work continues unabated. In city chapters, in New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Detroit, Baltimore, the work of education and action goes on.

"The L. I. D. emergency publication, the Unemployed and Disarm, have reached a circulation of one-half million. * * * Students organized squads of salesmen to sell these magazines, containing slashing attacks on capitalism and the war system, at the same time it enable the unemployed to keep alive.

"In November of this year a training school for recent graduates will be opened in New York * * * to equip students by field work to perform their tasks in the labor movement. * * *" (Hearings, p. 744.)

As Mr. Earl observed: "This language about recruiting and training, I think, would be more appropriate in an Army field manual than in the journal of an 'educational' association."

In the same issue of *Revolt*, PAUL R. PORTER, after using some of the cliché phrases of Stalin and Lenin, advised workers and farmers that ". . . their recourse now is to form a political party which they themselves control, and through which they might conceivably obtain state mastery over the owning class." (Hearings, p. 745.) He added these paragraphs which indicate an intention to support violent action:

"When Community Chests are more barren than Mother Hubbard's cupboard and workers begin to help themselves to necessities in stores and warehouses, when bankrupt municipalities stringently curtail normal services, then vigilante committees of businessmen, abetted by selected gangsters, might quickly and efficiently assume command of governmental functions.

"The assumption of power by vigilantes in a few key cities would quickly spread. The President (Hoover or Roosevelt) would declare a national emergency and dispatch troops to zones where vigilante rule was endangered. Probably he would create a coalition super-Cabinet composed of dominant men in finance, transportation, industry, radio, and the press, a considerable number of whom would be Reserve officers." (Hearings, p. 745.)

"The bulldozing methods of the war-time Council of Defense would be employed against protesting labor groups and some individuals might be imprisoned or shot, though several 'cooperative' A. F. of L. officials might be given posts of minor responsibility."

"Watch now those little flames of mass unrest * * * Great energy will be generated by those flames of mass revolt. But revolt is not revolution, and even though new blankets of cruel repression fail to smother the fire and in the end only add to its intensity, *that energy may be lost unless it can be translated into purposive action.* Boilers in which steam can be generated—if we may work our metaphor—need be erected over the fire, and that steam forced into engines of reconstruction.

"Trotsky, in describing the role of the Bolsheviks in the Russian Revolution, has hit upon a happy figure of speech which we may borrow in this instance. No man, no group of men, created the revolution; Lenin and his associates were but the pistons driven by the steam power of the masses. *The Marxist Bolshevik party saved that steam from aimless dissipation, directed it into the proper channels.*

"To catch and to be driven by that steam is the function of the radical parties in America today."

* * * * *

"There are members who would pattern it (the Socialist Party of America) after the German Social Democracy and the British Labor Party, despite the disastrous experiences of two great parties of the Second International. There are members who have lost to age and comfort their one-time fervor, and members who would shrink from struggle in time of crisis."

* * * * *

"They (the Socialists) must overcome the quiescent influence of those whose socialism has been dulled by intimacy with the bourgeois world, and they must speak boldly and convincingly to the American working people in the workers' language.

"If their party can rise to these tasks *then perhaps capitalism can be decently buried before it has found temporary rejuvenation in a Fascist dictatorship.*" (Hearings, p. 747.)

MR. PORTER was an organizer and lecturer for the LID and a missionary to thousands of college students. (Hearings, p. 747.)

The position and objectives of the LID were made clear in an article in *Revolt* written by Felix S. Cohen, who said:

"The crucial issue of industrial civilization today is not between laissez-faire individualism on the one hand and collectivism on the other. History is deciding that question. The question for us is what sort of collectivism we want.

*"Modern technology makes collectivism inevitable. But whether our collectivism is to be Fascist, feudal, or Socialist will depend * * * upon the effectiveness with which we translate those political ideals into action.*

"You cannot fight on the economic front and stay neutral on the legal or political front. Politics and economics are not two different things, and the failures of the labor movement in this country largely arise from the assumption that they are. Capitalism is as much a legal system as it is an economic system, and the attack on capitalism must be framed in legal or political terms as well as in economic terms."

" * * a Socialist attack on the problem of government cannot be restricted to presidential and congressional elections or even to general programs of legislation. We have to widen our battlefield to include all institutions of government, corporations, trade unions, professional bodies, and even religious bodies, as well as legislatures and courts. We have to frame the issues of socialism and democracy and fight the battles of socialism and democracy in the stockholders' meetings of industrial corporations, in our medical associations, and our bar associations, and our teachers' associations, in labor unions, in student councils, in consumers' and producers' cooperatives—in every social institution in which we can find a foothold * * *."*

* * * * *

"But the need of fighting politically within corporations and trade associations and professional bodies, as well as labor unions, is just as pressing if we think that fundamental social change can be secured in this country only by unconstitutional measures.

"In a revolution, when the ordinary political machinery of government breaks down, it is absolutely essential that the revolutionary force control the remaining centers of social power. In Russia the success of the Bolshevik revolution rested with the guilds or soviets, which were not created by the Communist Party and which antedated the revolution. *A socialist revolution in this country will succeed only if our guilds, chief among them our engineering societies, have within them a coherent socialist voice.* (Hearings, pp. 747, 748, 749.)

We leave to the reader to judge whether such pronouncements are purely educational!

The "democratic" process was of small concern to the author of these diatribes. He said: "We do not need a majority" to deal with "the putrid mess of capitalism." (Hearings, p. 749.)

A full reading of Mr. Earl's testimony and of the many quotations from LID pamphlets and publications which he cited is necessary to understand the consistency with which action was urged by the LID spokesmen. We can only give some of them here to illustrate. The quotations from an article by Amicus Most in the December 1932 issue of *Revolt* (Record, p. 1678) is one example. From that same issue comes the following piece of "education" written by the LID Field Secretary, Mr. Porter:

"Planned as an outgrowth of the conference will be a student delegation to Washington soon after Congress convenes, to serve notice that hundreds of students will reject the rôle of cannon fodder in another war, to request that the State Department furnish a list of investments for which American youth may some day be called upon to fight, and to demand that money now spent in maintaining the ROTC and the CMTC be used providing relief for the unemployed." (Hearings, p. 749.)

* * * * *

"Delegates are already making preparations to attend the traditional Christmas holiday conferences of the LID, which will be held for the 18th successive year in New York and for the 5th in Chicago. *This year's New York theme will be "Socialism in Our Time" and has been divided into three main categories, to wit: "How May Power Be Won," "Building a Power Winning Organization," and "The Morning After the Revolution." The Chicago conference will be along similar lines.*"

* * * * *

"On Armistice Day military-minded former Senator Wadsworth * * * spoke in Ithaca on behalf of a bigger Army and Navy. Members of the Cornell Liberal Club, the Socialist Party, and student peace groups held a rival meeting after which they marched with banners past the high school in which Wadsworth was speaking. Leonard Lurie, Cornell LID representative, describes their gentle reception: 'Several of the Army officers rushed at us and tore down a few posters. The police joined the destruction which was over very shortly. They prodded us along the street with their stick, and Fred Berkowitz remarked, "I wonder how much the police get for hitting people * * *"'

"Growing in frequency are those trips of economics and sociology classes to case illustrations, such as breadlines and strikes, of *this magnificent chaos called capitalism*. Recently students from Amherst and Mount Holyoke, under the leadership of Prof. Colston Warner, made the rounds of New York's choicest soup kitchens, and visited Brookwood Labor College¹⁸ and the officers of various radical organizations." (Hearings, pp. 749, 750.)

See also the *Blueprints for Action* as quoted in the Hearings, p. 749. And this, from the same issue of *Revolt*:

"We must look ahead four years, Local elections are in a sense more important than national elections. *To measure the success of the L. I. D. is to measure the growth of Socialism in the community you are in.*" (Hearings, p. 751.)

The title of *Revolt* was changed in 1933 to *The Student Outlook*, but its nature was not altered one whit. In the first issue under the new name appeared an article by Helen Fisher reporting on the 17th New York conference of the LID:

The speeches and questions were those of participants in the building of a power-winning organization, not spectators.

It was a conference of practical revolutionists.

*Both Reinhold Niebuhr and Franz Daniel ruled out the possibility of our ever attaining a Socialist commonwealth by purely parliamentary action * * **

¹⁸ A since dissolved Communist hot-bed!

Both felt that the change would come through the general strike or some weapon similar to it.

In the discussion of the Day After the Revolution, Paul Blanshard stressed the necessity of presenting at least a sketch of the proposed society to those we are trying to get to fight for it. Sociolopia, according to Mr. Blanshard, would have an international government, some international battleships and airplanes, complete control of munitions, an international language and socialized ownership of industry with control by workers, technicians, and consumers. Lewis Mumford then spoke about the need for disciplining ourselves morally and intellectually the day before the revolution. (Hearings, pp. 751, 752.)

One Alvin Coons reported, in turn, on the Chicago LID conference:

CLARENCE SENIOR, national secretary of the Socialist Party, expressed the belief that reforms would only further encumber the capitalistic system and that every concession would only hasten its end:

Affirming his faith in democracy as an instrument of social change, he advocated its use as long as possible, not however, excluding the use of other methods should it fail.

"Radical students," he declared, "can spend their time more profitably getting acquainted with the problems of the workers, than they can in studying chemistry to learn how to make bombs, or in going into the ROTC to learn how to shoot. You can hardly expect to teach the workers to shoot straight for bread if you cannot teach them to vote for it". (Hearings, p. 755.)

Is this ancient history? Has the socialist leopard changed his spots? Indeed, no. Mr. Earl quoted at length from *Freedom and the Welfare State*, the report of a symposium held by the LID on April 15, 1950. (Hearings, pp. 756, et seq., and 762, et seq.) These show that even today the League "is expending more energy in political action than in education." (Hearings, p. 756.) To repeat all these would burden this report. Suffice it to say (which a reading of the record will readily show) the symposium was essentially political in character, and was attended by many eminent political characters.

On April 11, 1953, the 48th LID Annual Luncheon was held in New York. Speakers included persons of political significance and eminence. At this point Mr. Earl was questioned regarding the alleged "leftist" nature of these personalities. Mr. Earl stated that he did not characterize these persons or their political beliefs as bad; he introduced their identities to demonstrate "the political nature of the LID, and the fact that it is constantly in the political arena. *"I am not here to judge the merits or the demerits of the program that the LID has espoused, except to say that the LID has espoused socialism, and that they are for certain things, and that being for a certain political program, for certain legislation, I think they should be plumping for it with dollars that remain after their income has been taxed."* (Hearings, p. 763.)

The political nature of this Luncheon Conference is indicated by its prepared announcement:

*At a time when the country is using up many of its natural resources at an unprecedented rate; * * * when powerful lobbies are seeking to take our offshore oil resources out of the control of the Federal Government, to return the TVA to private monopoly and to prevent the further public development of the Nation's vast hydroelectric resources, and when adequate aid in the development of resources of other lands is vital to the maintenance of world democracy, it is most fitting that the LID should give its attention this year to this important problem of conservation. (Hearings, p. 765.)*

DR. HARRY LAIDLER, executive director of the LID made the political nature doubly clear. This description was given in a LID publication of Dr. Laidler's program for "democracy in action in 1953":

In presenting this program, Dr. Laidler declared that advocates of a strengthened democracy¹⁹ would be confronted in 1953 with powerful opponents, well supplied with funds, and that, for the first time in 20 years, the main body of the Nation's press would be alined on the side of the party in control of our national government * * *.

The description of the "program" continues. Is it educational or political?

1. Conservation of natural resources: It urged the increase of forestland public ownership and control; the retention of offshore oil by the Federal Government and the use of revenues from oil resources for educational purposes; extension of the TVA principle to other river basin developments * * *

2. Social security: The program recommended that the Nation consider the enactment of a democratically operated national health insurance system * * * and the strengthening of the old-age pension and unemployment insurance system * * *

3. Labor legislation: * * * (reorganize child labor laws)

4. Economic stability: It favored the formulation of plans for the maintenance of economic stability when defense tapers off, by means of credit controls, progressive taxation, useful public works, social-security programs, and other measures.

5. Housing: It proposed * * * Federal aid for the construction annually by municipal housing authorities of a minimum of 135,000 apartments for low income and middle income groups—

6. Education: * * * (Federal aid, better salaries for teachers, "freedom of inquiry," etc.)

7. Civil rights and antidiscrimination legislation: (stressed need for Federal and State FEPC laws, liberalization of our immigration laws, fair hearing to all public employees charged with un-American activities.)

8. Corruption: (Favored purge of dishonest officials.)

9. Foreign policy: The program favored, in addition to military aid, increased economic, social, and educational assistance to developed and underdeveloped countries * * *

10. Labor and cooperative movements: It urged * * * labor unity, the strengthening of collective bargaining * * * in white collar trades. * * * It likewise urged the strengthening of the consumers' and producers' cooperative movement * * *

* * * the league report viewed as antidemocratic trends the increased influence of such public figures as Senator McCarthy on important Senate committees; * * * the increased confusion among Americans regarding what should constitute a realistic democratic foreign policy; the bitter propaganda against the United Nations which had been witnessed on all sides during the year and the continued threats of men like Governor Byrnes to destroy their State's public school system rather than abolish segregation in the public schools. (Hearings, pp. 765, 766.)

As Mr. Earl pointed out, the relative merit of these proposals is of no moment. The fact is undeniable that they are political in nature and that the LID was engaging in active politics.

He gave another example from the report on a 1952 symposium luncheon, in which August Claessen, National Chairman of the Social Democratic Federation, referred to capitalism "now so inoffensively called 'private enterprise'" as being "essentially immoral. It is a source of corruption in business and politics. Private enterprise corrupts government enterprise and the only effective steps toward the elimination of these immoral influences are the rapid extension of collectivism and the advance of the cooperative movement." (Hearings, p. 766.)

We pause here to wonder whether the American people wish to grant tax exemptions to donors to this organization whose dedicated purpose is to supplant our form of government with another. We are referring to only a few of the quotations and incidents which cannot

¹⁹ Note the characterization of the Republican party as the foe of "strengthened democracy" (small "d")!

leave any doubt [that the LID] uses its tax-freed money to promote socialism in the United States.

Many of the quotations in the record of Mr. Earl's testimony are from pamphlets sold by the LID and widely distributed. One of these pamphlets, authored by MR. LAIDLER, the Executive Director, and entitled *Toward Nationalization of Industry*, is a plea for socialization. He says:

"Under a system where the basic industries of the country are privately owned and run primarily for profit, therefore, much of the income of its wealthiest citizens bears little or no relation to their industry, ability, or productivity.

"The development of our system of private industry, furthermore, has been accompanied by attempts at autocratic controls of economic, political, and social relationships by owners and managers of our giant industries.

"Many of our great leaders of industry who have constantly and bitterly opposed the extension of Federal power and nationalization on the ground of "regimentation," for years spent much of their time in an attempt to regiment their own labor forces and, through the use of the spy system, armed guard, police, constabulary, militia, injunction, and blacklists, to prevent the workers under them from exercising their American right to organize and to bargain collectively. Laws passed during the thirties have made illegal many of these practices, but ruthless and undemocratic procedures in labor relations are still resorted to in industry after industry by the possessors of economic power. These same leaders have sought to control and regiment political organizations, the press, the platform, the pulpit, the school, and university in the city, the State, and the Nation.

"The industrialists of the Nation have frequently kept prices high and rigid, have kept wages down, have constantly chiseled on quality, and have run their businesses not for the service of the many but for the profit of the few. In many instances they have sought to involve the country in international conflict with a view of safeguarding their investments abroad."

* * * * *

"Our forests should be brought far more completely than at present under Federal administration * * *."

* * * * *

"The forests of the country, under private ownership, are, furthermore, cut down faster than they are restored. * * * Public ownership and operation, on the other hand, would guarantee scientific forest management."

* * * * *

"Bituminous coal mines should be brought under the control of the Federal Government. * * * The condition of the industry under private control has long been chaotic."

* * * * *

"Anthracite coal is another resource which, in the interest of the Nation, should be owned and controlled by the Federal Government."

* * * * *

"The waste in the exploitation of our oil resources likewise necessitates further Federal control."

* * * * *

"The Federal Government should likewise increase its control over the Nation's power resources * * * Dr. Isador Lubin ²⁰ some years ago suggested the creation of a Federal Power Corporation, which should have ownership not only of water-power, but of coal, oil, and natural gas, with the view of coordinating the efforts on a national scale of all of those industries which generate power."

* * * * *

"The case for the nationalization of the railroads is a powerful one. Such ownership, in the first place, would make possible the scientific planning of the transportation industry for the entire country."

* * * * *

"Only under Government ownership can a sensible plan be worked out. Only under such ownership can a foundation be laid for cooperation between the railroad system and busses, water transportation, airlines, trucks, and other forms of transportation, a cooperation absolutely essential to the health and welfare of the Nation's transportation system."

²⁰ Dr. Lubin, Commissioner of the Bureau of Labor Statistics from 1933 until 1946, was the United States representative to the U. N. Economic and Social Council from 1946 until March of 1953.

We agree with Mr. Earl that "If this means anything at all, it means rigid government control over all forms of transportation, not just railroads. Note also the wholly unreal assumption of bureaucratic infallibility which underlies the case for continental coordination of transportation."

"Only under Government ownership will it be possible to secure enough cheap capital adequately to modernize the railroad system."

"Finally, Government ownership would serve the interests of democracy by taking this vitally necessary industry out of the grip of a mass of holding companies and financial interests intent on profits and placing it in the hands of representatives of the 150 million people in the United States. Surely an industry on which the health of the whole continent system is so dependent should not be the plaything of small groups of railroad magnates and financiers. * * *" (Hearings, pp. 768, 769.)

Can there be any doubt of the political nature of these statements? Mr. LAIDLER goes on arguing for public ownership of power, communications, manufacturing, banking and credit (Hearings, p. 770), and includes an advocacy of government planning of a degree which can only be called socialistic. (Hearings, p. 771.)

Mr. Earl included in his statement various passages from utterances of prominent LID members concerning Communism. Actually, while they indicate a distaste for Russian Communism as a violent force they welcome the social and economic ideas behind that Communism. (Hearings, pp. 771, et seq.) Alfred Baker Lewis, Chairman of the LID Board in 1943 suggested that the world revolution promoted by Russia was "largely a defense measure"; that the Russian seizure of part of Poland was merely to achieve a band of defense against Naziism; and that subversion is merely the Russian way of combating the aggressive war plans of the American capitalists. Note the implication in the second sentence of the following quotation that the Communist dictatorship itself is not aggressive:

"The Soviet's original attacks on the governments of the democratic nations through the Communist Parties which it set up and controlled, were defensive measures against attacks actual or expected from those capitalist nations. Russian imperialism today is the result of an act of will on the part of the Russian dictator, Stalin, and not because it is the nature of a Communist dictatorship to practice aggression upon its neighbors." (Hearings, p. 772.)

This was a Chairman of the LID speaking.

Norman Thomas, another LID Board chairman, in the pamphlet entitled *Freedom and the Welfare State*, published in 1950, includes this treasure, after asserting we must save the world through a "cooperative commonwealth":

"That cannot be done simply by the ballot in a world gone mad. Indeed, under no circumstances can the working class put its trust simply in the political democracy of which the ballot is the symbol." (Hearings, p. 773.)

Mr. Earl quoted at length from a pamphlet *Freedom From Want*, which recorded the proceedings of the LID conference of May 8, 1943, in which political discussions were paramount. (Hearings, p. 774, et seq.) Alfred Baker Lewis added his touch with this statement:

"To get freedom from want in the postwar world we must be clear that we cannot do so by reestablishing complete freedom of enterprise, the fifth freedom which ex-President Hoover and the National Association of Manufacturers want to add to the four freedoms." (Hearings, p. 778.)

George Baldanzi, Executive Vice-President of the Textile Workers Union of America contributed this treasure:

"Business and industry are looking for a solution to the problem of full employment within the framework of what they call free enterprise. What they mean, of course, is their old freedoms to exploit. *But free enterprise is drawing its last gasp.* This very war we are fighting, and the causes of the war, are indications of the breakdown of the economy of free enterprise."

"Labor believes that special privilege will have to accept a planned economy, that the days of laissez-faire are gone with the winds of war. We believe that production will have to be geared to social need rather than to private profit."

"History has shown us that full employment is not possible under a system of free enterprise. * * * The free enterprisers are interested in profits, not people."

"Whether it is established on the basis of democracy or on the basis of monarchy or on the basis of fascism, the system of free enterprise inevitably leads to war. When they dry up at home, entrenched privilege must look for them abroad. War inevitably follows, and another war will follow this war unless the leaders of the United Nations begin to think in terms of changing the economic pattern as well as the political pattern of liberated and conquered nations." (Hearings, pp. 778, 779.)

Among the other speakers was Nathaniel Minkoff of David Dubinsky's International Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU). Mr. Minkoff is this years president of the LID. He contributed this call for political action through a new party:

"So much for the present. The real test will come immediately after the war, when, what with sudden deflation, demobilization and shrinkage of production, as well as with the inevitable worldwide confusion, our Nation will face the grave danger of economic collapse. Only a courageous, farsighted economic policy, based on long-range social planning, can save us from disaster. It is not my purpose now to discuss what this postwar planning should consist of nor how it should be undertaken. I merely want to stress that it is not merely an economic and social question, least of all a mere question of technical expertness. *It is primarily a political question, for even the best program in the world must remain a mere scrap of paper unless it is implemented with political power.*"

"We must organize independently of old, now meaningless party affiliations into a compact and mobile force able to exert its influence where and how it will do the most good * * *."

"Above all we must be clear as to our social basis. What we want, I think, is a democratic coalition of all functional groups in the community with organized labor as its backbone and basis. I am not holding out to you any perfect models but, with all its faults, I think the American Labor Party of New York State is something of the sort we have in mind." (Hearings, p. 779.)

This was hardly "educational" propaganda!

Samuel Wolchok, President of the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Employees of America, CIO, seconded this call in a speech before the Washington Chapter of LID:

There is the sharp line of cleavage as to the future of the postwar world, between the idealistic forces of the liberals on the one hand, and the blind, cruel forces of the reactionaries on the other.

The reactionaries are well organized. They have power, the press, the radio, money and ruthlessness on their side. They are well-girded for battle. They are far more interested in controlling the peace than in winning the war and their energies are solely directed to that end.

The solution then lies in a third party * * * a party supported by trade unions and true farmers' unions, by welfare organizations, by civic bodies, and by other social-minded groups and committees * * *. (Hearings, pp. 779, 780.)

Other speakers followed the same general line. Interesting also was the round table discussion of *Mobilizing our Forces, Economic, Political, Cultural, In Behalf of the New Freedom*. (Hearings, p. 779, et seq.)

In another LID pamphlet entitled *Toward a Farmer-Labor Party*, HARRY W. LAIDLER issued in 1938, expressed impatience with the Democratic Party and agitated for the formation of a new party on "liberal" lines. (Hearings, p. 781.)

Is this pamphlet educational or political?

Far more excerpts from LID publications could be given to show the essential political character of the organization and that its efforts were directed to influence legislation. See, for example, the discussion of the LID annual conference in New York in April 1951, at Hearings, pp. 781, 782, et seq. The final session of this conference was given over to "consideration of labor political action." Mr. Robert Bendiner, for example, urged:

"Labor should aim at political action that would not be confined to a narrow program of wages and hours, but would be directed to the achievement of public welfare in the broadest sense. Labor should show more and more independence than has been hitherto the case." (Hearings, p. 784.)

There had earlier been a discussion on the subject, *How Free is Free Enterprise*. (Hearings, pp. 768, et seq.)

With these words of Mr. Earl at the end of his presentation, this Committee heartily agrees:

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman and members of this committee, let me say that in this presentation I do not quarrel with the right of these many people in the LID, and all of those who have been recipients of its awards or have spoken to it, and I don't quarrel with their people, to say and write the things which we have discussed, though I disagree with many of the things which they advocate.

My thesis is this: If the LID is to continue to fill the air with propaganda concerning socialism; if it is to continue stumping for certain legislative programs; and if it is to continue to malign the free enterprise system under which we operate—then I believe that it should be made to do so with taxed dollars, just as the Democrats and the Republicans are made to campaign with taxed dollars. (Hearings, p. 785.)

We urge the Bureau of Internal Revenue to read Mr. Earl's entire prepared statement and all of the long list of LID pamphlets which he submitted in evidence and left with the Committee.

DR. LAIDLER, as Executive Director of the *League for Industrial Democracy* filed a statement with this Committee which is in the record. It is an attempt (1) to show that this socialist organization is no longer socialist and (2) that it is essentially an educational organization. As to the first contention, that it is no longer "socialist", we might grant that it is now "collectivist" if that distinction is in any way helpful. Few of its members, associates and officers may be members of the Socialist Party, but the fact is that very few socialists now belong to the Party. Norman Thomas, so long its leader, has ceased to hope that the Party would continue to be an effective vehicle for the promotion of socialism. The socialist movement is now in substance outside the Party.

As to the second contention, that the organization is essentially an educational institution, it is difficult to reconcile this claim with the literature it has produced, the nature of its meetings and conferences and the identity of the persons associated with it. *We might grant the organization an educational character of a kind—that it is an organization to educate the public into the advantages of over-*

throwing our society and substituting a collectivism for it. If that is properly educational, to entitle it to receive donations with tax exemption to the donors, something is very wrong with the law.

ANOTHER SPECIFIC INSTANCE OF CLEAR POLITICAL USE: THE AMERICAN LABOR EDUCATION SERVICE.

The American Labor Education Service is a foundation presumably engaged in the "education" of "labor." Its activities seem, however, to have trespassed the borders of political propaganda and political action.

The background of some ALES staff members, together with a list of participants in ALES conferences suggests an interlock with individuals and groups associated with militant socialism and, in some instances, with Communist fronts.

ELEANOR C. ANDERSON (Mrs. Sherwood Anderson) is listed in the 1938 ALES report as its treasurer and as a director. Among its other officers have been—

MAX LERNER, a former treasurer and director,

J. RAYMOND WALSH, a director and vice chairman up to at least 1948,

EDUARD C. LINDEMAN, a director until his death in 1953.

All these have a record of Communist front affiliation which will be found in the Appendix to this Report.

An analysis of some of the activities of ALES is included in the record at page 727 *et seq.*, and is worth careful reading. Various conferences have been held by the organization. The Washington's Birthday Workers' Education Conference sponsored annually by ALES was originally started at BROOKWOOD LABOR COLLEGE in 1924 under the auspices of a local of the AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS. This association did not bode too well, for BROOKWOOD COLLEGE was denounced by the American Federation of Labor in 1928 as an "incubator of Communists."

At various ALES conferences, political subjects received prominent attention. Nor were they studied merely from an educational angle. An October 2, 1946 invitation to attend a conference at Milwaukee stated:

"The topic for this year's discussion is a timely one 'How can Workers' Education Advance Labor's Economic and Political Objectives'.

* * * * *

"At the dinner, we shall consider *methods labor must use when collective bargaining does not work, especially methods of dealing with the government.*" [Emphasis ours.]

Among the subjects of the 1947 ALES Mid-West Workers' Education Conference, were "*Political Action for Labor*"; and a work-shop project—"Political Action Techniques." The Conference at the New Sch ol for Social Research in February, 1950, discussed: "*The Contribution of Labor in Rebuilding Democratic Society*" and "*The Role of Workers' Education in Political Action.*" Similar to a Mid-West Conference in November, 1948, the 1950 Conference strongly stressed "the urgency of participation in political action by labor, and the re-evaluation of education in relation to political action." Nor was political action to be confined to the domestic field at ALES conferences. "International affairs" for labor received much attention, as did foreign policy and the desirability of labor participating in establishing foreign policy. ALES even operates a Philadelphia Center for leadership training in world affairs.

"Joint farmer-labor action" receives frequent attention. "Action", as used, presumably means action, the building up of political pressure. In other words, labor is not being merely educated in facts, issues and principles, but is being urged to take action, sometimes in association with other groups and sometimes by itself, for political goals. Is that "education" of the type entitling the ALES to tax exemption? If it is, there is something wrong with the law which permits tax-exempt money to be used for propaganda to induce political pressure. The 1953 Report of ALES says that it has, in recent years, given special attention to "areas of work where the labor movement believes that, through education, responsible *action might be strengthened*. Action, action, action—education for action—is the keynote of the ALES program. This includes inducing "white collar workers" to join the labor movement (1953 Report, p. 11). It also includes giving attention to

"the legislative and political scene in Washington; with special emphasis on legislative and community action carried on by organized labor."

Among the materials used by the ALES for its "educational" service, are a series of pamphlets "for Workers' Classes." These include *Toward a Farmer-Labor Party* by HARRY W. LAIDLER (whom we have met as executive director of *The League for Industrial Democracy*, which published this pamphlet) as well as other publications of the LID. One pamphlet is of a nature which would bring on a smile, were the orientation not so serious. It is called "*Fordism*"; it should bring pleasure to the hearts of those in the Ford Foundation who were responsible for contributing very substantial sums of public money to ALES, through its *Fund for Adult Education*.

These pamphlets were listed in an *Annotated List*, a 45 page brochure, in 1938 and sold by ALES. The brochure also includes a list, with a synopsis of each, of plays which are recommended by production by labor groups in order to improve the "education" of labor. Many of these deserve special attention. They are calls to *action*, indeed! Two of them were sponsored by the HIGHLANDER FOLK SCHOOL of Monteagle, Tenn., directed by Myles Horton and James A. Dombrowski, officers of and two of the leading lights in THE SOUTHERN CONFERENCE FOR HUMAN WELFARE—an organization officially cited as a Communist front. The HIGHLANDER FOLK SCHOOL received large sums of money from the Robert Marshall Foundation. Many were recommended by the BROOKWOOD LABOR COLLEGE, upon which we have already commented. Sponsored by the Southern Summer School, was *Bank Run* and *Job-Hunting*, and *On The Picket Line*, none of which were intended to improve the relationship of labor with the capitalistic system.

A treasure is *Black Pit* by ALBERT MALTZ (who was cited by the House of Representatives on October 24, 1947, for contempt of Congress and subsequently served a jail term) which ALES describes as follows:

"A miner, framed because of union activity, after coming out of jail, attempts to find work but is blacklisted everywhere because of union record. Is driven to accept position as stool pigeon. Requires convincing use of Slavic dialect and intelligent direction."

Another MALTZ masterpiece is *Rehearsal*, recommended highly by ALES; it has to do with the Detroit auto strike. And there are

many more treasures in the recommended list of plays. There is *The Maker of Swords* which, laid in an imaginary country, shows what mischief munitions makers can do. And *Blocks* (sponsored by the Vassar Experimental Theatre) is described as:

"A powerful satire in which Green Worker and Tan Worker symbolize all the masses forced unwillingly to war, while the Green Man and the Tan Man symbolize all the leaders, generals, and capitalists making war without engaging in it." [Emphasis ours.]

Two plays from Soviet Russia are included in the list, which seem to be adulatory of the efforts of the Communists to improve the lot of the Russian peasant.

In 1942 ALES published *Songs Useful for Workers' Groups*. This includes "Socialist and Labor Songs", some of them revolutionary works translated from foreign languages, including the Russian. Some are set to "stirring original music" by HANS EISLER, that notable Communist. There is also a *Rebel Song Book* on the list.

The reader is referred to the material in the record (page 727, *et seq.*) for further examples of the incitement to action and the indications that "education" as recommended by ALES consists largely of creating class hatred and animosity against the free enterprise system.

One person associated with ALES deserves some special attention. He is MARK STARR, its Vice-Chairman. MR. STARR has also been Chairman of the LID. His interlockings are rather extensive. He is Director of Education of the ILGWU, and a member of the United States Advisory Commission on Educational Exchange. He has been appointed to responsible policy position in the field of education; as labor consultant to Elmer Davis' Office of War Information (OWI); as a member of the American delegation to establish UNESCO; as a labor education consultant to the American military government in Japan; and as a member of President Truman's Commission on Higher Education. He has also been chairman of the Public Affairs Committee. Let us, then, examine into MR. STARR's philosophy of education to see whether an organization with which he is intimately connected in policy making deserves foundation support.

MR. STARR'S *Labor Looks at Education*, published by the LID in 1947, not only makes no distinction between education and propaganda, but affirmatively approves of the latter. There must be purpose in education, he indicates, and his own purpose is made quite clear:

"A new philosophy of education is striving to be born—a planned community to replace the jerry-built dwellings produced by the haphazard efforts of the past."

He expresses sympathy with the efforts of Marx and Veblen to "blast away the intellectual girders supporting the modern economic system."

MR. STARR has been a heavy beneficiary of largess from the *Ford Foundation's Fund for Adult Education*. But he has his own opinions about foundations. He says that "colleges too often have to go cap-in-hand and exploit personal contacts with the uncrowned kings and agents of philanthropy * * * There are, of course some foundations which delouse effectively the millions accumulated by monopolies and dynastic fortunes; but if one could choose a way for the long time support of education, it would be done by community intelligence rather than the caprice of the big shots of big business who wish to perpetuate their names

in a spectacular fashion, a process which may not in all cases coincide with the real educational activity of the college."

Education must be used to cure the social ills. Workers' education, in particular, is necessary to "the end of group action." His general thesis is that labor unions and their leaders have a monopoly on patriotism, while Congress, business and everybody else are selfish. Political science and civics courses should so indoctrinate students. (For an example, see pp. 41-42, of "*Labor Looks at Education*.")

Another ALES director is HILDA SMITH, who has been noted for her questionable connections both by the Dies Committee and the House Un-American Activities Committee.

The controversial Director of Workers' Education of the Works Progress Administration, who was a member of the American League for Peace and Democracy, another organization officially cited to be a Communist front.

Adult education for the so-called "working man" is a truly worthy objective, and its conduct through unions is highly desirable. But this is no mere "education" which is being given by the *American Labor Education Service*. It is incitement to political action and breeding of class hatred. As such, it is neither a proper function for a foundation which enjoys tax-exemption nor does it entitle other foundations to give it support.

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY FUND

This foundation gives a good example of carelessness in selecting foundation manpower by ignoring radical political bias. This Committee assumes it was carelessness. If the persons discussed below were integrated with the *Fund's* work with a full understanding of their identities, and an intention to use them because they had exhibited strong, radical political bias, our criticism would be far sharper.

The Twentieth Century Fund was founded in 1919 by the late Edward H. Filene of Boston. Its purpose is "the improvement of economic, industrial, civic and educational conditions," but the 1951 report of the *Fund* indicates that it has confined itself to economic fields. Apparently, since 1937, the *Fund* has made no grants to others but has acted as an operating unit within itself.

The *Fund* (says its 1951 report) purposely selects subjects for research and study which are "controversial * * * since controversy is an index of importance and since the *Fund's* impartial professional approach is clearly of most value to the public just where controversy is sharpest."

This Committee has not been able to study the work of the *Fund* in detail and can offer no opinion as to the extent that the *Fund* has, in fact, been impartial. It is impressed, however, with the fact that some of the key men associated with the *Fund* have records which would not indicate that they would be likely to give impartial treatment to any subject having political implications. It is, of course, theoretically possible for even a Communist to do an impartial economic study; but it is our opinion that a foundation which selects persons of known radical political opinion risks the misuse of the public money which the foundation's funds represent.

For many years EVANS CLARK was Executive Director of the *Fund* and as such wielded considerable influence. While he no longer

holds that position, he is still a trustee of the *Fund*. Prior to 1920 MR. CLARK was director of the Department of Information, *Bureau of the Representative in the United States of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic*. In 1920, the RAND SCHOOL, well-recognized as a radical institution, published MR. CLARK's book, *Facts and Fabrications about Soviet Russia*. It is an ardent defense of things Russian and Communist and ridicules the criticism levelled at them. MR. CLARK has been cited a number of times both by the Dies Committee and the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

It might be that he has since modified his opinions, and perhaps he has. Perhaps he no longer supports Soviet Russia. But we note that he is the husband of FRIEDA KIRCHWEY, well-known as an extreme radical, whose citations by the Dies Committee and the Un-American Activities Committee are almost monumental. We do not mean to imply "guilt by association," but recite the facts to indicate that the general atmosphere surrounding MR. CLARK would not have recommended him for selection as the Executive Director of an "impartial" foundation active in the politically-charged field of economics.

The Editor of the *Fund's* publications is one, GEORGE SOULE. Mr. Soule was cited by the Dies Committees, and his record is among those in the Appendix to this Report. Should a man with the radical opinions proved by his record be "editor of publications" in a foundation dedicated to the public welfare?

Among the other trustees of the *Fund* are: BRUCE BLIVEN, ROBERT S. LYND, and PAUL H. DOUGLAS all of whom have been cited by congressional committees and their records appear in the Appendix to this Report.

The Twentieth Century Fund has published many of the works of STUART CHASE, whose political bias is discussed in section VIII of this report.

That one officer or one trustee of a foundation may have been cited 10, 15, 20, or more times by a Congressional Committee investigating subversive activities, for his associations and his affiliations with Communist Fronts, may not thereby establish the legal proof required in a court of law that he is a card carrying member of the Communist Party itself; but it would seem to this Committee that such a record would be conclusive evidence that such person was an extreme radical or a complete dupe and has no business serving in a position of trust.

Such an individual would most certainly be tagged as a security risk by any agency of the Government under past or present loyalty standards and dismissed. Tax Exempt Foundations should be no less exact in their standards of loyalty to the United States and our American institutions.

That several such persons should be actively and importantly associated with a public trust, TAX EXEMPT FOUNDATIONS, spending millions of dollars in public money is, in our considered opinion, highly improper and exhibits an utter lack of responsibility by foundation trustees and directors in the discharge of their duties.

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

An example of the danger that a great foundation may use its public trust funds for political purposes or with political effect is to

be found in the creation of *The Fund for the Republic* as an offshoot of *The Ford Foundation*.

Mr. Paul Hoffman, Chairman of the *Fund*, filed a statement with the Committee (included in the record) on behalf of the *Fund* "because", he stated, "Representative Reece's speech of July 27, 1953, now a part of the record of the 'investigation',²¹ contains references to the *Fund*, and to me personally which, in the interests of accuracy and fairness, require comment." Mr. Hoffman denies that there is any basis "whatsoever for the charge that *The Fund for the Republic* was established to attack Congress." He asks "that the Committee will refer" to "documents and data requested by the Special Committee" which have been supplied, "rather than to the Reece speech for the facts." We shall, in deference to Mr. Hoffman's request, refrain from quoting Mr. Reece and shall use, in this discussion, principally material supplied by *The Ford Foundation* and *The Fund for the Republic* themselves.

The aggregate donation of *The Ford Foundation* to its offspring, created for the purpose, was \$15,000,000. This is a rather large sum of money, even for the gigantic *Ford Foundation*. After all, that foundation's principal assets are in stock of the Ford Company. Its cash resources are pretty much limited to its income of something over \$31,000,000 per year. Thus about half a year's gross income of earnings of the Ford Motor Company was allotted to *The Fund for the Republic*. While *The Fund for the Republic* is presumably under independent management, its Chairman is Mr. Paul Hoffman, who was formerly Chairman of *The Ford Foundation* and who was appointed to head the *Fund* upon his resignation from *The Ford Foundation*.

The first President of *The Fund* was Clifford P. Case, who apparently resigned from Congress to take the job. Mr. Case had made clear while in Congress that he was a severe critic of some Congressional investigations. Recently, Mr. Case resigned from his post with *the Fund* to run for the Senate from New Jersey. His first major speech in his campaign made clear that he is a violent "anti-McCarthyite". We do not object to his taking a strong position in this area; we point out, however, that his public utterances have hardly characterized him as objective in his approach.

Mr. Case's successor is Dr. Robert Maynard Hutchins, who resigned from a directive post in *The Ford Foundation* to take this new position. Dr. Hutchins' ideas on Congressional investigations are too well known to need any elaboration, as, indeed, are those of Mr. Hoffman. As *The Fund for the Republic* has as one of its purposes an investigation of Congressional investigations, it does not seem to this Committee that the trio of Hoffman, Case and Hutchins was well selected in the interests of objectivity.

Only a small part of the capital of the *Fund* has been spent to date. One of its grants was to the *American Bar Association* for studies relating to "civil rights" and Congressional investigations. The implication is given by the statement filed on behalf of the *Fund for the Republic* by Mr. Hoffman that this is the sum total of its expected activities in the Congressional investigation area. We are inclined to wonder, however, whether the presence of this current investiga-

²¹ Putting "Investigation" in quotes was an intended insult to this Committee. Mr. Hoffman's statement is, of course, directly insulting to the Chairman of the Committee.

tion by a Congressional Committee has not acted as a deterrent and kept the *Fund* (perhaps only for the moment) from launching an independent "study" of its own. We italicize the word "study"; the evidence persuades us that it would not be a mere study but an attack on Congressional committee methods.

At the time *The Fund for the Republic* was publicly announced stories began to circulate to the effect that it had been created to "investigate Congressional investigations." This rumor has been denied by *The Ford Foundation* and by *The Fund for the Republic*. Yet the conclusion is difficult to avoid that such was, indeed, one of its purposes.

The Fund for the Republic was allegedly formed in furtherance of a program of the parent organization as follows:

"The Foundation will support activities directed toward the elimination of restrictions on freedom of thought, inquiry, and expression in the United States, and the development of policies and procedures best adapted to protect these rights in the face of persistent international tension . . .

"The maintenance of democratic control over concentrations of public and private power, while at the same time preserving freedom for scientific and technological endeavor, economic initiative, and cultural development.

"The strengthening of the political processes through which public officers are chosen and policies determined, and the improvement of the organizations and administrative procedures by which governmental affairs are conducted.

"The strengthening of the organization and procedures involved in the adjudication of private rights and the interpretation and enforcement of law.

"Basic to human welfare is general acceptance of the dignity of man. This rests on the conviction that man is endowed with certain unalienable rights and must be regarded as an end in himself, not as a cog in the mechanics of society or a mere means to some social end. At its heart, this is a belief in the inherent worth of the individual and the intrinsic value of human life. Implicit in this concept is the conviction that society must accord all men equal rights and equal opportunity. Human welfare requires tolerance and respect for individual, social, religious, and cultural differences, and for the varying needs and aspirations to which these differences give rise. It requires freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of worship, and freedom of association. Within wide limits, every person has a right to go his own way and to be free from interference or harassment because of nonconformity."

That the words "*The Foundation will support activities directed toward*" carries the significance of supporting political action or political movements, might fairly be concluded. The contrary has certainly not been made clear in the quoted statement. But the paragraph from which this phrase is taken proceeds: "the elimination of restrictions on freedom of thought, inquiry, and expression in the United States * * *." What "restrictions" exist in the United States on "freedom of thought"—in fact, what restrictions could conceivably ever be placed anywhere on the freedom to *think*—is a question indeed! The use of the phrase, "freedom to think," one tossed about emotionally by those who falsely call themselves "liberals," does not indicate the sober reflection which one would expect of the managers of public trust funds, but rather an acceptance of the current "liberal" "line".

As to the other restrictions mentioned, it is not difficult to draw the conclusion that Federal loyalty procedures and Congressional investigating activities are intended to come within the compass of the *Fund's* studies. Moreover, political-action significance may well be attached to the rest of the section from which we have quoted.

The second paragraph of the quoted material seems to us either "double-talk" or an advocacy of expanded government control of

industry and business. The third paragraph has political intention if it means what it says. The fourth paragraph is more difficult to understand but seems political. The fifth paragraph contains some admirable material, the significance of which in its context escapes us.

A report of the President of *The Ford Foundation* of October, 1951, stating the purposes for which *The Fund for the Republic* is to be created, says the *Fund* is to take into account: "The danger to the national security arising from fear and mutual suspicion fomented by short-sighted or irresponsible attempts to combat Communism through methods which impair the true sources of our strength." This language, taken in the general context of other statements by *The Ford Foundation* and its off-shoot, *The Fund for the Republic*, cannot mean anything else than that the *Fund* shall attack the Congressional investigations. *It is not wording which indicates an objective point of view. It does not indicate a fair study of pros and cons and a sensible weighing of evidence. It states its bias in advance; it heralds an attack.* The wording used is reminiscent of much similar language used by those who claim that these investigations impair our freedom and thus fight Communism with weapons which are destructive of our society.

It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the President of *The Ford Foundation*, in making this statement, had in mind a severely critical study of Congressional investigations, and that he starts with the bias that the investigations are "short-sighted" and "irresponsible".

The purpose of *The Fund for the Republic* becomes clearer in the face of a recitation in a report signed by its Chairman, Mr. Hoffman, and made to *The Ford Foundation*. This report recites the "areas of action" which have been chosen for the *Fund*. While it is stated that these are free "from implications of political or legislative activity or propaganda", the list is:

- "1. restrictions and assaults upon academic freedom;
- "2. due process and equal protection of the laws;
- "3. the protection of the rights of minorities;
- "4. censorship, boycotting and blacklisting activities of private groups;
- "5. principle and application of guilt by association."

The report goes on to state:

"The following subjects are also possible subjects for consideration: *the scope and procedure of Congressional investigations; investigation of the loyalty of government employees: * * * and national loyalty of international civil servants.*" [Emphasis ours.]

The Fund for the Republic was created for the purpose, among others, of investigating Congressional investigations. Whether this is a proper field for the private expenditure of public trust funds is a question we submit to Congress and the people. We conclude that it was the intention of those who were responsible for the creation of the Fund for the Republic to use it, in part, to launch an attack upon Congressional investigations. This strikes us as a wholly unjustifiable use of the public's money.

If a "study" of Congressional practices could be made in an unbiased fashion, it might well be of great usefulness, even to Congress itself. But the power of great sums of money thrown into political fields can be very dangerous, indeed. It would have to be administered with the greatest care and objectivity; those into whose hands the expenditure of the appro-

priated funds is thrown would have to be selected for unquestioned lack of bias. The publicly expressed opinions of Messrs. Hoffman, Hutchins and Case on some of the subject matters within the expressed scope of activity of the Fund for the Republic, particularly in regard to Congressional investigations, are too well known to permit the conclusion that the public was to be assured of an objective study.

The entry of *The Ford Foundation* into the area of "civil liberties" is, in the opinion of this Committee, highly regrettable. The "civil liberties" issue has been called "one of the great phonies of American politics" by Harold Lord Varney in an *American Mercury* article, entitled *The Egg-head Clutch on the Foundation*. Mr. Varney said that *The Ford Foundation* should have known that under the "high-flown phrases" of the "civil rights" issue, "pro-Communists, muddled liberals and designing pressure groupists scheme constantly to maintain a Left Wing balance of power in America."

In closing this discussion of one Ford venture into politics, we must note this sentence in the *Fund for the Republic's* release to the newspapers, dated February 26, 1953:

"We propose to help restore respectability to individual freedom."

This astonishing sentence is obviously a product of the "red herring" and "witch hunt" school of political philosophy. It is an understatement to describe the quoted sentence as arrogant, presumptuous and insulting.

OTHER "CIVIL LIBERTIES" PROJECTS

Grants have been made by other foundations in the same general area referred to loosely as "civil liberties". *The Rockefeller Foundation*, for example, refers in its 1947 and 1948 annual reports to a study by Cornell University of loyalty measures, civil liberties, etc., which it had financed. Statements such as this are to be found in the reports: "Nevertheless, it is an important task of political democracy to reconcile, if possible, the claims of national security and civil liberties." Such statements seem to us pretty closely to follow the *Anti-Anti-Communist* line. It is utterly surprising to us that so much greater attention is given to attacks on those who attack Communism than to the basic problem of subversion itself.

The following quotation from an address made by J. Edgar Hoover to the *Daughters of the American Revolution* on April 22, 1954, is apt in this connection:

"In taking a stand for the preservation of the American way of life, your organization became the target of vile and vicious attacks. So have all other patriotic organizations and, for that matter, every other person who has dared to raise his voice against the threat of Communism. It is an established fact that whenever one has dared to expose the Communist threat he has invited upon himself the adroit and skilled talents of experts of character assassination. The Federal Bureau of Investigation has stood year after year as taunts, insults and destructive criticism have been thrown its way.

"To me, one of the most unbelievable and unexplainable phenomena in the fight on Communism is the manner in which otherwise respectable, seemingly intelligent persons, perhaps unknowingly, aid the Communist cause more effectively than the Communists themselves. *The pseudo liberal can be more destructive than the known Communist because of the esteem which his cloak of respectability invites.*" [Emphasis ours.]

Mr. Hoover might well agree that the danger of this pseudo-liberalism is all the greater when the "cloak of respectability" it wears is eminent office in the foundation world. We regret to say that this pseudo-liberalism is not uncommon among the executives

of the great foundations and their intermediary organizations. We regard as unfortunately typical, the address made in 1953 by Mr. Pendleton Herring, now President of *The Social Science Research Council*, to *The American Political Science Association*, of which he was then President. After a discussion of the position and work of the political scientist in America, and after emphasizing the necessity of empirical approaches and of observing the cultural lag theory, he launched into a tirade in the "civil rights" area.

Let us re-quote for guidance, the words of Mr. Hoover—"It is an established fact that whenever one has dared to expose the Communist threat he has invited upon himself the adroit and skilled talents of experts in character assassination." Let us then quote from Mr. Herring's address, made under the cloak of office in *two tax-exempt organizations* supported heavily with the public's money through foundation grace. He speaks of "political quacks" who ask "careers for themselves through exploitation of public concern with the Communist contagion." He does not identify any one man against whom he may have some special animus. His terminology, his selection of phrase, condemns as "quacks" whoever try to expose Communists. He makes no exceptions. He does not exempt from his excoriation any Congressional investigators or investigation. He indicates that investigating Communists may, indeed, be worse than Communism. He repeats the hysterical claim that books have been "burned." How many and how often? Is there truly danger in the United States of "book burning?" He speaks of giving "cool, intelligent treatment" to "the transmission of erroneous information and propaganda"—is it not transmitting "erroneous information and propaganda" to infer that there is widespread "book burning" in this country!

He uses the term "witchdoctors" to characterize the whole breed of exposers of Communism. He speaks of "contrived excursions and alarums"—implying that the Communist menace has been grossly exaggerated for political reasons. He refers to the whole exposure business as "MALARKYISM", putting it in capital letters. He gives us this profound comment upon our concern with the Communist menace:

"We must go from symptoms to the causes. A deep cause, I think, is a failure to understand the forces operating in the world around us. Why do so many Americans feel threatened? It is the stubborn complexity of world problems and the difficulties arising from ideological differences and international rivalries that lead them to seek scapegoats among their fellow-countrymen."

That is an astounding statement to come from one of the top rank of those who disburse the public money which foundations control. "You poor dumb Americans", he might well have said, "you are afraid of the Russian-Communists only because you do not understand the dears."

Mr. Herring says: "Why assume that the conspiracy of Communism is best exposed where the limelight shines brightest?" He forgets that it has frequently taken a glaring limelight to induce government officials to expose a Communist—witness, among many, the case of Harry Dexter White.

Another example of the "cloak of respectability" (to which Mr. J. Edgar Hoover referred) through eminence in the foundation world, is to be found in public utterances of Mr. Paul Hoffman, formerly

Chairman of the Ford Foundation and now Chairman of its offspring, the Fund for the Republic. In an article *To Insure the End of Our Hysteria* in the New York Times Magazine Section of November 14, 1954, Mr. Hoffman referred to the California Senate Un-American Activities Committee as a "highly publicized witch hunt."

THE SLANT OF THE "CONCENTRATION"

There are many foundations whose activities deserve the detailed attention which our limitations of time and money prevented giving. Some show strong indications of transgressing the border of political action, whether to the left or the right. In the political area, however, we have felt obliged to confine ourselves chiefly to the major foundations and to the "clearing houses" associated in what we have referred to as a "concentration of power".

We cannot escape the conclusion that some of the major foundations, in association with the operating, intermediary associations, have been turned substantially to the left and have supported slanted material having a leftist propaganda character.

It is difficult to realize that great funds established by such conservative individuals as Rockefeller, Carnegie and Ford have been turned strongly to the left. It appears to have happened largely through a process of administrative infiltration and through the influence of academic consultants of leftist tendencies.

The trustees of these foundations, with a few possible exceptions, could not have intended this result. It seems to us that it must have happened through their lack of understanding of what was developing, or through negligence.

What seems most unfortunate, however, is that the foundations have been so rarely willing to admit an error, or the seriousness of it. They assert that they are entitled to reasonable error, as, indeed, they are—for all human institutions are susceptible of mistake. But the individual instance of error is generally defended, instead of being frankly admitted. This Committee has found this to be true in examining the statements filed by some of the foundations. Rarely is there to be found a candid confession of error. The impression is given that only minor errors have occurred, and without specification.

This Committee would feel more encouraged about the willingness of foundation trustees fully to discharge their fiduciary duties if they would, occasionally, repudiate expressly some venture which has gone wrong. The statement filed by *The Rockefeller Foundation*, for example, says that "If in rare instances the recipient of a grant has departed from" the high standards which the foundation has set for itself, "this has not been done with the consent or approval of our organization." But *how many of such cases of "departure" from high standards has the Foundation itself repudiated or publicly criticized?*

One clue to the apparently strong leftist movement of some of the foundations was given by Professor Colegrove in his testimony. He said: "Curiously enough, people are sometimes much more interested in pathology,²² in disease, than they are interested in the healthy body." He continued:

* * * I think there has been unfortunately a tendency on the part of the foundations to promote research that is pathological in that respect, that is point-

²² During the hearings the ranking minority member of the Committee remarked that the Committee itself was too interested in pathology, concerning itself only with criticism, instead of applying itself to the admittedly fine things for which foundations have been responsible. The Committee submits that its work must necessarily deal with the pathological. A Congressional Committee, by the very nature of its investigative function, must be chiefly concerned to find out what is wrong in the area under study.

ing out the bad aspects of American government, American politics, American society, and so on, instead of emphasizing the good aspects.

Upon being asked whether research had not been used as a "cloak for reform; that there has been this conscious movement to reform our society; and that that has sometimes taken a distinctly radical trend?", he replied:

Yes. Undoubtedly. If you are going to study the pathological aspects, the natural tendency of human nature—we are getting back to human nature, of course—is to find out how to cure it, how to alleviate it, and so on. And if the foundations contribute overmuch to pathological studies, and not sufficiently to the studies with reference to the soundness of our institutions, there would be more conclusions on the pathological side than there would be conclusions on the sounder traditional side of American government, American history, and so on. That would inevitably follow. (Hearings, p. 577.)

Professor Colgrove added that the pathological approach had fastened itself on the concentration of power which the close association of the major foundations and the intermediary organizations represents. This research concentration, he said, directed its work distinctly "to the left." He also saw a tendency to believe that the "conservative" is against progress, saying that "for years and years there has been a tendency in the American classroom * * * to think that intellectualism and liberalism or radicalism were synonymous; but if a person was conservative, like Edmund Burke, he was not an intellectual." (Hearings, p. 572.)

The Committee gives great weight to the testimony of Professor Colegrove, an eminent professor of political science and for eleven years Secretary and Treasurer of the *American Political Science Association*. We were interested, therefore, in his discussion of the probable effect of certain individuals on the swing to the left. He opined, for example, that John Dewey had promoted the movement very strongly, and that another propellant had been Professor Beard who became infected with Fabianism in England and brought back to the United States an enthusiasm for ideas which were distinctly Marxian. Professor Colgrove continued that Professor Beard had exercised a great influence on political scientists and historians—he was "the idol of our political scientists." He noted sadly that, after Beard had changed his political attitude late in life, he was hissed when he made an address before the *American Political Science Association*—"Apparently because he had become a little anti-New Deal, and partly because he opposed bitterly the foreign policy of the New Deal." (Hearings, pp. 572, 573.)

A CARNEGIE CORPORATION EXAMPLE.

It has been a convenience to some foundations to take the position that they are not responsible for the results of their grants. If the grantee turns out something radical—well, the foundation can say it did not feel warranted in supervising the work and holds no responsibility for what was produced. This Committee suspects that this may sometimes be an evasion—that the identity of the grantee might well have predicted the result; yes, that the foundation, in many such instances, expected it. Certainly that must have been the case in the instance of the grant by the *Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching* to PROFESSOR ROBERT A. BRADY. In 1934 no congressional investigations had mentioned the name of PROFESSOR ROBERT A. BRADY, and the *Foundation* cannot be held accountable for making

the initial grant. However, once the manuscript of the book had been read and its theme demonstrated, this Committee is of the opinion that no justification of further grants to this individual can be advanced by the *Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching*. The "Acknowledgments" in BRADY'S *Business as a System of Power*, published in 1943, recites that his work was made possible by a *Carnegie* grant in 1934; it also states that a "more recent grant * * * makes possible prompt publication of this book by the Columbia University Press. I am deeply grateful not only for the financial assistance given by the *Foundation*, but also for the keen and sustained interest of Dr. Frederick Keppel and his associates in the work as it has been developed." Dr. Keppel was President of the *Foundation*.

The thesis of this *Carnegie*-supported book is that the structure of capitalistic enterprise is incompatible with democratic government. It is asserted repeatedly or implied that Big Business is a greater threat to freedom than Nazi Germany. In a Foreword by PROFESSOR ROBERT S. LYND (the first Permanent Secretary of *The Social Science Research Council*, a trustee of the *Twentieth Century Fund*, and a man with Communist-front affiliations) he says:

"In this book Dr. Brady cuts through to the central problem disrupting our world, the most dangerous issue democracy faces. This problem is not basically created by Adolf Hitler and the Axis nations, but by the organized economic power backing the Hitlers in nation after nation over the industrial world as a device for shoring up for yet a while longer a disintegrating economic system."

He says, further:

"* * * capitalistic economic power constitutes a direct, continuous and fundamental threat to the whole structure of democratic authority everywhere and always."

and adds:

"Under such a distorted view of democracy [the American System] in which the state and society are nothing and the individual everything, democracy has become increasingly identified with the protection of one's personal affairs: and this has steadily sapped its vitality."

Both DR. BRADY and DR. LYND repeatedly point to Big Business as an essential evil. It is the "great corporations" which account for much of our mischief. And "industrial capitalism is an intensely coercive form of organization of society" from which great evils flow. Emotionalism is shown in such descriptive phrases as "Anglo-American feudal monopoly control"—LYND points this out as a fascist objective of American Big Business.

"In the United States, the present stage of organized, centralized business power, already reaching out in control of schools, media of communication, public opinion and government itself, provides more than a broad hint of the direction events will take, if present tendencies remain unchecked."

Can it be mere chance or accident that foundations like *The Carnegie Corporation* and the *Carnegie Foundation* have so frequently supported the radical thinkers in the United States? DR. LYND predicts in his book that "We shall emerge from this war well on our way to having a permanently planned and managed economy * * *." And, he warns, if this is to be controlled by "business", then "all relevant social and cultural life" will be controlled. The fresh, growing shoots of new life in our American culture will either be destroyed or ruthlessly grafted to the main trunk." DR. BRADY says it is "now truly inescapable" that government "is to be the coordinator" of economic forces, but

he worries for fear this may not reflect what the people want but "the specialized interests of self-assertive and authoritarian minority groups." (p. 6)

The National Association of Manufacturers is one of his *betes noires*, which, he predicted, would resort to all sorts of pressures and propaganda to achieve political as well as social and cultural domination of American society. (pp. 193, 198) And, in this effort, *the National Industrial Conference Board* was to be its intelligence agency and ministry of propaganda. (p. 205) The concentration of power through that thing which Dr. BRADY deems detestable, "self-government" in business, "would seem on all the evidence, to date, to lead directly to autarchy and the companion use of the government for the purpose of suppressing antagonistic social elements." (p. 219)

The business system is distinctly feudal, according to Dr. BRADY, and "completely authoritarian (antidemocratic)." (pp. 311, 310) Leadership is "self-appointed, self-perpetuating, and autocratic." (p. 313) The employer is in a military relationship to his employees. (p. 317) And "business" encourages fear of "aliens" and "fifth columnists" and "other menaces". These "encourage in turn emphasis upon group loyalties, patriotic sentiments." (p. 318) War is necessary for capitalist survival, according to Dr. BRADY, as say the Communists. (p. 234) And other Marxian postulates receive Dr. BRADY's support—for instance:

"The 'average citizen', for example, is gradually losing his property stakes. The little businessman is in a more precarious position than at any time since the very beginning of the capitalistic system." (p. 292)

"The farmer-operator is in the process of being transferred from an independent owner to a dependent tenant." (p. 292)

"A large and increasing range of skilled crafts and white collar workers are being proletarianized." (p. 292)

Apparently the *Carnegie Corporation* approved by Dr. BRADY's position (for it financed the publication of his completed work, after following its development carefully) that, as capitalism had created Hitler and Mussolini, it could do the same thing in the United States and was likely to do so. Said BRADY:

"There is nothing to distinguish the programs of the Reichsverband der deutschen Industrie from that of the National Association of Manufacturers in the United States * * *." (p. 295)

There is much more of this. During war, Big Business comes to the front. And "Mr. Knudsen, Edward Stettinius, and Bernard Baruch are paralleled by Mr. Ogura in Japan, Lord Beaverbrook in England, and Hermann Goerring (himself a leading industrialist), Friedreich Flick, and their group in Germany". (p. 309) It is obvious enough to Dr. BRADY (and the *Carnegie Corporation*?) that:

"The natural frame of reference of ownership is, and has been from the beginning, as clearly political as economic, as obviously 'Machiavellian' and 'Ricardian'." (p. 296)

And the law is the mere tool of the "haves" (an old Marxian concept):

"Law and the courts as frequently underline as correct the resultant distortion (of power relationships based on property rights)." (p. 297)

The conclusion of Dr. BRADY is that Big Business may well lead us into fascism. There is no fundamental difference between business groups in our country, says Dr. BRADY, and those in the states which turned totalitarian.

ANOTHER EXAMPLE OF SLANT: THE CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION PROJECT

Many foundation grants and their operation and results should have that detailed examination which our Committee had not time or funds to give. One of these is the *Citizenship Education Project*, financed by *The Carnegie Corporation* and carried on at *Teachers College* of Columbia University. That the *Project* was carried on with considerable bias to the left is unquestionable. To what extent this may have resulted from intention or negligence on the part of the project managers or *The Carnegie Corporation*, respectively, could not be determined without further inquiry. We do, however, see responsibility lodged with *The Carnegie Corporation*. It may not have had the duty to supervise the project or to direct it in transit—this may even have been unwise. But, as the project represented a substantial investment of public money and its impact on society could be very heavy, it seems clearly to have been the duty of *Carnegie* to examine what had been done and to repudiate it if it was against the public interest. This, as far as we know, *Carnegie* did not do.

The *Project* was discussed in a preliminary way by Mr. Dollard, the President of *The Carnegie Corporation*, in his 1948 and 1949 Reports. These statements contain some pleasant platitudes and clichés regarding the necessity of educating the American people into an increased understanding of the principles underlying our society. What apparently prompted the project was essentially, as Mr. Dollard expressed it in the *Corporation's* 1949 Report, that teachers "seemed to be hampered, on the one hand, by a lack of fresh teaching materials, both textual and visual, which relate old principles to contemporary problems, and on the other, by the inherent difficulty of bridging the gap between the classroom and the larger community in which the business of democracy is carried forward". Out of this general problem sprang several *Carnegie* ventures, among them the *Project* under discussion: it was described in the 1950 Report as a program for educating for "*Americanism*"; the 1951 Report, however, and the change may be significant, referred to it as a program of "*Citizenship Education*." The project received aggregate grants far in excess of a million dollars from *Carnegie Corporation*.

Now let us see what was produced. Official discussions of the project stress its non-political character. The fact is, however, that it was heavily slanted to the left. This appears chiefly in one of its main accomplishments, a card index file; the cards summarized selections from books, magazines, articles, films, etc., and were arranged topically so that high school teachers might select from their references to teach citizenship. The card file is sold to schools at nominal cost. The cost of production seems to have been about \$1,500,000.

The primary usefulness of the card index system was to enable teachers to get the gist of each reference without having to read it. The material was roughly "canned". The net result is that no one needs to read the actual references—neither teacher nor student—all that is necessary is to digest what has been "canned" on the card. On educational grounds *per se* this method of teaching is subject to severe criticism, and on many counts. But even those who believe in "canned" education cannot defend the slant with which this card system was devised, unless they believe that education should not be unbiased but should be directed toward selected political ends, and radical ones at that.

The preponderance of "liberal", leftist or internationalistic books and references selected for the card system, over those which are conservative and nationalist, is overwhelming. Many books are included by authors whose works and opinions certainly do not deserve recommendation to schoolchildren except (and they are not given this use) to hold them up as horrors. It would have been useful to include radical authors like LANGSTON HUGHES (of "Goodbye Christ" fame), HOWARD FAST, PAUL ROBESON and other Communists and pro-Communists, if they were held up to the criticism they deserve. But an examination of the cards will show that, with surprising consistency, leftist books received adulatory notation while conservative books received *coups de grace* or derogation.

Here are a few examples:

Card No. 554 refers to *We Are the Government* by Etting and Gossett, and describes it as "factual, entertaining, descriptive, illustrative." Etting was at least a radical.

Card No. 249 refers to *A Mask for Privilege*, by CAREY MCWILLIAMS, who has been named a Communist—the description is: "Historical, descriptive."

Card No. 901 refers to *Building for Peace at Home and Abroad*, by MAXWELL STEWART, who has been named a Communist—it is called "Factual, dramatic."

Card No. 1020 refers to *The American* by HOWARD FAST, a pro-Communist, and is designated: "Historical, Biographical."

Card No. 877 refers to *Rich Land, Poor Land*, by STUART CHASE, a collectivist, and calls it "Descriptive, Factual, Illustrative."

One of the infamous *Building America* productions, *Privileges of American Citizenship*, is called by card No. 34: "Factual, Ideals and Concepts of Democracy."

Now let us compare the way some conservative works are characterized by this guide for teachers prepared by *Teachers College* and financed by *Carnegie*:

The Road to Serfdom by Frederick A. Hayek is described by card No. 809 as: "Factual, *strongly opinionated*, logical. [Emphasis ours.]

Card No. 730 refers to *Be Glad You're a Real Liberal*, by Earl Bunting, is called by card No. 730 "Opinionated, biased, descriptive." Moreover, the author is noted as a director of the N. A. M. and his use of the term "liberal" is noted to be as defined by the National Association of Manufacturers. Similar notations in the case of leftists are not apparently deemed necessary.

A full examination of this card index system would reveal further wonders. It would also reveal (at least it was true of the 1950 index) that books like these are not included:

America's Second Crusade, by William Henry Chamberlain;
The Roosevelt Myth, by John T. Flynn;
The Key to Peace, by Clarence Manion;
Pearl Harbor, by George Norgenstern;
Seeds of Treason, by Ralph Toledano and Victor Laski;

Undermining the Constitution, by Thomas James Norton;
Ordeal by Planning, by John Jewkes;
Economics in One Lesson, by Henry Hazlitt;
The Road Ahead, by John T. Flynn;
The Return of Adam Smith, by George Montgomery;
The Red Decade, by Eugene Lyons; etc.

No full examination of this card index has been possible. The Committee's request of September 16, 1954, for a set of cards has thus far elicited first the statement that revision is now underway, and when the request was pursued, with promise on December 10, 1954, that arrangements would be made to furnish it to the Committee. Reluctantly, to the Committee this does not seem that full measure of cooperation which a Congressional Committee has the right to expect and which in this instance was so fulsomely promised by foundations and their grantees.

It would be highly advisable to investigate who was responsible for producing this heavily slanted "canned" reference material to American teachers under this project financed by one of our great foundations and operated by one of our foremost institutions. It would moreover, seem to us to be the duty of that foundation itself to have a truly objective study made, and to make a public report on its findings. *To merely wash its hands of such a project, having once granted it financial existence, seems violative of its fiduciary duty.*

THE GENERAL PROBLEM.

If social scientists were content to produce the results of their research as data to be added to the general store of knowledge, that would be admirable. But those of them who have been associated with the developing cartel have generally no such idea of limiting their work to the mere accumulation of knowledge. They clearly see that they can make, and they intend to make, a contribution to "planning", a planning which necessitates or looks forward to the enactment of change either by legislation or by radical alterations in our society. An expression of this is to be found in *Wealth and Culture* published in 1936 and written by EDUARD C. LINDEMAN, an educator and prominent foundation executive. He says:

"The New State of the future will need social technicians who will be asked to engage in cultural planning just as technological experts and economists will be called upon to plan for orderly material production and distribution. Those who have exercised a similar function during the individualist-competitive phase of modern economy have been, to a very large extent, associated with foundations and trusts. Consequently it becomes pertinent to discover how these culture-determiners operated in the past."

Note that he gave the *coup de grace* to the "competitive" system. Note also that the planners of the future must take over the foundations; there, he implies, is where the control of our culture lies. He makes this doubly clear elsewhere in saying:

"Taken as a group, that is, as a whole, the trustees of foundations wield a power in American life which is probably equalled only by the national government itself."

And that was in 1936; since then foundation wealth and power have grown enormously.

To the extent that it can be prevented, society cannot sanction the use of the public funds which foundations represent for any political purpose.

There are instances enough of direct or obviously recognizable political action, and these should receive the attention of the Internal Revenue Service. Such instances as the *League for Industrial Democracy* are readily recognizable. The more subtle cases are the more dangerous to our society because of the greater difficulty of identifying them and proving their political character. Political slants are easily introduced into social material. Here is an example taken from the September 20, 1952 Report of *The Ford Foundation*:

"The high cost of a college and of a higher education in general makes real equality of opportunity impossible. More and more the financial burden is being thrust upon the student in the form of higher tuition fees. In consequence, higher education threatens to become increasingly the prerogative of the well-to-do."

That statement is just not true. "More and more", to use the *Ford* phrase, those who are *not* well-to-do are taking higher education. Here are the statistics of enrollment:

Year	Students enrolled	Thousands
1900.....	-----	238
1910.....	-----	355
1920.....	-----	598
1930.....	-----	1, 101
1940.....	-----	1, 494
1950.....	-----	2, 659

Why did representatives of *The Ford Foundation*, who were well aware of the true facts, make such false statements? Did they intend political propaganda? Did they wish to manufacture a class argument, an attack on the well-to-do who alone are able (which is false) to attend colleges!

SOCIAL ENGINEERING.

According to Professor Rowe, the roots of the distinct leftist political trend in foundation-supported research in the social sciences lie largely in the urge to reform and in the concept of "social engineering."

Mr. WORMSER. As an extension of just what you have been talking about, Professor, is it your opinion that there has been a result already from the power of these foundations to control or affect research, particularly in their associations together in some sort of what you might loosely call an interlock, and the use of these intermediate organizations? Has that resulted in some sort of political slanting in your opinion? I want to be a little more precise than that, and refer to the term which has been used quite frequently in social science literature of "social engineering." There seems to be a tendency to develop a caste of social scientists who apparently deem themselves qualified to tell people what is good for them, and to engineer changes in our social status. Would you comment on that?

Dr. ROWE. Here, of course, you are getting into a problem of what is the cause and what is the effect. I am not quite clear as to whether the activities of the foundations along this line are the result of the development of social science in the United States over the last 40 or 50 years, or whether the development of social science in the United States over the last 40 or 50 years along such lines has been primarily the result or even heavily the result of foundation initiative.

I would be inclined to the former of these two views, but I don't think you can completely disentangle these two things. I think that the development of the social sciences in this country in the last 40 or 50 years has been very heavily influenced, in my opinion, by ideas imported from abroad, which have been connected with, if not originated in, socialistic mentality, and to say this is to simply say that it is normal in social science to accept today a great deal of economic determinism, to accept a great deal of emphasis upon empirical re-

search over and against basic thinking and the advancement of theory, and to accept a lot of ideas about the position of the social scientist in the society that seem to me rather alien to the American tradition.

I think it must be kept in mind that the theory of social engineering is closely related to the notion of the elite which we find dominant in Marxism, the notion that a few people are those who hold the tradition and who have the expertness and that these people can engineer the people as a whole into a better way of living, whether they like it or want it or not. It is their duty to lead them forcibly so to speak in this direction.

That is all tied up with the conviction of the Marxists that they seem to have, rather that they do have, a perfect social science. This is one of the main tenets of Marxism, that they have a social science which is perfect; it not only explains all the past history, but it will lead to the complete victory of the socialist state on a worldwide basis.

I am not maintaining that my colleagues are all dyed in the wool along this line, but there is such a thing as infection. I think some of these ideas have infected us, and have gotten over into a much more influential place in our thinking than many of us understand or realize. The complete respectability of some of the basic ideas I have been talking about in the framework of American intellectual life can be seen when you ask yourself the question, "When I was in college, what was I taught about the economic interpretation of history, the frontier interpretation of American history, the economic basis of the American Constitution, and things of this kind?"

This is the entering wedge for the economic analysis of social problems which is related to economic determinism, which is the very heart and soul of the Marxist ideology. When we reflect on the extent to which these ideas have become accepted in the American intellectual community, I think we ought to be a bit alarmed, and be a bit hesitant about the direction in which we are going.

For my own purposes, I would much rather complicate the analysis of social phenomena by insisting that at all times there are at least three different kinds of components that have to be taken into account. There is not only the basic economic thing. We all recognize its importance. But there are what I call political factors. These have to do with the fundamental presuppositions people have about the values that they consider important and desirable. These can be just as well related to abstract and to absolute truth, which we are all trying to search for in our own way, as they can be to economic formation and predetermination, if I make myself clear. Along with this you have to take into account the power element in the military field. If you throw all these things in together, I think it rather tends to scramble the analysis and reduce it from its stark simplicity, as it is embodied in the doctrines of communism, into something which is much harder to handle and much more difficult and complicated, but is a good deal closer to the truth.

I make this rather long statement only because the subject is extremely complicated. I know I can't discuss it adequately here, and I don't pretend to try, but I am trying to introduce a few of the things which give me the feeling that in our academic community as a whole we have gone down the road in the direction of the dominance of an intellectual elite. We have gone down the road in the direction of economic determination of everything, throwing abstract values out of the window.

Mr. WORMSER. Moral relativity.

Dr. ROWE. Moral relativism is implicit. It is not important whether it is right or wrong in abstract terms. It is only when it works and who works and things of that kind. This is the evil of the sin of social science in this country which can only be redressed by adequate emphasis on humanistic studies, and even there you have to be extremely careful about how you do it in order to get the maximum effect out of it. (Hearings, pp. 550, 551, 552.)

Professor Colegrove commented on "social engineering" in the following testimony:

Mr. WORMSER, Professor, the term "social engineering" has become rather widespread. We seem to find social scientists conceiving of themselves as sort of an elite entitled by their peculiar qualifications and by their presumed ability as scientists to solve human problems, justified in telling the rest of us how we should organize ourselves and what form our society should take.

Would you comment on that, on this social-engineering feature which has arrived in the social sciences?

Dr. COLEGROVE. That, of course, grows out of the overemphasis on the constant need for reform. The assumption is that everything needs reform, that unless you are reforming you are not progressing. I think it is in large part due to the failure of the foundations, the failure of many of the scholars they choose, to fully understand what the principles of the American Constitution are, what the principles of American tradition are. Some of them, I know, do not accept those principles as sound. They even attack the principles. Of course, we all know that the principles should be examined and reexamined. But there is a tendency, on the part of those who get grants from the foundations to think that they must turn out something in the way of reform; not a study which does not suggest a definite reform but a study more like Myrdal's study, *The American Dilemma*, which poses a condition in which there must be reform.

Mr. WORMSER. Does that tendency to insist on reform in turn tend to attract the more radical type of scholar, with the result that grants are made more generally to those considerably to the left?

Dr. COLEGROVE. I think undoubtedly it does, especially in the cooperative research, where a large number of people cooperate or operate together on one research project.

* * * * *

Mr. WORMSER. Professor, back to this term "social engineering," again, is there not a certain presumption, or presumptuousness, on the part of social scientists, to consider themselves a group of the elite who are solely capable and should be given the sole opportunity to guide us in our social development? They exclude by inference, I suppose, religious leaders and what you might call humanistic leaders. They combine the tendency toward the self-generated social engineering concept with a high concentration of power in that interlocking arrangement of foundations and agencies, and it seems to me you might have something rather dangerous.

Dr. COLEGROVE. I think so. Very decisively. There is a sort of arrogance in a large number of people, and the arrogance of scholarship is in many cases a very irritating affair. But there is a tendency of scholars to become arrogant, to be contemptuous of other people's opinions. (Hearings, pp. 577, 578, 579.)

Professor Hobbs, in his testimony, indicated that the "social engineers" were not merely to engage in useful studies pointed at easing us into new social forms, but were to exercise or contribute to political control.

Mr. WORMSER. Dr. Hobbs, in connection with one subject you discussed, that the foundations support a type of research which you call scientism, which sometimes penetrates the political area, do you have any opinion that any of the foundations themselves encourage going into the political scene?

Dr. HOBBS. Certainly, that type of thing is indicated repeatedly throughout one of the books that I mentioned yesterday, in Stuart Chase's *The Proper Study of Mankind*.

In addition here is a report of the Social Science Research Council, annual report, 1928-29, in which they have what I would consider to be quite an extreme statement, but perhaps there is some other explanation of it. They have a listing of their history and purposes of the Social Science Research Council, and one of these purposes is that—

a sounder empirical method of research had to be achieved in political science, if it were to assist in the development of a scientific political control.

Mr. WORMSER. Is that a quote?

Dr. HOBBS. That is a direct quote from this annual report.

Mr. HAYS. Is that bad?

Dr. HOBBS. It could be. The implications that you are going to control political—

Mr. HAYS. They say "on a sounder." In other words, the inference is there that they recognize it is not very sound.

Dr. HOBBS (reading):

"A sounder empirical method of research to assist in the development of a scientific political control."

If you are talking in terms of "scientific political control," it would seem to me that you are going to hand over government to these social scientists. That seems to be the implication. [Emphasis supplied.] (Hearings, pp. 170, 171.)

The term "social engineering" appears frequently in the foundation-financed literature of the intermediary organizations. The concept of the "social engineer" is widespread in the social science fields. What are these "engineers" to do? They are to be the planners who are to lead us into *The Promised Land*. Mr. Pendleton Herring's filed statement denies that *The Social Science Research Council* is "engaged in developing or in advocating public policies or political programs." This statement seems to conflict sharply with statements made, for example, in the 1933-4 Annual Report of the *Council*:

"Beyond the preparation of materials for the use of policy and action-determining agencies of government, the Council took a further step in its endeavors to be of direct public service, in appointing two commissions of inquiry. One commission has been created on national policy in international economic relations; one has been created on public service personnel. Both undertakings were approved at their beginning by the President of the United States and by members of the Cabinet. Both commenced work in January 1934. The commissions represent an attempt by the Council to contribute directly to clarity of thinking on important public issues. Acceptance or rejection of any conclusions at which these commissions may themselves arrive on questions of public policy is a matter of less concern than the fact that their analysis of issues will contribute to the organization of intelligent public opinion." [Emphasis supplied.]

Perhaps this is no evidence of a plan to promote a specific theory or program; but it certainly indicates a policy to participate in the determining of policies. Moreover, the literature of the *SSRC* is replete with further indications. The emphasis on "planning" is paramount. In an article by Mr. Herring himself in the first issue of *Items*, an *SSRC* publication, he says:

"With respect to social problems, there is much more reliance upon planning and organized philanthropic effort, whether public or private. * * * Here we wish simply to emphasize that in our generation efforts are being made to arrange and control human relationships more consciously, more deliberately, and, it is to be hoped, more responsibly than during the last century. An interdependent world is being forced to an awareness of the limitations of individual freedom and personal choice."

THE "ELITE."

The concept of the *elite* may be one of the factors which has led the executives of some of the great foundations and their clearing-house agencies into an assumption of the right to direct us politically.

In his statement filed with the Committee on behalf of *The Social Science Research Council*, Mr. Herring, its President, included this observation:

"In conclusion I would like to emphasize that it is the men and the women in these fields of learning who are our strongest national resource for advancing the ranges of knowledge that will make us better able to understand our common problems. They command the analytical methods for most effectively getting at such questions in basic and tangible terms. Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty and social science research is an essential tool for the vigilant."

It seems to this Committee that this is an expression of the presumed elite character of the social science profession. We would certainly not for one moment deny the value of the so-called "social scientists", the specialists in history, anthropology, economics and the other so-called "sciences" included within the class designated as "social". But these specialists are no more capable of making ultimate decisions or of giving ultimate advice than other groups of citizens who, in their own fields learn as much and have as much to contribute, the clergymen, the lawyers, the doctors and others. Indeed,

even the business men have contributions to make to ultimate decisions. For what reason do the "social scientists" presume that their contributions are greater than those of other professions and vocations? Yes, "eternal vigilance is the price of liberty"—but we are inclined to conclude that the public must be eternally vigilant to see that no group like the social scientists arrogates to itself effectively the role of designers of our political, economic or social destinies.

Mr. Herring says later:

"To deny that the social sciences have a contribution to make, or to cast doubt on the capacity of man to guide his destiny by applying thought to human problems, in secular terms at least is to embrace either an obscurantist or anti-intellectual position or to adhere to a determinist position."

This statement sets up a straw man and knocks him down. This Committee knows of no one who denies that social scientists have a contribution to make!

There follows an implication that because the Russian Communists are anti-empirical, those who believe foundations have over-promoted the empirical approach in research in the United States are in some way intellectually authoritarian. Mr. Herring asserts that "authoritarianism" is expressed in the initial statement filed by Mr. Dodd, the Director of Research, "in an indirect and subtle fashion, and is all the more dangerous for that reason." This attempt to make an authoritarian out of our Research Director would be laughable were it not deadly serious in its implications. What Mr. Dodd referred to in his statement was the existence of certain basic moral and jurisprudential principles which must be taken into consideration in the making of all sound decisions regarding our society. Who can doubt that the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution itself contain such principles! If Mr. Herring means to imply that the belief that these basic verities, fundamental to our system of society, form an authoritarian base which the social scientists must penetrate or ignore in arriving at his "scientific" conclusions, then he implies the structure of our society and government rests on insecure ground indeed. We doubt that many Americans would accept Mr. Herring's position as valid. *If the foundations accept it, they are accepting moral relativism and are expending public money in a direction which certainly is hardly consonant with our traditions.*

Mr. Herring, in his article *The Social Sciences in Modern Society*, published in the SSRC *Items* of March, 1947, said, at page 5:

"One of the greatest needs in the social sciences is for the development of skilled practitioners who can use social data for the cure of social ills as doctors use scientific data to cure bodily ills."

These "skilled practitioners"—are they to be our salvation? We quote again this testimony by Professor Briggs regarding *The Ford Fund for the Advancement of Education*:

"Like stockholders in any other enterprise, the public has a right to determine what it wishes the product to be. The principle that the public should decide what it wants in order to promote its own welfare and happiness is unquestionably sound. An assumption that the public does not know what is for its own good is simply contrary to the fundamental principles of democracy." (Hearings, p. 97.)

What the "engineers" are to produce is not always what the people may want but what these "engineers" believe to be good for them. The 1927 annual report of *The Social Science Research Council* gave,

among its aims: "to make possible the substituting of more scientific social control for the rule-of-thumb methods which men have happened upon in their effort to live together." We wonder whether the Ten Commandments and the principles of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution are deemed by these "social engineers" to be mere "rule-of-thumb?" We shall not labor the point, but, we repeat, *we do not understand the desirability of permitting a self-appointed set of guardians to determine our ways of living together merely because they call themselves "social scientists" or "social engineers" and by these terms seek to set themselves up as social arbiters superior to legislators, lawyers, clergymen and intelligent citizens in general.*

The Report of the SSRC for 1930-31 speaks of the pressure groups which manipulate public opinion. The Report suggests a study on a large scale to see, among other things, "whether these varied elements are themselves susceptible to coordination and control in the public interest." The concept of "control" is to this Committee somewhat alarming. It is repeated in the Report of the following year, which speaks of "the controversial field of industrial control which involves the relationships between government and private enterprise." The Report proceeds:

"Here the attack must be piecemeal, the first move leading toward a planning program in the field of public utilities." [Emphasis supplied.]

The 1934 Decennial Report says that the Council "determined not to avoid current issues by reason of their generally controversial nature, but rather to give weight to the promise of particular research to contribute to an understanding of contemporary questions." It says later, indeed, that the "research function" has not been extended "to the solution of problems of policy and action" but merely to the "marshalling of knowledge in forms readily applicable to the practical needs of society." This qualification reads meritoriously. But the very study of controversial political problems by organizations which have shown by their actions that they represent a distinct political bias, is a danger in itself.

"*Marshallled Knowledge*" can easily be propaganda, and has frequently been so.

This problem becomes all the more acute when such organizations with a tendency to promote collectivist programs or principles become agencies for other organizations. *The Social Science Research Council's* Decennial Report, 1923-33, contains a reference to a request from *The Rockefeller Foundation* for "suggestions of work relating to urgent problems confronting the National Government in the current emergency." The Report continues:

"Drawing largely upon the crystallizing plans of the Council's division of Industry and Trade, suggestions were offered relating to banking unemployment, national planning, governmental statistics and other data, taxation, and the examination of measures for the stimulation of business revival. The Rockefeller Foundation has financed, among studies proposed by various agencies, a number of studies in line with the Council's suggestions: Administration of the Agricultural Relief Act, Effects of Sales Taxes, Administration of the National Recovery Act, and Government Financial Policy. The Committee on Government Statistics and Information Services, a joint committee of the Council and of the American Statistical Association, was also financed for a year's work in Washington."

THE "ENGINEERS", "PLANNING" AND SOCIALISM.

There is a justified suspicion that the "social engineers" who so strongly advocate "planning" are often motivated by an urge to usher in a quite radical form of society. The very concept of "planning" has connotations of what may be, moderately, called "collectivism."

Mr. McNiece pointed out that the Socialist program had, from the first, called for national planning, quoting Engels:

"The planless production of capitalist society capitulates before the planned production of the invading socialist society." (Hearings, p. 612.)

He also gave strong arguments to support the impossibility of effective and rational planning by our Federal Government. (Hearings, pp. 610 et seq.) Nevertheless, after five years of deliberation, *The Commission on Social Studies of The American Historical Association* (a foundation-supported 101 (6) organization) echoed the Socialist concept as follows (page 16 of its Report):

Under the molding influence of socialized processes of living, drives of technology and science, pressures of changing thought and policy, and disrupting impacts of economic disaster, there is a *notable waning of the once widespread popular faith in economic individualism*; and leaders in public affairs, supported by a growing mass of the population, are demanding the introduction into economy of *ever wider measures of planning and control*. [Emphasis supplied.] (Hearings, p. 612.)

This was no mere "ivory-tower" pronouncement. The concept found its way into government. The National Planning Board was formed in 1933. Its 1933-4 Report includes the following (page 11):

State and interstate planning is a lusty infant but the work is only beginning.

Advisory economic councils may be regarded as instrumentalities for stimulating a coordinated view of national life and for developing mental attitudes favorable to the principle of national planning. [Emphasis ours.]

* * * * *

Finally mention should be made of the fact that there are three great national councils which contribute to research in the social sciences. *The Council of Learned Societies*, the *American Council on Education*, and the *Social Science Research Council* are important factors in the development of research and add their activities to the body of scientific material available in any program of national planning. (Hearings, p. 612.)

Was this perhaps, in turn, an independent aberration of government, disassociated from the foundations and their agencies? Indeed not. The Report continues:

The Council of Learned Societies has promoted historical and general social research.

The American Council on Education has recently sponsored an inquiry into the relation of Federal, State, and local governments to the conduct of public education. It has served as the organizing center for studies of materials of instruction and problems of educational administration. It represents the educational organizations of the country and is active in promoting research in its special field.

The Social Science Research Council, a committee of which prepared this memorandum, is an organization engaged in planning research. It is true that its object has not been to make social plans, but rather to plan research in the social field. A decade of thought on planning activities through its committees, distributed widely over the social sciences, has given it an experience, a background with regard to the idea of planning, that should be of value if it were called on to aid in national planning. Furthermore, the members of the *Social Science Research Council*, its staff, and the members of its committees are perhaps more familiar than the members of any other organization with the personnel in the social sciences, with the research interests of social scientists, and

with the experience and capabilities of social science research workers in the United States. The members of the council are familiar with the different bureaus of research. The council has been concerned chiefly with the determination of the groups and persons with whom special types of research should be placed. For this purpose it has set up committees, organized commissions, promoted research, and sponsored the development of various research agencies and interests. With its pivotal position among the social sciences, it could undoubtedly render valuable aid if called on to do so, in the formidable task of national planning. [Emphasis supplied.] (Hearings, pp. 612, 613.)

Further quotations from this Report are pertinent:

It was after the Civil War that American economic life came to be dominated by the philosophy of laissez faire and by the doctrines of rugged individualism. But the economic and social evils of the period resulted in the development of new planning attitudes tending to emphasize especially public control and regulation.

Summing up the developments of these 125 years, one may say that insofar as the subject here considered is concerned, they are important because they left us a fourfold heritage:

First, to think in terms of an institutional framework which may be fashioned in accordance with prepared plans;

Second, a tendency to achieve results by compromise in which different lines and policies are more or less reconciled;

Third, a tendency to stress in theory the part played in economic life by individualism, while at the same time having recourse in practice to governmental aid and to collective action when necessary; and

Fourth, a continued social control applied to special areas of economic life.

Such was the note already heard in America when during 1928-29 came the first intimations of the 5-year plan, and the Western World began to be interested in the work and methods of the Gosplan in Moscow. *The Russian experience was not embodied in any concrete way in American thinking, but it stimulated the idea that we need to develop in an American plan out of our American background.* [Emphasis supplied.] (Hearings, p. 613.)

Its work done, the National Planning Board discontinued. The National Resources Committee took its place and ran from 1934 to 1939. Its personnel was somewhat the same as that of its predecessor. Page 3 of its final report contained the following:

The National Resources Planning Board believes that it should be the declared policy of the United States Government to promote and maintain a high level of national production and consumption by all appropriate measures necessary for this purpose. The Board further believes that it should be the declared policy of the United States Government.

To underwrite full employment for the employables;

To guarantee a job for every man released from the Armed Forces and the war industries at the close of the war, with fair pay and working conditions;

To guarantee and, when necessary, underwrite:

Equal access to security,

Equal access to education for all,

Equal access to health and nutrition for all, and

Wholesome housing conditions for all.

This policy grows directly out of the Board's statement concerning which the President has said:

"All of the free peoples must plan, work, and fight together for the maintenance and development of our freedoms and rights."

THE FOUR FREEDOMS

Freedom of speech and expression, freedom to worship, freedom from want, and freedom from fear: and

A NEW BILL OF RIGHTS

1. The right to work, usefully and creatively through the productive years;
2. The right to fair pay, adequate to command the necessities and amenities of life in exchange for work, ideas, thrift, and other socially valuable service;
3. The right to adequate food, clothing, shelter, and medical care;

4. The right to security, with freedom from fear of old age, want, dependency, sickness, unemployment, and accident;

5. The right to live in a system of free enterprise, free from compulsory labor, irresponsible private power, arbitrary public authority, and unregulated monopolies;

6. The right to come and go, to speak or to be silent, free from the spyings of secret political police;

7. The right to education, for work, for citizenship, and for personal growth and happiness;

8. The right to equality before the law, with equal access to justice in fact; and

9. The right to rest, recreation, and adventure, the opportunity to enjoy life and take part in an advancing civilization.

Plans for this purpose are supported and explained in this report. The previous publications of the Board, including *National Resources Development Report for 1942*, transmitted to the Congress by the President on January 14, 1942, and a series of pamphlets (*After Defense—What? After the War—Full Employment, Postwar Planning*, etc.), also provide background for this proposal. (Hearings, pp. 613, 614.)

The reader is referred to pages 612 et seq. of the Hearings for further quotations from this report which indicate a complete program of social, as well as economic, planning—a program more detailed and comprehensive than that proposed by avowed socialists. The inclusion (in the statement of proposed government policy quoted above) of “*A New Bill of Rights*” is more than astounding. It implies that our Constitutional Bill of Rights is not good enough; we must have a new one. This new one has features which we find later in the *Declaration of Human Rights* drafted in UNO with the collaboration of Communist delegates, and rejected by our government. The “*New Bill of Rights*” is silent about property rights and contains strange new rights some of which could be effected only under a government so directive as to be totalitarian. It reads nobly; but it is the product of advocates of the compulsive state.

One cannot read the report without concluding that it was intended to lay out a program for enormously increased centralization, a rapidly enlarged participation by government in human affairs, a sharp turn toward paternalism and away from free enterprise and individual freedom. In a broad sense, the proposals were revolutionary, both the *National Planning Board* and the *National Resources Board* having followed rather closely the plan of *The Commission on Social Studies*, embracing virtually all phases of our economic life, including education.

We cannot trace the influence of each leader of this movement for a planned (socialized) economy in detail, leaders who were almost all part and parcel of tax-free organizations or actively associated with them and beneficiaries of foundations. But the career of one of these leaders may illustrate the point of view which dominated.

The man is Charles K. Merriam, who held a dominating position in the foundation world for many years. He was Chairman of a *Committee on Political Research* of the *American Political Science Association* in 1921, the purpose of which was to examine research in government and to offer recommendations. Its report in 1922 advised that “a sounder empirical method of research had to be achieved in political science if it were to assist in the development of scientific political control.” It recommended the creation of *The Social Science Research Council*, and this was, in turn, formed in 1923. Mr. Merriam became its first President, serving until 1927.

Mr. Merriam could hardly be called a conservative. Yet he himself was a dissenting member of the *Commission on Social Studies*,

whose report has previously been discussed. It may have been that some parts of the report were too extreme for him to swallow. If he objected to its strongly Marxist tendency, however, it is probably that his distaste was only a matter of degree. His *The Agenda of Democracy* and his *New Democracy and the New Despotism* indicate that he was one of the most active proponents of a new order and a revolutionary one. "The old world is gone," he said, "and will not return. We face a new era, which searches all creeds, all forms, all programs of action, and spares none." The new era must be planned. His active political part in planning it may be gleaned in part from the frequent references to him and his work in both published volumes of Harold L. Ickes' *Diary*.

The Committee's Assistant Director of Research filed with the Committee (it is included in the Hearings, pp. 627, et seq.) a report entitled "*Economics and the Public Interest*." In this report he showed in considerable and valuable detail how the expenditures of government had followed the proposals of *The National Planning Board*, *The National Resources Committee*, and *The National Resources Planning Board* closely. We cannot in this report go into his material in detail. We recommend that it be read in full. *It is the opinion of this Committee that this material, together with the data provided elsewhere in Mr. McNiece's testimony, establishes clearly that Government agencies consciously planned for what can fairly be called at least a semi-socialist economy; that this planning was the work, substantially, of foundation-supported, tax-free organizations; and that these plans were effected to a very considerable degree in the ensuing period.*

There may be doubt as to the exclusiveness of the factors which Mr. McNiece discussed and which have been testified to elsewhere by others. Other factors, indeed, may have played some part in what happened. *But what cannot be doubted is that foundation's funds financed and supported a definite political and economic propulsion to the left and away from our traditional forms. Could they have done so with closed eyes?*

Something close to a social revolution took place. We doubt the right of foundations to use their public funds for the purpose of propelling a revolution. A Communist not aligned with Russia might well have the right fully to try to promote his political purposes, as long as no treasonable acts are involved. But we deny the right of any public trust fund to use its public money, or permit it to be used, for political purposes. That is clearly what has occurred.

We have advanced considerably toward that "welfare state" which the new Fabians in England understand is a stage intermediate between free enterprise and socialism. (See the *New Fabian Essays*, the current *Mein Kampf* of British Socialism). The necessary mechanism to reach the welfare state in full, and to go on from there to socialism or some form of totalitarianism, is high centralization and the absorption by the Federal government of more and more of the powers of the States. We fully agree with President Dwight D. Eisenhower, who in 1949, while still president of Columbia University, said ²³:

"I firmly believe that the army of persons who urge greater a grendater centralization of authority and greater and greater dependence upon the Federal

²³ Dwight D. Eisenhower, in letter to Hon. Ralph W. Gwinn, dated Columbia University, New York, June 7, 1949, in opposition to a general Federal-aid-to-education program. (Congressional Record, 81st Cong., 1st sess., vol. 95, p. 14, p. A3690.)

Treasury are really more dangerous to our form of government than any external threat that can possibly be arrayed against us."

The evidence warrants the conclusion that the foundations have contributed substantially and consciously to the movement which President Eisenhower so condemned.

THE INTERNATIONAL PRESS INSTITUTE

Among the many organizations supported by foundations to which this Committee has been unable to give close attention but which deserve intensive research, is *The International Press Institute* located at Zurich, Switzerland. This organization was granted \$120,000 by *The Rockefeller Foundation* initially, and received further support from it and other foundations. Its purposes, as contained in *The Rockefeller Foundation Review for 1950 and 1951*, include "the immediate objective of advancing and safeguarding the freedom of the press throughout the world." It is quite conceivable, however, that the concept of "freedom" espoused by this foundation may differ from that held by others.

The possible political implications of *The International Press Institute* will warrant study.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO ROUNDTABLE BROADCASTS.

The *Roundtable* broadcasts have been abandoned, presumably because their leftist slant became so apparent. They were financed by the *Alfred P. Sloan Foundation*, to its distinct discredit. A careful analysis could be made of the actual broadcasts, the material used and the speakers selected to disclose an example of how foundation money can be used for quite direct political purposes.

FACTS FORUM.

The Committee staff, at the request of Mr. Hays, collected transcripts and tape recordings of *Facts Forum* broadcasts and turned these over to him, also at his request.

This material has not been returned by Mr. Hays, nor has any pertinent ²⁴ report been made to the other members of the Committee by him.

Without being in a position to judge of the propriety of the *Facts Forum* broadcasts, this Committee puts itself on record, in any event, as concluding that the financing of a radio or a television program (or, for that matter, any program using any form of public communication) by a foundation directed in such a way as to have political slant, either to the left or to the right, is highly improper.

Referring to *Facts Forum*, the ranking minority member of this committee, during the hearings, made these comments (Hearings, p. 185):

I want to make it clear here, which apparently it has not been in some people's minds, that if they are biased, they still have a perfect right to go on the air; but they don't have any right to go on with tax-exempt funds.

* * * * *

They can be just as biased as they want to as long as they are using their own money without any tax exemption.

For the reasons stated above, the other members of this Committee are not in a position to determine whether or not Facts Forum has been

²⁴ At the time the Committee met on November 29, 1954 to consider the final draft of this report, Mr. Hays at this point in the discussion asked to have included at this point a reference to the report he said he made to Congress on *Facts Forum*. No copy of that report has been officially filed with the Committee.

guilty of bias. In any event, however, Mr. Hays' comments just quoted have the full and complete support of the other members in relation to any foundation which does show bias, or permits it; the comments would apply, of course, whatever the direction in which a foundation's bias might run.

THE PUBLIC AFFAIRS PAMPHLETS.

These have been produced under the aegis or with the financing of the Sloan and other foundations, and also deserve a detailed study which we have been unable to give. The pamphlets were under the editorship of MAXWELL STEWART, who had been an associate editor of the Moscow News and, according to proven reports, had taught in Moscow. MR. STEWART wrote a good many of the PUBLIC AFFAIRS PAMPHLETS, heavily biased against the free enterprise system. Others of the pamphlets were written by other leftists and some contain heavily slanted bibliographies.

Further illustrations of the use of foundation funds for political purposes will be given in Section X. FOUNDATIONS AND EDUCATION, and in Section XI. "INTERNATIONALISM."

X. FOUNDATIONS AND EDUCATION

CARNEGIE AND ROCKEFELLER REFORM THE COLLEGES.

The Rockefeller General Education Board (terminated in 1953) was chartered in 1903; The Carnegie Fund for the Advancement of Teaching, in 1905. Other organizations created by the Rockefeller and Carnegie reservoirs of wealth which went into educational work were:

The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1910

The Carnegie Corporation of New York, 1911

The Rockefeller Foundation, 1918 and

The Laura Spellman Rockefeller Memorial, 1918 (later merged with the Rockefeller Foundation).

Miss Kathryn Casey, legal analyst of the Committee, filed a detailed report on the educational activities of these foundations (hearings, pp. 668 et seq.). One of the subjects treated in this report was the campaign instituted by the Rockefeller and Carnegie foundations to raise the standards of our institutions of higher learning. Dr. Ernest Victor Hollis (now Chief of College Administration in the United States Office of Education) once described the background of this campaign as follows:

"* * * unfavorable public estimate of the elder Rockefeller and Andrew Carnegie, made it inexpedient in 1905 for their newly created philanthropic foundations to attempt any direct reforms in higher education." (Hearings, p. 671.)

The method adopted, therefore, was one of coercion by indirection.

"The subject was approached indirectly through general and non-controversial purposes—nearly all foundation grants made before 1920 being for such purposes."

As Dr. Hollis said: ²⁵

Far-reaching college reform was carefully embedded in many of these non-controversial grants. It was so skillfully done that few of the grants are directly chargeable to the ultimate reforms they sought to effect. For instance, there is little obvious connection between giving a pension to a college professor or giving

²⁵ Philanthropic Foundation and Higher Education, Ernest Victor Hollis, p. 127.

a sum to the general endowment of his college, and reforming the entrance requirements, the financial practices, and the scholastic standards of his institution. This situation makes it necessary to present qualitative influence without immediately showing the quantitative grant that made the influence possible. (Hearings, p. 671.)

The *Carnegie* and *Rockefeller* foundations aligned themselves behind the "progressive educators" (the words are those of Dr. Hollis—Hearing, p. 672), "who are seeking such changes as those described as taking place at the University of Chicago * * *"; and financed, to the tune of several hundreds of millions of dollars, measures which were intended to reform the colleges and universities. It is undoubtedly true that many or most of the results were highly commendable, in the sense that the standards in institutions of higher learning were effectively raised. *We question, however, whether foundations should have the power even to do good in the coercive manner which was employed. We cannot repeat too often that power in itself is dangerous. What may have been used for a benign purpose could in the future be used for the promotion of purposes against the interests of the people. It does not write off this danger to say that good men ran the foundations. It is power which is dangerous—power uncontrolled by public responsibility.*

Plans for the pensioning of professors, and offers of college endowment, were conditioned upon conformity to the plans and standards of the granting foundations. These plans and offers were irresistible. Accrediting systems were established. Grants and pensions were not available unless the arbitrary standards set by the foundations were accepted. Thus, the foundations grew to be the comptrollers of higher education in the United States, its directors and molders.

Research and experimental work in education was established, largely at Columbia, Chicago and Stanford Universities. *The American Council on Education* "provided the general administrative and supervisory direction necessary to coordinate such a large cooperative undertaking." (Hearings, p. 672.) Regional accrediting associations were formed, and other media were created or used to implement the coercive plans of the *Carnegie* and *Rockefeller* funds. As an example of the extent of the coercion, *The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Education* held that no college could participate in its pension fund if it remained under the control of a religious group. Moreover, those colleges which were deemed (by the foundation executives) to be "weak and tottering" or "superfluous" were permitted to die a hoped-for natural death.

"Clearing house" organizations and other agencies were treated to very substantial contributions: among them *The American Council on Education*, *The National Education Association* and *The Progressive Education Association*.

Miss Casey took up separately each of the major foundations involved in her exposition. She found that *The Carnegie Corporation of New York* had contributed a total of \$1,237,711 to *The National Education Association*, *The Progressive Education Association* and *The American Council on Education*, perhaps the major part of their sustenance in the early years. (Hearings p. 679.) She concluded that these three organizations have operated to the end of producing uniformity in teaching, teacher-training and administrative practices in education and that the *Carnegie Corporation* must have approved this work. It must also have approved the work done by *The Institute of*

International Education, The Institute of Educational Research, Columbia Teachers College and its appendage, the Lindoln School, into which enterprises millions were poured. (Hearings, p. 704.) Miss Casey said:

Even those not in the educational field recognize that today there is, in effect, a national set of standards of education, curricula, and methods of teaching prevailing throughout the United States. As a practical matter, the net result of this is nothing more nor less than a system of education which is uniform throughout the country. Moreover, in the case of the *National Education Association*, one of its goals for the "united teaching profession in 1951-57," is stated on page 13 of the *National Education Association Handbook for 1953-54* to be:

"A strong, adequately staffed State department of education in each State and a more adequate Federal education agency.

* * * * *

"Equalization and expansion of educational opportunity including needed State and national financing." (Hearings, p. 704.)

The Carnegie Foundation gave considerable attention to the place, relationship and function of the secondary and primary schools as well. (Hearings, pp. 684 et seq.). This was done largely through *The National Education Association* and *The Progressive Education Association*, to which other foundations also contributed heavily. Some of the strange things which have happened in the secondary and primary educational fields can be traced directly to the influence of these two organizations.

The General Education Board was, initially, the chief dispenser of Rockefeller moneys in the field of education. Its activities were chiefly in the southern states and largely in the areas of primary and secondary education, and Negro education. It dispensed much of its funds unquestionably commendably. Yet its operations illustrate the dangers which lie in great power. It lent its financial assistance to the preparation of the *Building America* texts which we shall later discuss. *That public funds should have been used in the preparation of these educational horrors is a tragic example of foundation negligence, recklessness or incompetence.*

This foundation, too, lent itself to experiment in education. The agencies it chose for this work were chiefly *The Progressive Education Association, The National Education Association, Department of Secondary School Principals, and The American Council on Education*, as well as *The National Council of Parent Education, the American Youth Commission* and *Teachers College at Columbia University*. (Hearings, p. 696.)

The Rockefeller Foundation has spent vast sums of money both in education and in research in the social sciences generally.

Without going into further detail as to the educational activities of the foundations mentioned, let us examine the import of their work on a broad scale. Miss Casey quoted Dr. Hollis as saying that "foundations" had influenced higher education notably and increasingly "toward supporting social and cultural ideas and institutions that contribute to a rapidly changing civilization * * * *the chief contribution of the foundations has been in accelerating the rate of acceptance of the ideas they choose to promote.*" [Emphasis ours.] (Hearings, p. 707.) Dr. Hollis also wrote:

"The Philanthropic Foundation is a social institution important enough to be ranked with the school, the press, and the Church. It often fails to be accorded a ranking with these agencies however because, unlike them, it most frequently

attacks social problems indirectly. * * * *Through these agencies [(to which the foundations make grants)] its influence extends to cultural and social planning in almost every department of our life.*" [Emphasis supplied.]

In the field of education it seems clear that foundations have played an almost controlling part in promoting uniformity and conformity on a national scale. Miss Casey questioned whether a national system of education was not a violation of the principle of separation of powers between the Federal government and the States, a violation of States' rights. (Hearings, p. 708, 709.) This is worthy of careful consideration by those who see in continued extensions of Federal power a danger to our system of limited Federal jurisdiction. What impresses this Committee with equal or greater seriousness is the danger which lies inherently in the power of vast funds of public trust-capital, administered without public responsibility by private individuals. That they may have directed education in the United States desirably (if that is so) is beside the point. *Should not education be directed by local government or, at least, by government, and the people? Should it be directed and controlled by the power of privately administered public trusts?*

THE CARNEGIE CORPORATION FINANCES SOCIALISM.

From 1928 to 1933 *The Carnegie Corporation of New York* provided heavy aggregate financing (a total of \$340,000) to *The American Historical Society*, a constituent of *The American Council of Learned Societies*, for the production of a study by its *Commission on Social Studies* whose final report was published in sixteen sections. The last section, issued in 1934, is known as *Conclusions and Recommendations*. This is a momentous document. We have referred to it briefly in the previous section of this report. It deserves closer study.

The Commission heralds the decline of the free enterprise system. It does not contest the movement for radical social change. It accepts the new era as already *fait accompli*, saying:

"9. Cumulative evidence supports the conclusion that, in the United States as in other countries, the age of individualism and laissez faire in economy and government is closing and that a new age of collectivism is emerging." (Hearings, pp. 476, 477.)

There follows this remarkable statement:

10. As to the specific form which this "collectivism," this integration and interdependence, is taking and will take in the future, the evidence at hand is by no means clear or unequivocal. *It may involve the limiting or supplanting of private property by public property* or it may entail the preservation of private property, extended and distributed among the masses. Most likely, it will issue from a process of experimentation and will represent a composite of historic doctrines and social conceptions yet to appear. Almost certainly it will involve a larger measure of compulsory as well as voluntary cooperation of citizens in the conduct of the complex national economy, a corresponding enlargement of the functions of government, and an increasing state intervention in fundamental branches of economy previously left to the individual discretion and initiative—a state intervention that in some instances may be direct and mandatory and in others indirect and facilitative. In any event the Commission is convinced by its interpretation of available empirical data that the actually integrating economy of the present day is the forerunner of a consciously integrated society in which individual economic actions and individual property rights will be altered and abridged. [Emphasis supplied.]

We pause here to note that the social scientists who composed this masterpiece apparently made up their minds on empirical data. No better illustration could be given than this to show the fallacy of an

overemphasis on empiricism in the social sciences. The document proceeds:

11. The emerging age is particularly an age of transition. It is marked by numerous and severe tensions arising out of the conflict between the actual trend toward integrated economy and society, on the one side, and the traditional practices, dispositions, ideas, and institutional arrangements inherited from the *passing age of individualism*, on the other. In all the recommendations that follow the transitional character of the present epoch is recognized. [Emphasis supplied.]

Note "the passing age of individualism." The statement is not that the age of individualism may be passing; the statement is definite—the age of individualism *is* passing. Is there any expression of disapproval or regret at its passing? We find none. We must assume that the foundation-financed authors approved, that they were eager to help put skids under the free enterprise system to help slide it out of the United States. This was their right as individuals. But we question the right of a foundation to finance the undertaking with public funds!

The statement continues:

12. Underlying and illustrative of these tensions are privation in the midst of plenty, violations of fiduciary trust, gross inequalities in income and wealth, widespread racketeering and banditry, wasteful use of natural resources, unbalanced distribution and organization of labor and leisure, the harnessing of science to individualism in business enterprise, the artificiality of political boundaries and divisions, the subjection of public welfare to the egoism of private interests, the maladjustment of production and consumption, persistent tendencies toward economic instability, disproportionate growth of debt and property claims in relation to production, deliberate destruction of goods and withdrawal of efficiency from production, accelerating tempo of panics, crises, and depressions attended by ever-wider destruction of capital and demoralization of labor, struggles among nations for markets and raw materials leading to international conflicts and wars.

We pause again to note that this description of the era does not expose these "elite" social scientists as objective students of history. The description smacks of either hysteria or intended bias. It gives the impression that the world has gone to pot and the United States particularly. The facts are that a higher standard of living had been attained in the United States than ever before in our history. There was a depression but we had had depressions before. There had been a war not so long before, but there had been wars before. To sum up the condition of the world and of the United States as uniquely disturbing was blind or unconscionable. One cannot escape the conclusion that these "scientists" were merely echoing the political ideas which precipitated the strong political movement toward paternalism and looked far beyond it rather than doing that objective analysis which one would expect of those who deem themselves an elite entitled to tell the rest of us what is good for us. The report continues:

13. If historical knowledge is any guide, these tensions, accompanied by oscillations in popular opinion, public policy, and the fortunes of the struggle for power, will continue until some approximate adjustment is made between social thought, social practice, and economic realities, or until society, exhausted by the conflict and at the end of its spiritual and inventive resources, sinks back into a more primitive order of economy and life. Such is the long run view of social development in general, and of American life in particular, which must form the background for any educational program designed to prepare either children or adults for their coming trials, opportunities, and responsibilities. (Hearings, pp. 476, 477.)

Under the heading of "CHOICES DEEMED POSSIBLE AND DESIRABLE" the report proceeds:

1. Within the limits of the broad trend toward social integration the possible forms of economic and political life are many and varied, *involving wide differences in modes of distributing wealth, income, and cultural opportunity*, embracing various conceptions of the State and of the rights, duties, and privileges of the ordinary citizen, and representing the most diverse ideals concerning the relations of sexes, classes, religions, nations, and races. * * * [Emphasis supplied.]

The emphasized phrase in this section interests us. Under our form of society, "wealth" and "income" and "cultural opportunity" are not *distributed*. To some extent we "re-distribute" wealth and income—that is, by taxing it heavily and using the proceeds for social purposes. Perhaps we overemphasize the selection of the term "distributing"; but it seems to be an intended selection, one anticipating (and approving) a form of collectivism.

Under the heading of "THE REDISTRIBUTION OF POWER" it continues:

1. If the teacher is to achieve these conditions of improved status and thus free the school from the domination of special interests and convert it into a truly enlightening force in society, there must be a redistribution of power in the general conduct of education—the board of education will have to be made more representative, the administration of the school will have to be conceived more broadly and the teaching profession as a whole will have to organize, develop a theory of its social function and create certain instrumentalities indispensable to the realization of its aims.

2. The ordinary board of education in the United States, with the exception of the rural district board, is composed for the most part of business and professional men; the ordinary rural district board is composed almost altogether of landholders. In the former case the board is not fully representative of the supporting population and thus tends to impose upon the school the social ideas of a special class; in both instances its membership is apt to be peculiarly rooted in the economic individualism of the 19th century.

3. If the board of education is to support a school program conceived in terms of the general welfare and adjusted to *the needs of an epoch marked by transition to some form of socialized economy*, it should include in its membership adequate representation of points of view other than those of private business.

4. With the expansion of education and the growth of large school systems, involving the coordination of the efforts of tens, hundreds and even thousands of professional workers and the expenditure of vast sums of money on grounds, buildings and equipment, the function of administration has become increasingly important and indispensable. (Hearings, pp. 477, 478.) [Emphasis supplied.]

It is apparent that this foundation-supported report lends its vast influence to the concept that education must be turned in the direction of preparing the public for a new form of society, a collectivist or socialist system, the coming of which is taken for granted and apparently approved by the "scientists" who presume to tell us what is good for us. Of course, this movement for adjustment to the expected Nirvana must be implemented. Under the heading "APPENDIX A—NEXT STEPS" the Report continues:

2. However, the commission is mindful of the proper and practical question: What are the next steps? It indicates, therefore, the lines along which attacks can and will be made on the problem of applying its conclusions with respect to instruction in the social sciences. (Hearings, p. 478.)

After this comes what might be called the "pay-off":

3. As often repeated, the first step is to awaken and consolidate leadership around the philosophy and purpose of education herein expounded—leadership among administrators, teachers, boards of trustees, colleges and normal school presidents—thinkers and workers in every field of education and the social

sciences. Signs of such an awakening and consolidation of leadership are already abundantly evident; in the resolutions on instruction in the social sciences adopted in 1933 by the department of superintendence of the National Education Association at Minneapolis and by the association itself at Chicago; in the activities of the United States Commissioner of Education during the past few years; and in almost every local or national meeting of representatives of the teaching profession. (Hearings, p. 478.)

A concerted effort is thus to be made by all those having to do with education to help with the business of easing in the new era, the age of collectivism. The report sees signs of an "awakening and consolidation of leadership", noting among them "the resolutions on instruction in the social sciences adopted in 1933 by The Department of Superintendence of The National Education Association at Minneapolis and by The Association itself at Chicago." The American Historical Association announces further that it has taken over a publication called The Historical Outlook, a journal for social science teachers, (it was then re-named The Social Sciences). Among the new purposes of the publication was to be "to furnish as rapidly as possible various programs of instruction organized within the frame of reference outlined by the Commission."

Writers of textbooks, said the report, were "expected to revamp and rewrite their old works in accordance with this frame of reference and new writers in the field of the social sciences will undoubtedly attack the central problem here conceived * * *." "Makers of programs in the social sciences in cities, towns and states" were expected to "recast existing syllabi and schemes of instruction * * *." Colleges and normal schools were to "review their current programs" and conform to the "frame of reference." One of the objectives was the "guaranteeing" of "a supply of teachers more competent to carry out the philosophy and purpose here presented."

"Educational journalism" was expected to follow the same line. And, continues the Report, it is important that "the spirit" of its "frame of reference" be "understood and appreciated" in order to "facilitate the fulfillment of the Commission's offering."

This Committee finds the document from which we have quoted an astounding piece of work. We cannot understand how a foundation, Carnegie in this instance, administering funds dedicated to a public trust and made free of taxation by the grace of the people, could justify itself in having supported such a program. Is this what foundation executives refer to when they assert the right of foundations to "experiment" and to use "risk capital" to reach "new horizons?" These same men caution Congress against any regulation or control which would deprive them of the freedom to use foundation funds as they, the supposed elite, see fit. We wonder whether they have merited that confidence. We wonder whether our society can afford to let them "experiment" with our institutions—whether we the people of the United States can afford the "risk"!

The aggregate import of this document financed by the Carnegie Corporation was that our American way of life was a failure; that it must give way to a collectivist society; that educators must now prepare the public for a New Order; and traditional American principles must be abandoned. In his filed statement, Mr. Dollard, President of the Carnegie Corporation says: "The Corporation regards its entire program as 'pro-American'." We do not so regard the product

in which it invested hundreds of thousands of dollars of public-dedicated money.

The late Congressman Shafer and his collaborator, Mr. Snow, expressed their view of this foundation-supported Report in *The Turning of the Tides*:

"A strategic wedge was driven in 1934 following the *Conclusions and Recommendations of the American Historical Association's Commission on Social Studies*.

"Its point of entry was adroitly chosen. The *Commission* proposed to consolidate the traditional high school subjects of geography, economics, sociology, political science, civics and history, into a single category designated as the 'social studies'. Here was the most strategic of all teaching areas for the advancement of a particular philosophy.

"Success in enlisting teachers in this field in the cause of a 'new social order' would have an influence out of all proportion to the number of teachers involved.

"What this all meant was summed up by Professor Harold J. Laski, philosopher of British socialism. He stated:

"'At bottom, and stripped of its carefully neutral phrases, the report is an educational program for a socialist America' ". [Emphasis supplied.] (Hearings, p. 480.)

The reader who would excuse *The Carnegie Corporation* from responsibility for the report of its agent, *The American Historical Association* on the ground that it merely provided the funds for the study project, must reconcile this viewpoint, so assiduously nurtured by foundation spokesmen, with the fact that the annual report of the President and Treasurer of *The Carnegie Corporation of New York* for 1933-4 not only endorsed but lauded this program of socialism:

"That its (*the Commission's*) findings were not unanimously supported within the *Commission* itself, and that they are already the subject of vigorous debate outside it, does not detract from their importance, and both the educational world and the public at large owe a debt of gratitude both to the Association for having sponsored this important and timely study in a field of peculiar difficulty, and to the distinguished men and women who served upon the *Commission*."

According to *The Carnegie Corporation*, the public owes a debt of gratitude for the production of a document of tremendous influence in the educational field promoting socialism!

It must not be concluded that the report referred to was an accidental or incidental thing, the product of one isolated group, the opinion of a tiny fraction of the foundation-financed intellectual world. The following quotation is from *Education for the New America*, by Willard E. Givens, in the Proceedings of the 72nd Annual Meeting of *The National Education Association*:

"A dying laissez-faire must be completely destroyed and all of us, including the 'owners' must be subjected to a large degree of social control. A large section of our discussion group, accepting the conclusions of distinguished students, maintain that in our fragile, interdependent society the credit agencies, the basic industries and utilities cannot be centrally planned and operated under private ownership." [Hearings, p. 482.]

Nor was Mr. Givens himself an isolated person acting solely on his own. He was executive secretary of the *NEA* from 1935 to 1952 and was given its award in 1953 for his "many contributions to the field of education" which were deemed "without parallel."

In the *Agenda of Democracy*, by C. E. Merriam, vice-chairman of the *National Resources Planning Board* and for many years the leading figure in *The Social Science Research Council*, the author wrote:

"The days of little-restricted laissez-faire, the days when government was looked upon as a necessary evil—these have gone for a long time, perhaps forever, although in the mutations of time one never knows what forms may recur." [Hearings, p. 482.]

Example after example can be given of the widespread expression, by persons connected with or financed by foundations, of approving conviction that free enterprise was dead and a new order must be ushered in, an order of collectivism.

The Commission on Higher Education appointed by the President produced a report in the form of six pamphlets in 1947. The President of *The American Council of Learned Societies* was Chairman of this Commission. The reports gave credit to *The American Council of Learned Societies*, *The American Council on Education*, *The American Association of University Professors* and *The Association of Land Grant Colleges and Universities* for aid received.

This report emphasized that higher education must be guided to help usher in the new society. Not only was the domestic scene to be changed by a concerted effort on the part of the intellectual leaders of the nation, but we were to be led toward world citizenship as well. The Report of the *President's Commission on Higher Education* contained this statement:

PREPARATION FOR WORLD CITIZENSHIP

In speed of transportation and communication and in economic interdependence, the nations of the globe are already one world; the task is to secure recognition and acceptance of this oneness in the thinking of the people, as that the concept of one world may be realized psychologically, socially and in good time politically.

It is this task in particular that challenges our scholars and teachers to lead the way toward a new way of thinking.

* * * * *

There is an urgent need for a program for world citizenship that can be made a part of every person's general education. (Hearings, p. 483.)

'SOCIAL ENGINEERING' AND EDUCATION.

The 1947 Report of the *President's Commission on Higher Education* makes clear that our old friend, the "social engineer", is to lead us into better pastures. It recites:

It will take social science and *social engineering* to solve the problems of human relations. Our people must learn to respect the need for special knowledge and technical training in this field as they have come to defer to the expert in physics, chemistry, medicine, and other sciences. (Hearings, p. 483.) [Emphasis supplied.]

The people are no longer to direct their own welfare. "Scientists" must be trained to lead us, to "engineer" us into that better world, domestic and international, which only these experts are capable of determining. It would, of course, be foolish to discount the valuable aid which specialists can give in the advancement of human knowledge and the development of a better society. But the concept of "social engineering" is one with which this Committee has no sympathy. It is again the concept of an elite group determining what is good for the people; it smacks so closely of the fascist principle of a guiding party that we find it distasteful and indigestible. That the governing party might be composed of presumed scientists does not make it a more palatable dish. Moreover, there is evidence enough in the record that the "social sciences" are not sciences and the "social scientists" cannot fairly compare themselves with the experts in physics, chemistry, medicine, and other sciences. *There is something completely false, as well as highly dangerous, in the entire concept of "social engineering."*

The presumption of it all is quite astounding. The same report contains this statement:

Colleges must accelerate the normal slow rate of social change which the educational system reflects; we need to find ways quickly of making the understanding and vision of our most farsighted and sensitive citizens the common possession of all our people. (Hearings, pp. 483, 484.)

Who are these "most farsighted and sensitive citizens" who are to use the colleges and universities to accelerate the "normally slow rate of social change?" They are, of course, the intellectual elite, the foundation-financed, self-appointed "social engineers" who misleadingly bear the title of "scientist" by carrying the label of "social" scientists. "We need", says the report, "men in education who can apply at the point of social action what the social scientist has discovered regarding the laws of human behavior." The basic laws of human behavior have not been "discovered" by self-designated "scientists" but by great philosophers and ethical leaders. We doubt that the social-scientific mind can be relied upon to discover, by inductive methods and quantitative measurement, such laws of human behavior as may be sound determinants in delineating a new society.

"Certainly", continues the report, "the destiny of mankind today rests as much with the social sciences as with the natural sciences." That statement may well be doubted. What is more serious is that these "social scientists" who subscribe to the point of view expressed do not truly mean that the solution rests in science. They do mean that it rests in their own opinions and predilections. That is evidenced by the following quotations from an article in *Progressive Education* for January-February, 1934 by Horace M. Kallen, a member of the *President's Commission*, entitled "*Can We Be Saved by Indoctrination?*":

I find, within the babel of plans and plots against the evils of our times, one only which does not merely repeat the past but varies from it. This is a proposal that the country's pedagogues shall undertake to establish themselves as the country's saviors. It appears in two pamphlets. The first is a challenge to teachers entitled, "Dare the Schools Build a New Social Order?" Its author is George Counts. The second is, "A Call to the Teachers of the Nation."

With an imagination unparalleled among the saviors of civilization, with a faith stronger than every doubt and an earnestness overruling all irony, Mr. Counts suggests that the Great Revolution might be better accomplished and the Great Happiness more quickly established if the teachers rather than the proletarians seized power.

Having taken power, the teachers must use it to attain the "central purpose" of realizing the "American Dream." They must operate education as the instrument of social regeneration. This consists of inculcating right doctrine. (Hearings, p. 484.)

Clearly enough "right doctrine" is what the elite believe in.

A strong proponent of this proposal that the social scientist should be given the task of directing society is Professor Norman Woelfel. His *Molders of the American Mind*, was dedicated "to the teachers of America, active sharers in the building of attitudes, may they collectively choose a destiny which honors only productive labor and promotes the ascendancy of the common man over the forces that make possible an economy of plenty." In it, we find this:

To the teachers of America, active sharers in the building of attitudes, may they collectively choose a destiny which honors only productive labor and pro-

notes the ascendancy of the common man over the forces that make possible an economy of plenty.

The younger generation is on its own and the last thing that would interest modern youth is the salvaging of the Christian tradition. The environmental controls which technologists have achieved, and the operations by means of which workers earn their livelihood, need no aid or sanction from God nor any blessing from the church.

The influence which may prove most effective in promoting the demise of private business as the dominant force in American economic life is the modern racketeer. His activities are constantly in the spotlight of public attention, and the logic upon which he pursues them is the logic of competitive business. He carries the main principles of the business life to their logical extreme and demonstrates their essential absurdity. Like the businessman he is interested in gain, and like the businessman he believes in doing the least to get the most, in buying cheap and selling dear. Like the businessman he believes in attaining a monopoly by cornering the market whenever possible. *The chief difference between the racketeer and the businessman is that the businessman's pursuits have about them an air of respectability given by customary usage and established law.* He may pursue them in the open, advertise them in the public press and over the radio, whereas the racketeer must work undercover.

In the minds of the men who think experimentally, America is conceived as having a destiny which bursts the all too obvious limitations of Christian religious sanctions and of capitalistic profit economy.

This Committee wonders whether the phrase "the men who think experimentally" relates to the insistence of many foundation executives that foundation funds must be used as "risk capital," for "experiment." Is this the kind of experiment which the foundations defend? Professor Woelfel makes his own experimental objectives very clear:

From the vantage point of the present study, the following objectives for educators are suggested. They, in no sense, purport to be all-comprehensive or final. They do, however, lay claim to be along the line of much needed strategy if educational workers are to play any important part in the society which is building in America.

5. Active participation by educators and teachers in various organizations of the lay public agitating for social reforms whose realization would be in harmony with evolving ideals of American society.

9. Active participation of individual educators and of professional organizations of educators in the gradually crystallizing public effort to create out of prevailing chaos and confusion in economic, political, spiritual, ethical, and artistic realms a culture which is under no continuing obligations to past American or foreign cultural pattern.

11. A system of school administration constructed under the guidance of experimental social philosophy with the major aim of meeting the professional needs of teachers. This implies relegating the elaborate administrative technology modeled after business practice and capitalistic finance to the background where it may be drawn upon when needed in reconstruction programs.

14. A program of public elementary and secondary education organized in the interest of collective ideals and emphasizing the attainment of economic equality as fundamental to the detailed determination of more broadly cultural aims.

15. Centralized organization in public education to an extent which will not only guarantee provision of the most valid knowledge together with adequate facilities for incorporating it into educational practice in every local community throughout the country, but promote as well the construction of attitudes, in the populace, conducive to enlightened reconstruction of social institutions.

16. A program of public vocational, professional, and higher education integrally organized in terms of a social order wherein all natural resources and the entire industrial structure is controlled by governmental agencies and operated for the

equal benefit of all. This portends educational planning in terms of broadly cultural and creative motives and the final disappearance of programs of education based upon the motive of individual monetary success.

20. Gradual abolition of specified grades, subjects, textbooks, testing, and promotion schemes as conceived under the present administrative-supervisory set-up in public education. The development of a series of flexible organizational schemes and teaching programs by local faculties under the guidance and sanction of professional associations and of the lay public.

21. Domination of all specific teaching aims for an indefinite period by the general aim of rendering the attitudes of all normal individuals toward all the problems of life sufficiently tentative to allow for growth and change. (Hearings, pp. 485, 486.) [Emphasis supplied.]

Professor Woelfel does not mince words. In an article, in *Progressive Education* in 1934 called *The Educator, The New Deal and Revolution* he said:

The call now is for the utmost capitalization of the discontent manifest among teachers for the benefit of revolutionary social goals. This means that all available energies of radically inclined leaders within the profession should be directed toward the building of a united radical front. Warm collectivistic sentiment and intelligent vision, propagated in clever and undisturbing manner by a few individual leaders, no longer suits the occasion.

If we wish the intelligent utilization of the marvelous natural resources and the superb productive machinery which America possesses, for all of the people, with common privileges, and an equal chance to all for the realization of exclusively human potentialities—that is possible, although we must not blindly shrink from the fact that it may require some use of force against those at present privileged. (Hearings, p. 486.)

Professor Woelfel's call to force indicates the intensity of the messianic impulse of many of the social scientists who contributed to the movement for the reform of society, the financing of which was chiefly supplied by foundation funds.

In the *Social Frontier*, of which DR. COUNTS was editor and Professor Woelfel an associate editor, appeared these remarks in the October 1934 issue:

In a word, for the American people, the age of individualism in economy is closing and an age of collectivism is opening. Here is the central and dominating reality in the present epoch.

Page 5, Educating for Tomorrow:

To enable the school to participate in raising the level of American life the educational profession must win meaningful academic freedom, not merely the freedom for individuals to teach this or that, but the freedom of the teaching profession to utilize education in shaping the society of tomorrow. (Hearings, p. 488.)

and

The task of enlarging the role of education in shaping the future of our collective life cannot be accomplished by individual educators nor by individual institutions. It is a task for an organized profession as a whole. It is a task which the NEA might make its central project. (Hearings, p. 489.)

We submit to the membership of the NEA that its role in the life of the nation would be greatly enhanced if it identified itself with an ideal of social living which alone can bring the social crisis to a happy resolution—a collectivistic and classless society. We further submit that the effectiveness of the NEA would be greatly increased if instead of looking for defenders of education among the ranks of conservative groups, it would identify itself with the underprivileged classes who are the real beneficiaries of public education and who can find their adjustment only in a radically democratic social order. (Hearings, p. 489.)

Professor Woelfel's appeal to *The National Education Association* is indeed a dangerous one, in view of the power of that organization. The 1953 *NEA Handbook* proclaims that the Association has 490,000 individual members and 950,000 affiliated members; that it consists of 66 state organizations and 4434 Affiliated Associations; that it has 29 departments, 14 Headquarters divisions and 23 Commissions and Committees: It says:

"THE NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION IS THE ONLY ORGANIZATION THAT REPRESENTS OR HAS THE POSSIBILITY OF REPRESENTING THE GREAT BODY OF TEACHERS IN THE UNITED STATES." [Emphasis supplied.]

It thus professes itself to be a monopoly. As it is characteristic of organizations that a small group usually controls, it gives one pause to think what such a powerful organization could do if its leaders listened to voices like that of Professor Woelfel.

The activities of *The Progressive Education Association* (for some period called the *American Education Fellowship*) have been strongly in the direction of the promotion of the thesis that the schools should be used as an instrument for social change. This organization, which up to 1943, had received \$4,257,800 from foundations (we do not have a record of subsequent donations) indicated its position in its publication called at various times, *The Social Frontier*, *Frontiers of Democracy*, and *Progressive Education*. In the issue of December 15, 1942, for example, appeared a series of letters by PROFESSOR RUGG which constitute a "call to arms." He announces *The Battle for Consent*. The "Consent" is the consent of the governed to accept change, and it is the position of PROFESSOR RUGG (of whom, more later) which undoubtedly was supported by *The Progressive Education Association*, that this consent can only be obtained through proper education of the people. They must, we gather, be educated into understanding the necessity for social change as Professor Rugg believes it should change—then the battle for the new era can be won. Thus the schools are to be a weapon by these agitators for the winning of the war against our institutions.

There may not have been a (legal) "conspiracy" to change our social and governmental system, but a mass of evidence demonstrates that the most influential formulators of educational thought strenuously attempted to suborn our schools and that heavy contributions from the tax-exempt foundations provided them with effective sounding-boards for their subverting doctrines.

THE FOUNDATION-SUPPORTED COLLECTIVIST TEXT-BOOKS—THE BACKGROUND.

The witness Aaron M. Sargent is a lawyer actively practicing in the State of California, to the bar of which he was admitted in 1926. He testified that he had 27 years' active experience in the practice of law and 17 years "concerned to some extent with anti-subversive work and investigations affecting American education, and particularly the public schools system." He participated in hearings in 1941-42 before the San Francisco City Board of Education in regard to Rugg social science textbooks. At the request of the California Society, *Sons of the American Revolution*, he studied the progressive system of education between 1942 and 1945 and inquired into the textbook condition of the state schools and the State Department of Education in Sacramento.

In 1946 he began an inquiry which led up to proceedings which were brought to Congress on the so-called *Building America* textbooks. He handled these proceedings for the *Sons of the American Revolution* before the State Board of Education in California and California legislative committees. He drafted legislative bills on education and studied the national aspects of this subversive teaching problem. He is the author of a *Bill of Grievances* which was filed with the Judiciary Committee of the United States Senate and the House Committee on Un-American Activities by the *National Society, Sons of the American Revolution*, and conducted the research on which that document was based.

In May, 1952 for a brief period he was employed as a consultant for staff work in research by the Senate Internal Security Committee. In 1952-53 he directed research at the *Hoover Institute at Stanford University on War, Peace and Revolution*. He served for a number of years as Chairman of the Americanization Committee of the National Society, Sons of the American Revolution. He had been approached by Congressman Cox, Chairman of the Cox Committee, to act as Counsel to that Committee.

Mr. Sargent testified that in his opinion the investigation of this Committee "is one of the most important matters which has ever come before the Congress of the United States. It concerns the national security, the defense of the principles set forth in the Constitution of the United States. You will find that the situation confronting you is the result of a disregard of trust responsibility—a condition amounting to abdication of duty by the trustees of the tax-exempt foundations which have exerted such a great influence in the history of our country since the turn of the century." (Hearings, p. 198.)

Mr. Sargent stated in his opinion the following should be the yardstick to be applied to the conduct of foundations:

Standards of foundation conduct: It is the duty of tax-exempt foundations and their trustees to observe and be guided by the following standards of conduct:

First: Patriotism. To bear true faith and allegiance to the philosophy and principles of government set forth in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States.

Second: Loyalty. To be active and positive in supporting the United States Government against revolutionary and other subversive attacks;

To put patriotic money at the disposal of patriotic men in this field of education to enable them to support and defend our Constitution and form of government.

Third: Obedience to law. To faithfully obey the laws of the United States and the provisions of State law under which foundation charters are granted;

Fourth: Respect for exemption. To use the tax-exemption privilege in good faith, recognizing the purpose for which that privilege is granted;

To refrain from supporting communism, socialism, and other movements which (1) increase the cost of government, (2) endanger the national security, or (3) threaten the integrity of the Federal Government.

The fifth standard here is academic responsibility. This is a part of my concept of standards of foundation conduct.

Academic responsibility requires these foundations to limit their activities to projects which are, in fact, educational, and are conducted in an academically responsible manner in accordance with proper academic standards;

To refrain from using education as a device for lobbying or a means to disseminate propaganda. (Hearings, pp. 108, 201.)

In using the term "socialism" Mr. Sargent carefully distinguished this area of criticism, defining the term as follows:

When I use the term "socialism," I refer to the political movement which is known as the Socialist movement. The movement which is working for a general program of planned economy based on nationalization of industry, business,

national resources, and credit. The political operation of a nation's economy, not fragmentary things. Politics is something which these foundations are not supposed to go into, and I think they have no right to undermine the basis of their exemption by doing things of that type. (Hearings p. 201.)

Mr. Sargent's testimony concerned itself chiefly with the support by foundations of policies and programs in education of a nature which he deemed destructive of American principles. He narrated that a movement began in the United States shortly before the turn of the century, closely related to Fabian socialism, which had previously become established in Great Britain "which has undermined and almost destroyed the economic system of Great Britain." According to Mr. Sargent, a group of American radical intellectuals organized an attack upon patriotism, "challenging basic American philosophy founded on the doctrine of natural law." He asserted that this group sought to slant and distort history and to introduce a new and revolutionary philosophy, based on the teachings of John Dewey. He called this movement "the greatest betrayal which has ever occurred in American history." (Hearings, p. 203.) He indicated that one of the most vicious aspects of this betrayal was the attack on the doctrine of unalienable rights and natural law set forth in the Declaration of Independence. (Hearings p. 206.)

Mr. Sargent suggested that foundations had supported a movement to attack the stature and function of the Supreme Court as the bulwark of our judiciary system, pointing out that in October, 1936, before the Presidential election, a group of educators had put in the hands of American school children a school book advocating a plan to pack the Supreme Court of the United States. (Hearings, p. 213.)

He accused the foundations of propaganda in having a consistent policy of always supporting one side of controversies having political connotations and never supporting the other. The side which the foundations have neglected is the side of conservatism. (Hearings, p. 214.)

Citing the book, *Fabianism in Great Britain*, by Sister Margaret Patricia McCarran, the daughter of Senator McCarran, which narrates the history of Fabianism in England, Mr. Sargent drew a parallel between this movement and its intellectual offspring, the socialist movement in the United States. What he described as the "beachhead" occurred with the organization of *The Intercollegiate Socialist Society* in 1905 under the direction of Jack London, Upton Sinclair and others. This organization, which we have already discussed,²⁶ later changed its name to *The League for Industrial Democracy* and exists and operates to this day as a tax-exempt foundation. Branches were installed in many of the major colleges and universities, and persons now well-known were among the leaders of these branch groups, among them BRUCE BLIVEN, FRED KIRCHWEY, Paul (Senator) Douglas, KENNETH MACGOWAN, ISADORE LUBIN, EVANS CLARK, JOHN TEMPLE GRAVES, Jr., and others. The purpose of the *Society* was the active promotion of socialism. (Hearings, p. 220.)

ROBERT MORSS LOVETT, a man with a total of 56 Communist front affiliations, became the first president of the *Intercollegiate Socialist League*. (Hearings, pp. 221, 222, 223, 224.)

²⁶ See page —.

Mr. Sargent indicated that the movement propelled by this socialist group took over the teaching of John Dewey "who expounded a principle which has become destructive of traditions and has created the difficulties and the confusion, much of it, that we find today. Professor Dewey denied that there was any such thing as absolute truth, that everything was relative, everything was doubtful, that there were no basic values and nothing which was specifically true." With this philosophy, Mr. Sargent points out, "you automatically wipe the slate clean, you throw historical experience and background to the wind and you begin all over again, which is just exactly what the Marxians want someone to do." John Dewey, said Mr. Sargent was a "gift from the Gods to the radicals." His teachings brought on attacks on American tradition and on patriotism. (Hearings, p. 217.)

A natural consequence of this movement to reject tradition was an undermining of the doctrine of inalienable rights proclaimed by the Declaration of Independence and a denial of the theory of natural rights upon which our government is based.

According to Mr. Sargent, the philosophy of John Dewey had appeared just about the time when John D. Rockefeller established his first foundation, *The General Education Board* in 1902. It was an era of reform agitation; and reform was badly needed in several areas of our economic and social life. The socialists, crypto-socialists and collectivists then took hold of the Dewey philosophy and spread it, taking advantage of the existing discontent to make considerable inroads in academic fields. *The National Education Association*, another tax-free organization, also began early to promote the Dewey philosophy.

Mr. Sargent narrated that, in 1916 the Department of Educational Research was established at Teachers College, Columbia University. Under its direction, *The Lincoln School* was established in 1917, and this "kindled the fire which helped to spread progressive education." The quotation is from a pamphlet issued by *Teachers College* itself. The same pamphlet states that John D. Rockefeller made available \$100,000 per year for ten years for Teachers College through *The International Education Board*, to establish and maintain an *International Institute* at that College. It also recorded, among other things, that a DR. GEORGE S. COUNTS had been made Associate Director of the *Institute* a few years before 1923. (Hearings, pp. 252, 253.) Reference will later be made to the opinions of DR. COUNTS. Suffice it to record here that his work proceeded with *Rockefeller Foundation* financing.

Mr. Sargent pointed out that the period under discussion was one of growing intellectual radicalism, citing the statement of Professor Von Mises that socialism does not spring from the people but is a program instigated by special types of intellectuals "that form themselves into a clique and bore from within and operate that way. * * * It is not a people's movement at all. It is a capitalizing on the people's emotions and sympathies and skillfully directing those sympathies toward a point these people wish to reach." (Hearings p. 254.)

THE RUGG TEXTBOOKS.

Among these intellectuals was PROFESSOR HAROLD RUGG, who began issuing pamphlets in the *Lincoln Experimental School* as early

as 1920. The Rugg pamphlets subsequently were developed into what came to be known as the *Rugg Social Science Textbook Series*. About five million of these books had been put into the American public schools. Yet their character may be assessed through a proceeding before the San Francisco Board of Education as a result of which a panel of highly competent men was appointed to evaluate the Rugg books: the Provost of the University of California, professors at Mills College, the University of San Francisco and Stanford University, and a member of the Bar.

The report of this panel was unanimous; it recommended that the Rugg textbooks be barred. The Report is well-worth reading. (Hearings, p. 256, et seq.) It condemns the *RUGG* books for advocating the principle that "it is one of the functions of the school, indeed it appears at times to be the chief function, to plan the future of society. From this view we emphatically dissent. Moreover, the books contain a constant emphasis on our national defects. Certainly we should think it a great mistake to picture our nation as perfect or flawless either in its past or its present, but it is our conviction that these books give a decidedly distorted impression through over-stressing weaknesses and injustices. They therefore tend to weaken the student's love for his country, respect for its past and confidence in its future."

One of the members of the panel, Mr. McKinnon, added:

What Professor Rugg is trying to do is to achieve a social reconstruction through education. The end in view is a new social order in which all the aspects of human relationships, including the political and economic, are to be refashioned and rebuilt. The means by which this end is to be accomplished is education.

* * * * *

The lack of an underlying assumption of moral law which is inherent in human nature and which is the norm of good conduct, of happiness, and of socially desirable traits, is evident throughout the texts. Professor Rugg, of course rejects such an idea of law.

* * * * *

Nothing is more insistent in the books than the idea of change. From the habit of denying facts and fixed realities, Professor Rugg proceeds to the motion of trial and error in all human affairs. One is never sure one is right. Since everything changes, there is nothing upon which one can build with permanence. Experiment is the rule in social affairs as well as in physical science—experiment in government, in education, in economics, and in family life.

* * * * *

Throughout the books runs an antireligious bias. (Hearings, p. 259.)

Joining his fellow panel-members in the unanimous decision to bar the *Rugg* books, Mr. McKinnon added:

America, in spite of all its faults, has achieved something in the history of social and political life which has borne rich fruit and which may bear richer provided we do not lose the thread. But this is the condition: provided we do not lose the thread.

What is that thread? It is the concept upon which our country was founded, that man is a rational being who possesses rights and duties. (Hearings, p. 260.)

Mr. McKinnon continued that PROFESSOR RUGG's philosophy contravened the principles of the Declaration of Independence. Mr. McKinnon said:

It is true that social conditions and circumstances change. The point is that the principles themselves do not change, for they are inherent in the nature of man, a nature which does not change. (Hearings, p. 260.)

DR. COUNTS AND OTHERS

It was *Rockefeller* money which had made possible this attempt by PROFESSOR RUGG, and those who agreed with his thesis, to use the schools as an active force for social and political change. This Committee wonders whether those who provided the money for such a movement acted in ignorance or with intention.

Nor was PROFESSOR RUGG alone. Among others who employed foundation largess in their attempt to introduce radical social and political change through the use of the school, was the DR. COUNTS to whom we have previously referred. In his pamphlet, *Dare the Schools Build a New Social Order*, published in 1932, a composition of addresses made to *The Progressive Education Association* in Washington and *The National Council of Education* in Washington, DR. COUNTS advocated "Education through indoctrination." The pamphlet is a call for action; education must be "emancipated" from the influence of the "conservative class"; "it is a fallacy that the school shall be impartial in its emphasis and that no bias should be given to instruction"; "Progressive education wishes to build a new world but refuses to be held accountable for the kind of world it builds."

In 1933 *The Progressive Education Association*, a foundation, supported in part by other foundations, issued a pamphlet called *A Call to The Teachers of the Nation*. It was prepared by a committee of which DR. COUNTS was chairman. It contained this:

"The progressive minded teachers of the country must unite in a powerful organization militantly devoted to the building of a better social order, in the defense of its members against the ignorance of the masses and the malevolence of the privileged. Such an organization would have to be equipped with the material resources, the talent, the legal talent, and the trained intelligence to wage successful war in the press, the courts, and the legislative chambers of the nation. To serve the teaching profession in this way should be one of the major purposes of the Progressive Education Association."

This Committee wonders whether anyone would seriously assert that such proposed conduct is properly encouraged by a tax-free foundation supported by other tax-free foundations. There can be little doubt that DR. COUNTS' call to action was answered, and answered with foundation funds.

It seems reasonable that one be known somewhat by the company one keeps. *The Progressive Education Association* (which had changed its name to the *American Education Fellowship*) publishes a magazine, *Progressive Education*. Its November, 1947 issue has a lead article by John J. DeBoer, the president of the organization, in which he recites that at the 1947 convention there were such speakers as W. E. B. DUBOIS (whose Communist front record is well-known) and LANGSTON HUGHES, a Communist. It is very edifying to learn that this educational organization was addressed by HUGHES, the author of the notorious poem, "Goodbye Christ", which contains sentiments such as this:

"Goodbye,
Christ Jesus Lord God Jehova,
Beat it on away from here now.
Make way for a new guy with no religion at all—
A real guy named
Marx, Communist Lenin, Peasant Stalin, Worker Me—"

In the same issue of the magazine there is an article by THEODORE BRAMELD entitled "A New Policy for A. E. F." (the American Education Fellowship). This article contains a resolution which was adopted at the 1947 convention and contains these interesting proposals:

"I. To channel the energies of education toward the reconstruction of the economic system, a system which should be geared with the increasing socializations and public controls now developing in England, Sweden, New Zealand, and other countries; a system in which national and international planning of production and distribution replaces the chaotic planlessness of traditional 'free enterprise'; a system in which the interests, wants and needs of the consumer dominate those of the producer; a system in which natural resources, such as coal and iron ore, are owned and controlled by the people, a system in which public corporations replace monopolistic enterprises and privately owned 'public' utilities; a system in which federal authority is synchronized with decentralized regional and community administration; a system in which social security and a guaranteed annual wage sufficient to meet scientific standards of nourishment, shelter, clothing, health, recreation, and education, are universalized; a system in which the majority of the people is the sovereign determinant of every basic economy policy.

"II. To channel the energies of education toward the establishment of genuine international authority in all crucial issues affecting peace and security; an order therefore in which all weapons of war (including atomic energy, first of all) and police forces are finally under that authority; an order in which international economic planning, of trade, resources, labor distribution and standards, is practiced, parallel with the best standards of individual nations; an order in which . . . races and religions receive equal rights in its democratic control; an order in which 'world citizenship' thus assumes at least equal status with national citizenship." [Emphasis supplied.]

The same THEODORE BRAMELD, writing in *Science and Society* in 1936, had said:

"The thesis of this article is simply that liberal educators who look towards collectivism as a way out of our economic, political, and cultural morass must give more serious consideration than they have thus far to the methodology of Marx. . . . The possibility remains that ultimately they will agree with the value of Marxian philosophy not only methodologically but systematically as well. But at present what they need especially to consider in devising a strong and skillful strategy to cross the social frontier of a new America, is whether Marxism has not less but rather more—much more—to offer than as yet they willingly admit." [Emphasis supplied.]

Now let us return to DR. COUNTS.

And what was this new social order of which *The Progressive Education Association* was to become a leader? DR. COUNTS became a member of the American Advisory Organization connected with the summer sessions at MOSCOW UNIVERSITY. The purpose of this Organization was to introduce American teachers and students to the new education methods used in Soviet Russia. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that DR. COUNTS, and perhaps some of his associates, were very sympathetic to the Communist experiments in education and willing enough to have them introduced into America. (Hearings, p. 266, et seq.) Mr. Sargent gave this as his opinion:

My comments are that this document shows a framework of a complete system of indoctrination of American educators which could only be put together on the theory of their receiving such indoctrination and coming back here and introducing it into our school system. It even includes the reflexology item I just referred to, including material on Pavlov, who was the author of the principles of brain washing. (Hearings, p. 283.)

DR. COUNTS' interest in things Russian was evident by several of his books, among them *The Soviet Challenge to America*. His work had the approval of the Russians, witness the February 1933 issue of the *Progressive Education Journal*, the official organ of the foundation

known as *The Progressive Education Association*, which contained an article in which reference was made to a letter written by Johansson I. Zilberfarb, a member of the State Scientific Council and Commissariat of Education of the Soviet Union. This was a letter to DR. COUNTS congratulating him on *Dare the School Build a New Social Order*, and the "remarkable progress you have made in challenging capitalism." He added "May I be so bold as to hope that your profound and consistent attack on the social order in your country will eventually lead you to a complete emancipation from American exclusiveness and intellectual messiahship so aptly exposed in your pamphlet, thus enabling you to consider all social progress from a universal proletarian point of view." (Hearings, p. 285.)

PROFESSOR RUGG and DR. COUNTS cannot lightly be dismissed as incidental examples of those "rare and inevitable mistakes" confessed by the foundations—on the contrary, both of these gentlemen appear by the evidence to be typical spearheads of the foundation-supported movement to convert our schools into vehicles for radical social change. DR. COUNTS, it should be noted, was among the signatories of the *Conclusions and Recommendations* of the *Commission on Special Studies of the American Historical Association*. We have already discussed it in detail, but Mr. Sargent's testimony on the *Conclusions and Recommendations* is particularly significant:

What these gentlemen propose to do is set forth in their chapter at the end talking about next steps. It says that it is first to awaken and consolidate leadership around the philosophy and purpose of education expounded in the report. That *The American Historical Association* in cooperation with the *National Council on the Social Studies* has arranged to take over the magazine, *The Outlook*, as a social science journal for teachers. That writers of textbooks are to be expected to revamp and rewrite their old works in accordance with this frame of reference. That makers of programs in social sciences in cities and towns may be expected to evaluate the findings. That it is not too much to expect in the near future a decided shift in emphasis from mechanics and methodology to the content and function of courses in the social studies. That is the gist of it.

This report became the basis for a definite slanting in the curriculum by selecting certain historical facts and by no longer presenting others, * * *. (Hearings, pp. 287 et seq.)

It seems undeniable that these *Conclusions and Recommendations* of the *American Historical Association* played a great part in the campaign to slant education by playing down American traditions, thus paving the way for radical social change, and other foundations and foundation-supported enterprises joined in this campaign.

In *The Progressive Education Magazine* of May, 1946 appeared an article by Norman Woelfel in which he stated:

"It might be necessary paradoxically for us to control our press as the Russian press is controlled and as the Nazi press is controlled." (Hearings, p. 292.)

The analogy with Russian methods seems pretty close. It was the purpose of the Communists in Russia (as it is the purpose of every totalitarianism) to condition youth to accept the new state. Radical educators in the United States such as Dr. Woelfel, DR. COUNTS and DR. RUGG, and there were many others, proposed a method quite similar. There is even some evidence to indicate that the progressive education movement itself was intended to be a vehicle for this form of thought control. (Hearings, p. 302.)

We have discussed another evident instrument of this movement to condition the American mind toward social change, namely *The*

League for Industrial Democracy. Mr. Sargent in his testimony referred to a letter written by HARRY W. LAIDLER, secretary of this organization, on September 9, 1935 which was a blueprint of their specific plans.

As to plans for the immediate future—we must launch student organization everywhere and at once, early in the college and high school year. We must build up the lecture circuits in new centers. We must arrange various radio programs. We must complete the pamphlets begun in the summer. These are preliminary to establishing a new research service which we believe will double the amount of research produced and reach a much larger audience than we have had in the past. The Chicago office, with a plan for extended work in the metropolitan area, is ready to reopen. The emergency committee for strikers relief will be called upon to renew its efforts on behalf of the sharecroppers who are about to undertake a cotton pickers strike.

In addition to our major program, the L. I. D. continues its work of active cooperation with other groups. By arrangement with the New Beginning group, which carries on underground work in Germany, one of its leaders is to come to America under our auspices. With several defense organizations we are undertaking a campaign to widen the support for Angelo Herndon; we are active on the Sacramento defense committee to fight the criminal syndicalism laws in California. Other joint efforts find the L. I. D. actively participating. (Hearings, p. 306.)

THE BUILDING AMERICA TEXTBOOKS.

The story of the *Building America* textbooks is as good an example as any of the attempt by radical educators financed by foundations to suborn the schools. *The General Education Board of Rockefeller* provided over \$50,000 to assist in the development of this series of textbooks. (Hearings, p. 309.) It is impossible to believe that those in this Foundation who authorized the work did not appreciate what its significance could be. The 1940 Annual Report of *The General Education Board* describes the "project" in some detail and anticipates that it will cover such subjects as "planning and natural resources", "personal security and self-development", "free enterprise and collectivism", etc.

Mr. Sargent pointed out instance after instance in which the attempt was made to destroy our traditions and to use the schools for political propaganda. (Hearings, p. 311, et seq.) *Yet these books were taken over by the National Education Association and promoted broadly for use in the schools.*

These NEA sponsored books came under severe criticism in the State of California where, as a result of a proceeding, they were barred from the California schools. The report of the Senate Investigating Committee on Education of the California Legislature, known as the Dilworth Committee, severely condemned these books and labeled them as subtle attempts to play up Marxism and to destroy our traditions. Interesting quotations from the report of this Committee are to be found on page 315 of the Hearings and elsewhere.

The legislative report listed the many front organizations of some of the authors of reference material in these books, among them ANNA LOUISE STRONG, ALBERT RHYS, and ALLEN ROBERTS. One cannot read the quotations from these books and the comments of the California legislative committee, as contained in the testimony of Mr. Sargent (Hearings, p. 309 et seq.), without coming to the conclusion that *these books promoted by the National Education Association and financed by the Rockefeller Foundation contained vicious, radical propaganda in substantial degree.*

Part of the plan of the radical educators financed by foundations was apparently to combine various courses, history, geography, etc.

into a new course generally known as "social studies". This mechanism assisted them in using the schools for propaganda. Later, borrowing a Communist term, the combined courses were sometimes called "core studies". Mr. Sargent pointed out that there was a blackout in history in California for a long period. No history books were furnished by the Department of Education from 1928 to almost 1940. It was not until a legislative investigation that history books were furnished as required by law. The *Building America* books apparently took their place. The books, along with a great amount of propaganda, lampooned some of our great traditional figures such as Lincoln and Jefferson and in contrast exhibited Stalin in friendly light. The Dilworth Committee was profoundly shocked at the presence of a cartoon showing President Lincoln burying the Constitution. Nothing was provided to teach the children that Lincoln was a noble and inspiring character. As the Dilworth Committee said:

"Nothing so vividly illustrates the change in attitude of some of our national educational leaders in some policy-forming positions of the National Education Association of professional educators and teachers as this about-face toward the memory of Abraham Lincoln who lived and labored 'That government of the people, by the people and for the people shall not persih from the earth.'" (Hearings, p. 319.)

The Committee Report stated further:

"There are two great Americans that the devotees of foreign isms and ideologies consistently smear. They are Abraham Lincoln because he suppressed a revolution and Thomas Jefferson because he is the great advocate of rights of state and individuals as opposed to centralized government control." (Hearings, p. 319.)

It could not have been coincidence that the Dilworth Committee

"found among other things that 113 Communist-front organizations had to do with some of the material in these books and that 50 Communist-front authors were connected with it. Among the authors are Sidney and Beatrice Webb, identified with the Fabian Socialist Movement in Great Britain." (Hearings, p. 319.)

One of the basic components of the *Building America* textbooks was a pamphlet entitled the *American Way of Business*, by OSCAR LANGE and ABBA P. LERNER. Both have been beneficiaries of Rockefeller fellowships. Both have been collectivists for a long time. OSCAR P. LANGE, a professor at the University of Chicago under ROBERT MAYNARD HUTCHINS, renounced his American citizenship in Warsaw in order to accept appointment as ambassador to the United Nations from Communist dominated Poland. It would be difficult for the *National Education Association* or the *Rockefeller Foundation* to convince the average American citizen that the "American way of business" should be taught to the American school child by MESSRS. LANGE and LERNER. The following are quotations from this piece of literature widely promoted for use in our schools:

* * * * *

"The idea of abolishing private enterprise came from socialist thinkers who believed that this change would actually further the development and freedom of the individual."

* * * * *

"Public enterprise must become a major constituent of our economy, if we are really going to have economic prosperity."

* * * * *

"It is necessary to have public ownership of banking and credit (investment banks and insurance companies)."

* * * * *

"A publicly owned banking and credit system alone is compatible with the flexibility of capital value necessary to maintain competitive standards in production and trade."

* * * * *

"it is necessary to have public ownership of monopolistic key industries. . . . The legal basis for public ownership of such industries should be provided by an amendment to the anti-trust laws, providing that in cases of proved repetition of monopolistic practices and impossibility of correcting the situation on the basis of private enterprise, the companies in question should be transferred into public ownership and operated on the 'principle of public service.' "

* * * * *

"It is necessary to have public ownership of basic natural resources (mines, oil fields, timber, coal, etc.)."

* * * * *

"in order to insure that the public corporations act in accordance with the competitive 'rules of the game,' special economic court (enjoying the same independence as the courts of justice) might be established . . . and that the economic court be given the power to repeal any rules of Congress, of legislatures, or of the municipal councils. . . ."

The *Building America* textbooks are apparently still used in some of the schools. They are being used in Arlington, Virginia and in Maryland right now. (Hearings, p. 320.)

Mr. Sargent introduced evidence that *The National Education Association* in the anxiety of its leaders to promote a "progressivism" in education along radical lines has been aggressive in its "smeared" of Americans who opposed its policies (Hearings, p. 321, et seq.), has engaged in extensive lobbying and interfered substantially with the local jurisdiction of school authorities.

Mr. Sargent testified that in his opinion the chief support for the radical movement in education had come from the *Rockefeller, Carnegie and Ford Foundations*.

Mr. SARGENT. *The Rockefeller Foundation* has actively promoted and supported the injection and the propagation of the so-called John Dewey system of experimental education and has aided the introduction of Communist practices in our school system and is defending and supporting the continuance of those practices in the schools.

Mr. HAYS. That is the *Rockefeller Foundation*?

Mr. SARGENT. Yes, sir, and also the *General Education Board* and the *International Education Institute*.

Carnegie has aided it through various grants; both of them incidentally are carrying on a lobby and a very extensive lobby, involving the schools which I will testify about this afternoon.

The Ford Foundation has become the lobby which has interfered or is interfering with the integrity of local schools and is promoting world federalism and world federal government, among other things, and extending its power into many areas capable of being dangerous. (Hearings, p. 337.)

Many have pointed out that few of the major foundations do much, if anything, in the way of an affirmative defence of existing institutions. The witness, Mr. Sargent, testified that he had written to 115 text book publishers throughout the country to determine "what materials were available for instructing students and adult groups desiring to study the propaganda and activities of socialist and communist organizations, or for the study of the economic, financial and political and constitutional effects of Fabian Socialism and the social welfare state." (Hearings, p. 387.) He stated that the substance of the replies was "that practically no material of this kind was available by any of these publishers." He submitted supporting data to the Committee. It would be interesting to aggregate the total funds poured by foundations into the dissemination of leftist propaganda and compare it with

the tiny trickle which flowed into an exposition of the fallacies and frailties of collectivism.

THE MOSCOW UNIVERSITY SUMMER SESSIONS

In the hearings starting at page 272 is disclosed a remarkable document: a travel information folder published by World Tourists, Inc., an agency of the Soviet Government, announcing the Anglo-American Section of a summer session at Moscow University. The Institute of International Education, Inc., is listed as the "American Advisory Organization", and among its individual "advisors" appear the names of George S. Counts and Heber Harper. Then there is listed a "National Advisory Council" which contains the names of some eminent professors, presidents and chancellors of universities, and a selection of social scientists and executives of foundations. Immediately under this list of names there is the following recitation:

"The tremendous progress of the Soviet Union in the cultural field creates for Americans an unequalled observation ground for education, psychology, and the social sciences. The Soviet Union presents a unique opportunity for the study of the processes of cultural change. * * * The Soviet Union possesses the most progressive system of public education, extensively making use of the best achievements of international pedagogy. * * *"

Summer courses are then announced to be held in the University of Moscow, and the attendance of American students is solicited. Apparently they are to learn how pleasant life is in Soviet Russia and how much better the Communists have solved their social problems. The entire announcement is worth reading.

Significant is the fact, however, that among the members of the National Advisory Council which participated in the project were Stephen Duggan, director of the Institute of International Education; John A. Kingsbury, secretary of the Milbank Memorial Fund; Charles R. Mann, director of the American Council on Education; and Edward R. Murrow, then assistant director of the Institute of International Education. It was a strange venture, indeed, to receive American foundation support.

There had been previous summer sessions of the Moscow University—in 1933 and 1934. The first one (1933) was called the First Russian Seminar and Near East Cruise. The brochure for the 1935 Summer Session (Anglo-American Section of the Moscow State University) contains the following paragraph indicating that the 1933 session was also under the auspices of the Institute of International Education:

"In order to insure close cooperation with American educational institutions, and with students and educators in the United States, an advisory relationship was established in 1933 with the Institute of International Education. At the same time, a National Advisory Council of prominent American educators was formed by Professor Stephen Duggan to assist the Institute of International Education in its advisory capacity. To facilitate still closer rapprochement, each year several American educators are invited to Moscow as resident advisors to the Summer Session. Dr. George S. Counts and Dr. Heber Harper, Professors of Education, Teachers College, Columbia University, will act as advisors during the summer session of 1935."

The Advisory Committee for 1933 was:

STUART CHASE, New York City.

KENNETH CONANT, Associate Professor of Architecture, Harvard University.

SAMUEL H. CROSS, Assistant Professor of Slavic Languages and Literature, Harvard University.

HENRY W. L. DANA, Cambridge.

GEORGE N. DAY, Professor of Economics and Sociology, Occidental College.

SAMUEL N. HARPER, Professor of Russian Language and Institutions, The University of Chicago.

HENRY L. HARRIMAN, President, United States Chamber of Commerce, Boston.

BRUCE C. HOPPER, Assistant Professor of Government, Harvard University.

WALTER W. HYDE, Professor of Greek and Ancient History, University of Pennsylvania.

EDWARD R. MURROW, Assistant Director, Institute of International Education, Inc., New York City.

FRANK NOWAK, Professor of Slavic History, Boston University.

GROVE PATTERSON, Editor of the *Toledo Blade*, Toledo.

D. C. POOLE, School of Public and International Affairs, Princeton University.

GEROID T. ROBINSON, Associate Professor of History, Columbia University.

TREDWELL SMITH, New York City.

WHITING WILLIAMS, Cleveland.

According to the brochure (page 4) "The Summer Session is officially an organizational part of the Moscow State University" and

"The Moscow University Summer Session is sponsored in the Soviet Union by the Peoples' Commissariat of Education of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic; by VOKS, the All-Union Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries; and by *Intourist*, the State Travel Company of the U. S. S. R. *Intourist*, through its Educational Department, will supply information to persons interested."

VOKS was the subject of testimony before the Senate Internal Security Sub-committee Hearings (July 25, 1951-June 20, 1952) by two witnesses both of whom stated under oath that it was an operation supervised by the Communist Party. According to one witness the official translation of these letters is: "Society for Cultural Relations Between Soviet Union and Foreign Countries". He added, "Actually it was one of the cover organizations for, again, these double tracks, getting information from abroad to the Soviet Intelligence, and sending infiltration of ideas and selling Communist ideas to the west."

The 1933 announcement of the 1933 Seminar carried these statements under the heading "Seminar Aims":

"The Russian Revolution has brought on one of the greatest social upheavals of all time. Socialism has been given microscopic trials before, but never on such a Gargantuan scale. Now, in our own times and under our very eyes, the world's most important experiment in Communism is taking place. The inspirational opportunities for study and observation are unlimited. Would you like to have been an observer in France during the French Revolution? The present opportunity in Russia is of equal significance. The First Russian Seminar will take advantage of this opportunity.

* * * * *

"Those for whom the Seminar will be a success, those who derive the greatest benefit therefrom; those who will come away heavily laden with thought-provoking experiences and unforgettable memories, will be those members who have entered into the spirit of the Seminar. This may be tersely worded as follows: 'We are interested in seeing and understanding. We desire something more lasting than the memory of de luxe accommodations. For these we do not even need to leave our American homes where these comforts abound, but Russia has something to show us. Let us try to comprehend.'"

The 1934 session was known as the American Institute of Moscow University (instead of the Anglo-American Institute); and according to a report entitled "Report For the Institute of International Education" it functioned under the auspices of:

1. The Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries—VOKS
2. The All-Union Travel Company *Intourist*

The lectures were held in the morning, and the afternoons were devoted to field trips, 130 such excursions being made. After examinations students had a choice of one of the following four itineraries:

	Days	Students
1. Kharkov, Yalta, Sevastopol, Odessa, Kiev-----	15	39
2. Kharkov, Yalta, Sevastopol, Odessa, Kiev-----	10	66
Both these tours were conducted by Professor Svadkovsky (assistant director of the Central Pedagogical Institute) and Miss Samokhvalova.		
3. Gorki, Volga, Rostov, Kharkov, Kiev-----	15	40
Conducted by Y. L. Robbins of VOKS.		
4. Leningrad, Baltic and White Sea Canal, Kharkov and Kiev----	15	25
Conducted by Professor Gramp.		

Attendance of less than 40 at the 1933 session increased to 212 at the 1934 session (according to announcement of 1935 session), among whom were "undergraduates, teachers, principals, professors, psychologists, social workers, physicians, nurses and artists". The following reference to the previous sessions is also taken from the 1935 announcement:

"Basing their judgment upon the undeniable success of these ventures, the Soviet Educational authorities organized at the University of Moscow, an Anglo-American Section offering full and regular instruction in English. The students and professors of the 1933 and 1934 sessions approved the academic advantages of the plan, which enabled the student to travel during his vacation period and at the same time to further his own professional experience. It is a plan that has the full support of the foremost educators and scientists of the Soviet Union."

One of the academic regulations was:

"2. The course, "Principles of the Collective and Socialist Society" is *prerequisite for admission to all other courses*; however, the student may enroll simultaneously in this and other courses. Students may be exempted from this requirement by presenting evidence of having completed:

a. An equivalent course during the Moscow University Summer sessions of 1933 or 1934."

(Italics in original.)

Principles of the Collective and Socialist Society teach the violent overthrow of the traditional social order—it is the communist creed—yet it was "*prerequisite*" for acceptance at the *American Institute of the Moscow University*.

According to the same announcement folder:

"All student applications must be approved by the office of the Institute of International Education."

To summarize:

1. Summer sessions of the Moscow University were held in 1933 and 1934.

2. A projected summer session in 1935 was not held as such; however an "alternative program" was offered (see post).

3. The 1933 and 1934 sessions were under the auspices of a. VOKS—an undercover organization for soviet Intelligence.

b. The Institute of International Education.

Stephen Duggan (who advocated recognition of Russia in 1920, the father of Laurence Duggan—named under oath as a Soviet agent) was director of the Institute and Edward R. Murrow was assistant director, serving as acting director during Duggan's absence in 1933-34.

4. The announced 1935 summer session was to be under the same auspices.

5. Applications were subject to approval by the Institute of International Education.

6. Prerequisite for admission was the course which teaches the overthrow of government by force and violence.

Since all student applications were approved by the Institute it is interesting to look into some of those who were approved—obviously, it has been impossible to check into all of the over two hundred such students, nor does the committee have a complete list of them. The names referred to, however, are fairly familiar.

Julia Older

Sister of Andrew Older, an exposed Communist. According to the report made to the Institute of International Education on the 1934 Moscow Summer School "Julia Older of Hartford Courant" was chairman of the Editorial Committee which "prepared two issues of the student wall newspaper 'Soviet Summer'."

Julia Older Bazar appeared before the Internal Security Subcommittee on two occasions (September 25, and October 14, 1952) at which time she refused to answer questions regarding the Moscow University Summer school under the privilege of the Fifth Amendment.

At that time, Julia Older Bazar was employed by the Bureau of Documents and Editorial Control Section of the United Nations: "I review manuscripts that come through for reproduction and prepare reports of the various departments of the United Nations for publication."

She refused to state whether she had been a member of the Communist party while doing this work, or while she worked for the Farm Security Administration of the Department of Agriculture and the Coordinator of Information Office.

She refused to state whether she had been a roommate of Anna Louise Strong, an exposed Communist; and other questions regarding her activities drew a refusal to answer on "the basis of the first and fifth amendments."

John Bovingdon

According to the February 11, 1941 issue of *The Peoples World* (west coast official organ of the Communist Party) John Bovingdon was to lecture throughout America on "what Soviet Russia is trying to accomplish".

Referring to his stay in Russia, Bovingdon said his final successful year in Russia made him realize the work to be done in the United States.

Ring Lardner, Jr.

Exposed as a Hollywood Communist (as a result of his testimony before the House Un-American Activities Committee he was indicted and convicted) Ring Lardner, Jr., refused to answer as to his Communist Party membership, even when faced with a card showing membership in the Communist Party.

Oakley Johnson

The 1940 report of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities referred to the American League for Peace and Democracy (cited

by the Attorney General as subversive and Communist) and stated that its secretaries "Oakley Johnson and Dinald Henderson were well-known Communists".

Ballis Edwin Blaisdell

In May, 1953, Blaisdell testified before the Sub-committee of the House Un-American Activities investigating infiltration in Education that he had been approved to attend the Moscow University Summer session in 1935 and when it was not held availed himself of the opportunity offered to spend an equivalent amount of time travelling in the Soviet Union with guided tours. He also testified that the following spring—1936—he looked up the Communist Party address and joined the Party.

Mr. Hays (Hearings, p. 266 et seq.) stressed that the 1935 summer session of the American Institute of the Moscow State University was never held. That appears to be the fact; *yet it is equally the fact* that when the decision not to hold the session was reached an alternative program was offered and many of those "approved" by the Institute of International Education availed themselves of that alternative program. This is evidenced by the following letter, which is on file with one of the government agencies:

We, a group of students who were enrolled in the Anglo-American Summer School at the Moscow University, although regretting the necessity which caused the closing of the school, nevertheless wish to express our appreciation for the unending thoughtfulness shown us by the Intourist organization and staff in their efforts to make our stay in the Soviet Union enjoyable and instructive. No expense has been spared to take care of our needs. The greatest of pains have been taken by Intourist with the cooperation of VOKS, to arrange visits and interviews for us with many directors of institutes and factories, teachers, writers and artists. These men and women have spent hours answering our questions and delivering exhaustive talks to us on the various phases of socialist construction in the U. S. S. R. The greatest hospitality was shown us during the course of these interviews.

By this means, and by mixing with the people in the streets, parks and elsewhere, we have obtained a clear picture of the life and culture of this country, a picture which we hope to make more complete when we travel among the minority nations of the Soviet Union during the next few weeks.

Moscow, July 28, 1935.

Louis Cohen
Louise M. Edelson
Genevieve Williamson
H. R. Buros
Leopold London
Shirley Olmsted
John Galio
H. H. Gleickman
John Bovingdon
R. N. Rubin
Baronig Baron
S. K. Bedekar
Gert Davidson
Alvin E. Coons

Celia Lipsky
Adele C. Martin
Sarah Goodman
Charlotte Owen
Adele Birnbaum
Herberg Eiges
Helen Eiges
Oakley Johnson
Ena Lu Sharer
Joyce Lenger
D. Zablodowsky
Mollie Rice
Betty Turner
Gene Lizitzky

John Fisher
Marian Grosberg
Lee Saltzman
Jack Cohn
L. O. Ghaller
Louise Bovingdon
Lillie Davidson
Majorie Schwarz
Britton Morris
Betty Radford
J. W. Nixon
Alice Stewart

THE FORD FUND FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF EDUCATION

The Testimony of Prof. Thomas H. Briggs (Record, p. 94 et seq.) indicates that a thorough investigation of this unit of the *Ford Founda-*

tion is highly desirable. Prof. Briggs (now retired) was one of our most eminent educators. He was selected by the *Ford Fund* as a member of its Advisory Committee and resigned in disgust at its policies and principles. He testified, moreover, that although the *Fund* had expressed gratefulness to the Advisory Committee for its help, that Committee had really not been consulted at all in any significant manner.

Among the projects of *The Ford Fund for the Advancement of Education* which would bear scrutiny is its support of the *Institute for Philosophical Research*, San Francisco, California. The 1952 annual report of *The Ford Foundation* states that one of the problems upon which it would concentrate is a "clarification of educational philosophy." In the same report appears this:

"A more fundamental and long-range approach to clarifying the philosophical questions basic to education in the United States is being made by the Institute of Philosophic Research, supported jointly by the Fund and the Old Dominion Foundation. The Institute is undertaking, with the counsel and participation of leading thinkers, to clarify the whole body of Western thought. It hopes, thereby, to foster a community of understanding that will make discussion about fundamental issues more intelligible."

The annual report of *The Fund for the Advancement of Education* reports a three year grant of \$565,000 to the *Institute* and notes that it is to be under the direction of MR. MORTIMER ADLER. The project is there described as

"undertaking a dialectical examination of Western humanistic thought with a view to providing assistance in the clarification of basic philosophical and educational issues in the modern world."

That this project deserves attention is witnessed by the well-known radical opinions of MR. ADLER, its director. In the January, 1949 issue of *Common Cause*, MR. ADLER had an article entitled *The Quiet Revolution*, in which he said:

"The basic trend toward socialism, which began with Wilson's New Freedom, and which was greatly accelerated by Roosevelt's New Deal, has been confirmed by Truman's return to the presidency on a platform which does not yield an inch to the right and in many respects goes further to the left. That fact suggests the possibility that some form of socialism which is quite compatible with democracy—as in England and the United States—may prove to be the middle ground between the free enterprise capitalism and the oligarchical politics of the 'economic royalists' on the one hand, and the dictatorship of the proletariat and the despotism of the party on the other."

The following is from the same article by the man selected to direct "a dialectical examination of Western thought" to the tune of over a half-million dollars of *Ford Foundation* (public) money:

"It all adds up to a clear picture. It looks like a quiet but none the less effective revolution. If we still wish to be cautious we need say no more than that we have reached a turning point in American politics at which it has become evident that the general social process of the last twenty years is irreversible—except by force. By choice the American people are never going to fall back to the right again. That deserves to be called a revolution accomplished. But it is also a revolution which will continue. Either the Democratic Party will move further to the left or a new political party will form to the left of the Democrats."

INTER-UNIVERSITY LABOR EDUCATION COMMITTEE

Another Fund for Adult Education grant which warrants study is that to the Inter-University Labor Education Committee (totalling \$384,000 from January 1, 1952, to June 30, 1953). There exists an

undated publication of this Committee called *Labor's Stake in World Affairs*, marked "Preliminary Draft for Limited Distribution and Comment". It was prepared by the Union Leadership Project of the University of Chicago under the direction of the Review and Evaluation Committee of the Inter-University Labor Education Committee, and credit is given to members of the faculty, including Bert H. Hoselitz, who had been active in the Inter-Collegiate Socialist Society. This Committee finds highly reprehensible in this booklet the characterization of the conflict between Russia and the United States as a "struggle for world power". And, while the booklet says that labor must help in the fight against Communism, one would gather from it: that the Soviet Union wants peace; is against imperialism and intervention; and wishes to cooperate with the United States. The reader is left with the impression that, in view of Russia's good-will, there is no point in arming—we should just make peace. A distorted account of the events preceding and following the institution of the Marshall Plan further misleads the reader, as does the inference that the growing Communist movement in Eastern nations is the pure result of nationalism.

Race relations is treated in a most unfortunate manner. The question is asked whether we would have used the atom bomb on white Europeans—did we not use it against the Japanese only because they had yellow skins? The same question is raised over our use of napalm in Korea.

The section of the booklet devoted to "People Of The World—A Day In Their Lives" has a definite pro-Russian slant. In a French family, the question is asked: If Russia invades, should we fight?—and a worker answers "yes". Then the question is asked: "But what if American starts it—are we still supposed to fight? The question is left unanswered. In a Russian family the wife asks for some new shoes for the children, but the husband replies that she must get used to it—"Our country must first build up its industrial might. Today steel is more important than a large selection of shoes". There is no intimation that the build-up is for armament purposes.

In a reference to the Berlin Blockade, the pamphlet intimates that the difficulties arose because the original agreement between the three parties provided that Germany would be kept as an agricultural state, but later America began competing with Russia for German's favor and opposed an agricultural economy. When the four-power control broke down the American, French and English zones were consolidated and currency reforms were made in the Western zone. The increased production and industrialization in that zone made it mandatory on Russia to retaliate and this she did by what the pamphlet implies was the only method she could choose—The Berlin Blockade. The airlift is treated as similar to the Russian blockade. The section again contains what seem to this committee as very slanted questions, raising the question "was the U. S. airlift consistent with American policy objectives?"

Bert H. Hoselitz is one of those to whom the pamphlet expresses appreciation for the discussion materials—and Mr. Hoselitz was an active member of the Socialist group on the campus of Chicago University.

GOOD BOOKS DISCUSSION GROUPS: ANOTHER FORD FUND FOR ADULT EDUCATION PROJECT

Increasing emphasis is being placed on continuing the educational process beyond the adolescent and usual years of schooling. The basic idea is certainly a worthy one, but this Committee seriously questions whether one Fund project in this field has been entirely commendable. That is another of the matters which warrant inquiry by a continued investigation.

We refer to the support of the American Library Association—American Heritage Project, which has received substantial sums from the Ford Fund for Adult Education. It is based on group discussion of books (selected from the so-called "Good Books") and 16 mm educational films designed to "bring adults together at their public libraries to discuss the great American documents and American political freedoms".

The Great Books project is closely allied through its directorate with the Encyclopedia Britannica, and the latter issues 16 mm documentary and educational films used by the discussion groups.

It is obvious that because of its very nature "adult education" has tremendous possibilities for use as a propaganda medium, directed as it is particularly to adults of foreign birth (whose formal schooling in this country may have been limited) and to those who seek a greater knowledge of political science and America's place in the world today. The material in the hands of this Committee is not exhaustive but it appears to lean heavily to civil liberties, political and social action, and international world politics.

In addition to the fact that the preponderance of current authors are definitely not of the conservative point of view (and many of them, as will be seen by referring to the Appendix to this Report have citations of various degrees) the films suggested as part of these joint presentations are even more radical and contentious. There seems little justification for the use of any of the films mentioned here, even if they were balanced by an equal number of innocuous ones—which is not the case. When the nature of the films is considered in the light of some of the personalities associated with the project and with the films, this committee questions the objectivity and the good faith of those responsible for the selection of individuals and discussion material.

Due Process of Law Denied

This film, somewhat uniquely paired with "The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn" deals with excerpts from "The Ox Bow Incident", a brutal story of mob "justice". Described in the material furnished to the discussion groups as "forceful re-enacting of a lynching", a more accurate statement is that it is inflammatory and designed to convey the impression that throughout the United States there is widespread disregard for law and order.

The Cummington Story

By WALDO SALT, who on April 15, 1951, refused to answer, claiming the privilege of the Fifth Amendment when questioned by the House Un-American Activities Committee regarding his Communist affiliations.

The House I Live In

By ALBERT MALTZ referred to earlier, who refused to answer questions regarding his Communist Party record, and was cited for contempt.

Of Human Rights

Prepared by the United Nations Film Department, it is used with the United Nations Declaration on Human Rights, and is described as follows:

"An incident involving economic and racial prejudice among children is used to dramatize the importance of bringing to the attention of the peoples of the world *their rights as human beings* as set forth in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights proclaimed by the UNP General Assembly in December 1948." [Emphasis supplied.]

The United States government by rejecting this Universal Declaration has gone on record as stating this country does not consider that document—prepared in collaboration with the Communists—as a statement of our "rights as human beings". The rights of citizens of the United States are set forth in the Declaration of Independence, in the Constitution and its Amendments.

Brotherhood of Man

Also suggested for use on the program "Human Rights" this film produced by United Productions of America for the United Automobile Workers of the CIO is distributed by Brandon Films. The Washington representative of Brandon Films testified before the Jenner Committee in May 1951 that Brandon Films advertised in the *Daily Worker* but took refuge behind the Fifth Amendment against self-incrimination when questioned as to his own Communist Party membership.

The film itself is based on the pamphlet "Races of Mankind" written by RUTH BENEDICT and GENE WELTFISH, whose records are included in the Appendix. Following complaints as to its nature and accuracy the pamphlet was withdrawn from the Armed Forces Education Program—but as recently as September of this year the film was in use at the Film Center at Fort Monmouth. To this Committee the use of such a film cannot be justified, and it condemns the subterfuge by which a document branded as inaccurate is withdrawn as it were by one hand and surreptitiously reinstated with the other.

With These Hands

Produced by the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union, this film is a highly colored portrayal of violence on the picket lines, featuring the horrors of the Triangle Fire in New York City almost fifty years ago, giving a completely unrealistic picture of present day working conditions.

The Challenge

This is another film on the theme that the guarantee of "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" is denied to Negroes and other minority group members in the United States; it is unrealistic, distorted and deceptive.

Such presentations as these cannot be called educational in the opinion of this Committee, they deliberately seek to stress "what's wrong" in present and past group relations rather than provide facts

for objective discussion of such relations, and ignore the fact that here in the United States can be found the outstanding example of liberty in action in the world today.

The Fund For Adult Education along with the 20th Century Fund, and the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, is closely associated with the Film Council of America. Evans Clark is listed as a member and William F. Kruse (at one time connected with Bell and Howell) is in a policy-making position on the Film Council. Mr. Kruse's background is particularly interesting to this Committee since he carries great weight with the Council—and the Council's films find their way into the discussion groups sponsored by the American Library Association with Ford money.

Mr. Kruse is reliably reported to have been a communist as recently as 1943, and there are witnesses who state he still was after that date. As late as 1943 he was listed as sponsoring the Chicago Council of American-Soviet Friendship.

Another individual indirectly associated with the Film Council is John Grierson, who produced "Round Trip" spearhead for a world trade campaign in this country starring Paul Hoffman. Grierson resigned as head of the National Film Board of Canada at the time of the Canadian atomic spy ring revelations. Denied a visa to this country he came in through Unesco and thereafter headed the film section of that organization. Unesco and UNO films are likewise used in the Good Books discussion groups.

The 16 mm film is being increasingly recommended for use in all levels of education—including so-called adult education. This Committee would strongly urge that the whole matter of the type of films as well as the subject matter and the individuals and organizations who produce these films, be carefully studied. There is no greater media today through which to propagandize and it is no exaggeration to say that such things as ostensibly "educational" films can well prove to be the Trojan horse of those ideologies which seek to scuttle American principles and ideals.

Other projects of *The Fund for the Advancement of Education* need the attention of a continued investigation. Professor Briggs' testimony indicated that much was badly wrong with the operation of the great *Fund* and very seriously so. We have referred to his testimony elsewhere but add these excerpts from it:

"Representing, as I think I do, the sentiment of the vast majority of educators of the country, I am deeply concerned that a major part of the program of *The Fund for the Advancement of Education* deprecates the professional education of teachers and of school administrators.

"It apparently is assuming that a good general education is sufficient to insure effective professional work." (Hearings, p. 99.)

"The desired increase in general education of teachers will not result from the projects, costly as they are, of the Fund for the Advancement of Education. They may improve a small fraction of teachers, but they are unlikely to have any widespread national effect." (Hearings, p. 100.)

"But after 3 years of what the *Fund* erroneously calls "a great experiment" there is no evidence that the hoped-for result is in sight. Nor, according to reports from a number of schools from which the favored teachers were selected, has the expenditure of several million dollars on the project produced any material improvement in education or in the increased ambition of other teachers.

"This is but one of several expensive projects that the *Fund* has financed for a purpose praiseworthy in itself but wastefully unlikely to have any significant

results on education throughout the country. The relatively few fortunate teachers probably profited from their year of study, but it was unrealistic to expect that their experience would materially affect all, or any considerable part, of the schools of the Nation." (Hearings, p. 100.)

* * * But concerning the professional education of school people the officers of the Fund begin their propaganda against current practices by an assumption that they know what the preparation should be with such an assumption, however unsound, would not be disturbing if these officers did not have at their disposal millions of money, yours and mine, as well as Mr. Ford's to promote their theories. To whatever extent successful their propaganda, disguised under declared benevolence, the effect is likely to be decreasing public confidence and perhaps decreased public support for what is desirable and necessary. (Hearings, p. 101.)"

* * * "All this being understood, we can assert without fear of successful contradiction that any attempt by outside agencies, however heavily they may be financed and however supported by eminent individuals, to influence school administrators and teachers to seek other objectives than those which have public approval or to use methods and materials not directed by responsible management is an impudence not to be tolerated. Though cloaked with declared benevolence, it cannot hide the arrogance underneath." (Hearings, p. 99.) [Emphasis supplied.]

The following was Professor Briggs' summarized indictment against the *Ford Fund for the Advancement of Education*:

In summary, I charge:

1. That *The Fund for the Advancement of Education* is improperly manned with a staff inexperienced in public elementary and secondary schools, ignorant at firsthand of the problems that daily confront teachers and school administrators, and out of sympathy with the democratic ideal of giving an appropriate education to all the children of all of the people;
2. That the Fund is using its great resources, mostly contributed by the public by the remission of taxes, to deprecate a program of professional education of teachers and school administrators that has been approved by the public with legislation and appropriations;
3. That the Fund has ignored the professional organizations of teachers and school administrators, neither seeking their advice and cooperation nor making appropriation to support projects proposed by them;
4. That the Fund has made grants to favored localities and individuals for projects that are not likely to have any wide or important influence;
5. That the Fund has given no evidence of its realization of its obligation as a public trust to promote the general good of the entire Nation;
6. That the Fund has in some cases been wastefully prodigal in making grants beyond the importance of the projects; and
7. That the Fund either has no balanced program of correlated constructive policies, or else it has failed to make them public. (Hearings, p. 103.)

AN INEVITABLE CONCLUSION.

The evidence forces the conclusion that the movement which resulted in the use of the school systems to change our social order was basically socialistic in nature. Its purpose was to turn educators into political agitators. The term "collectivism" was frequently used by the organs and agents of the movement. That term will do as well as "socialism" if one prefers to use it. Some organizations and individuals promoting the movement were not abashed at using the bare term "socialism."

*The League for Industrial Democracy, a still functioning and still tax-exempt foundation, in its *New Frontiers*, Vol. IV, No. 4, of June, 1936 said:*

"All political institutions of democracy are perverted by private property in the means of production. Personal, legal, political equality—they all can be fully realized only when private property is abolished, when men have an equal control over property." (Hearings, p. 467.)

A similar expression of purpose is to be found in the October 13, 1943 issue of *Frontiers of Democracy*, the successor to the *Social Frontier*. DR. HAROLD RUGG was editor of this magazine and author of an article which included the following:

* * * We have suddenly come out upon a new frontier and must chart a new course. It is a psychological frontier, an unmarked wilderness of competing desires and possessions, of property ownerships and power complexes * * *.

* * * The test is whether enough of our people—perhaps a compact minority of 10 million will be enough—can grasp the established fact that, in company with other industrializing peoples, we are living in a worldwide social revolution. (Hearings, p. 468.)

This Committee wishes to make its position completely clear. It does not support uniformity; it insists that the individual shall have the right to advocate and teach and promote socialism if he wishes to. It does insist, however, that a trust administering public funds has no right to support a movement so antithetical in its basic designs to the American system as is the socialist movement. We are dealing, after all, with trusts which are and must be dedicated to the public welfare. What is that welfare? Is it what the accidental administrators of the public trusts deem it to be; or is it what the people deem to constitute their own welfare? Along with that eminent educator, Professor Briggs, who testified before us, we believe that the public has the right to determine what is in its interest, and that it perforce rejects the dissemination of socialist teaching in the schools of the nation—that is not in the public interest as the public sees it.

As Mr. Wolcott of this Committee stated it:

I am sure that the founders of these foundations would turn over several times in their graves if they felt that their money was being used for the destruction of the American system of government. Whether it is destroyed by socialism or communism is not the point. I think we owe them an obligation, as well as ourselves and the people whom we represent, to find out whether there is any danger to the American system, and where it lies. That is the reason I am on this committee. I would not be on the committee if I was not interested in that subject. (Hearings, p. 237.)

We believe this expresses the point of view of every conscientious American.

XI. "INTERNATIONALISM" AND THE EFFECT OF FOUNDATION POWER ON FOREIGN POLICY

THE NEW "INTERNATIONALISM".

Some of the major foundations have had a significant impact upon our foreign policy and have done much to condition the thinking of our people along "internationalist" lines. What is this "internationalism" which meets with such hearty foundation support? Professor Colegrove in his testimony described it well. He said:

"In my opinion, a great many of the staffs of the foundations have gone way beyond Wendell Willkie with reference to internationalism and globalism. * * * There is undoubtedly too much money put into studies which support globalism and internationalism. You might say that the other side has not been as fully developed as it should be." (Hearings, p. 595.)

Professor Colegrove pointed out that "the other side" had been well represented in Congress but that the foundations had seen fit to support only the one point of view or approach. He felt that there

is a definite tendency to "sacrifice the national interest of our country in dealing with foreign affairs." He said:

"* * * But there is too frequently a tendency of Americans not to think in international conferences on foreign policy about the national interest of the United States. We are thinking always of what is the interest of the whole world.

"And that kind of thinking always brings us to the point where we are too likely to make sacrifices to accomplish this globalism which England would not be willing to make under Churchill, or Attlee for that matter, which Laniel would not be willing to make, or Bidault, or whoever is Prime Minister. That is a very unfortunate tendency. * * *"

Many Americans today join with former Assistant Secretary of State, Spruille Braden, who said in a letter to Counsel for this Committee:

"I have a very definite feeling that a number of the foundations have been taken over by what I describe in my testimony before the Senate Internal Security Sub-Committee, not so much the Communists, as by state interventionists, collectivists, misguided idealists, 'do-gooders' and 'whatnots', and that this is one of the greatest perils confronting our country today. * * * my respect for the Rockefeller Foundation in connection with its health work in such places as Colombia, in yellow fever, malaria, etc., has been severely jolted when I read that Chester Bowles has now been made a director of that institution. The reason for my concern is that only a few months ago I heard the former Ambassador and Governor of Connecticut declaim against the Farewell Address of George Washington as typifying the evils of isolationism [sic] * * * I have the very definite feeling that these various foundations you mention very definitely do exercise both overt and covert influences on our foreign relations and that their influences are counter to the fundamental principles on which this nation was founded and which have made it great." [Emphasis supplied.]

(The "various foundations" referred to in counsel's letter are "Carnegie Endowment, Rockefeller Foundation, Ford Foundation, Rhodes Scholarship Trust, etc.")

*The weight of evidence before this Committee, which the foundations have made no serious effort to rebut, indicates that the form of globalism which the foundations have so actively promoted and from which our foreign policy has suffered seriously, relates definitely to a collectivist point of view. Despite vehement disclaimers of bias, despite platitudinous affirmations of loyalty to American traditions, the statements filed by those foundations whose operation touch on foreign policy have produced no rebuttal to the evidence of support of collectivism. Some indication of this is given by the 1934 Yearbook of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace which complains about the "economic nationalism which is still running riot and which is the greatest obstacle to the reestablishment of prosperity and genuine peace * * *," referring to it later as "this violently reactionary movement." (Hearings, p. 910.)*

The Rockefeller Foundation minced no words in its 1946 Report (Hearings, p. 934):

"The challenge of the future is to make this world one world—a world truly free to engage in common and constructive intellectual efforts that will serve the welfare of mankind everywhere."

However well-meaning the advocates of complete internationalism may be, they often play into the hands of the Communists. Communists recognize that a breakdown of nationalism is a prerequisite to the introduction of Communism. This appears in a translation of

a Russian poster dealing with international education, which reads as follows (Hearings, p. 288):

"Without educating internationalists, we will not build socialism. Animosity between nations is the support of counter-revolutions and of capital. It is therefore profitable and so is maintained. War is needed by capitalists for still greater enslavement of oppressed people. International education is the way toward socialism and toward the union of the toilers of the whole world."

THE INTERLOCK IN "INTERNATIONALISM."

Substantial evidence indicates there is more than a mere close working together among some foundations, operating in the international field. There is here, as in the general realm of the social sciences, a close interlock. *The Carnegie Corporation, The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, The Rockefeller Foundation* and, recently, *The Ford Foundation*, joined by some others, have commonly cross-financed, to the tune of many millions, various intermediate and agency organizations concerned with internationalism, among them the

*Institute of Pacific Relations
The Foreign Policy Association
The Council on Foreign Relations
The Royal Institute of International Affairs*

and others. No one would claim, of course, that there has been a contract or agreement among this group of foundations for the common support of these organizations, or the common support of like-minded propagandists, but the close working together has incontrovertibly happened. That it happened by sheer coincidence stretches credulity. That such unity of purpose, effort and direction resulted from chance or happenstance seems unlikely.

CARNEGIE'S MONEY FOR PEACE.

In 1910 Andrew Carnegie created *The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*. His motive could not have been more commendable. How to expend the granted funds for the purpose of promoting peace, however, became a difficult problem. Unable to think of many direct ways in which to accomplish Mr. Carnegie's purposes, the trustees, from time to time, suggested various collateral approaches. That these occasionally went far beyond the donor's intention is testified to by the minutes of an Executive Committee meeting in August, 1913, in which, referring to certain proposals, the minutes read:

"Mr. Choate raised the question whether 'the recommendations as a whole did not seem to suggest the diversion of the *Endowment* from its particular object of promoting international peace to a general plan for the uplift and education of humanity'".

At the same meeting Mr. Carnegie stated that he "understood the *Endowment's* resources were to be applied to the direct means for abolishing war, that he did not regard the proposed expenditures in the Orient as coming within these means, and that there were other more important and pressing things bearing directly upon the question of war and peace which could be done instead."

It is to be doubted that Mr. Carnegie would have approved of some of the methods later used to distribute the fund which he had created

to promote peace. He must have contemplated that some propaganda-production might be necessary. However, we doubt that he had any idea that the propaganda would reach into fields other than the promotion of international arbitration and things directly concerned with the peaceful settlement of international disputes. Yet the *Endowment* started early to organize media for widespread propaganda efforts to educate the American public into what Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler called "the international mind." *It was as though the conception was that we could have world peace if only Americans became more world-minded.*

An extremely powerful propaganda machine was created. It spent many millions of dollars in:

The production of masses of material for distribution;

The creation and support of large numbers of international polity clubs, and other local organizations at colleges and elsewhere;

The underwriting and dissemination of many books on various subjects, through the "International Mind Alcoves" and the "International Relations Clubs and Centers" which it organized all over the country;

The collaboration with agents of publicity, such as newspaper editors;

The preparation of material to be used in school text books, and cooperation with publishers of text books to incorporate this material;

The establishing of professorships at the colleges and the training and indoctrination of teachers;

The financing of lecturers and the importation of foreign lecturers and exchange professors;

The support of outside agencies touching the international field, such as the *Institute of International Education*, the *Foreign Policy Association*, the *American Association For the Advancement of Science*, the *American Council on Education*, the *American Council of Learned Societies*, the *American Historical Association*, the *American Association of International Conciliation*, the *Institute of Pacific Relations*, the *International Parliamentary Union* and others, and acting as mid-wife at the birth of some of them.

Miss Casey's report (Hearings, p. 869, et seq.) proves beyond any doubt that *The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace* created powerful propaganda mechanisms and was, indeed, quite frank about it. There was no hesitation in its minutes, for example, at using the term "propaganda." Its eventual Division of Intercourse and Education was originally referred to as the "Division of Propaganda." (Hearings, p. 871.)

One does not need to doubt the complete good will of those who passed upon the *Endowment's* various activities. The *Endowment* has always had and still has on its Board men of high competence and character. *But there is inherent danger in the creation of a great propaganda machine.* It can be used for good, but it is also available for undesirable purposes. No other proof of the truth of this statement is needed than the history of the *Institute of Pacific Relations* which undoubtedly started as a desirable enterprise, operated by good men for benign purposes. Yet it became an instrument for

subversion; its great propaganda power, originally the weapon of well-intended men, became a powerful force for evil.

The danger of misuse is all the more serious in the light of the *Endowment's* own estimate of the effectiveness of its propaganda. Its yearbook of 1945 states:

"every part of the United States and every element in its population have been reached by the Endowment's work. The result may be seen in the recorded attitude of public opinion which makes it certain that the American government will be strongly supported in the accomplishment of its effort to offer guidance and commanding influence to the establishment of a world organization for protection of international peace and preservation of resultant prosperity." (Hearings, p. 899.)

It thus takes credit for having a powerful propaganda machine indeed.

It is not beyond possibility that *The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace* might have followed the same course as did the *Institute of Pacific Relations*. After all, Alger Hiss was made President of the *Endowment*. He was probably not in office long enough to do irremediable damage, but it is always possible that a great propaganda machine could get into the hands of another traitor, with tragic results to our country. When it is easy for a Hiss to become a trustee of the *Woodrow Wilson Foundation*, a director of the *Executive Committee of the American Association for the United Nations*, a director of the *American Peace Society*, a trustee of the *World Peace Foundation*, a director of the *American Institute of Pacific Relations*, and the President of the *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, it is highly doubtful that propaganda machines should be operated by foundations. They have a way, at times, of getting out of hand and being used for purposes other than originally intended.

The basic problem of the *Endowment* trustees was: what activities do in fact weightily relate to its intended purpose of promoting international peace? The trustees decided upon some strange ways to approach this problem. The 1939 Year Book of the *Endowment* recites:

"Recognizing the desire of American public opinion for educational material on economic questions and also for encouragement in the effort to carry on democratic discussion of these problems, the division has cooperated with the U. S. Department of Agriculture, in its discussion program and with the campaign for world economic cooperation of the *National Peace Conference* described later in this report."

It is difficult to understand the connection of such activities with the promotion of international peace. Perhaps a case could be made for the proposition that, regardless of how belligerent or aggressive the rest of the world might be, a mere increase in the education of the American public, an expansion of its understanding of "Economic questions", of agriculture and of "world economic problems", might promote the cause of peace. That seems rather far-fetched. But it is the conclusion of this Committee, from a reading of *Carnegie Endowment reports*, that no simple educational program was intended. The term "public education" is used far less often than the term, the "education of public opinion" (Hearings, pp. 906, 907, 908), which is a far different thing. This term is too apt to result from accident. It has the clear connotation of propaganda.

By its own admission, a prime purpose of the *Endowment* was to "educate" the public so that it would be conditioned to the points of view which the *Endowment* favored. There is very serious doubt

whether these points of view were always in the best interests of our nation; but here their validity or falsity is beside the point. The basic question is: *should vast aggregations of public money in the control of a handful of men, however well selected, have the power and the right to condition public opinion!*

Of all the many media of propaganda used by the *Endowment*, perhaps the most reprehensible was its attempt to control or, at least, deeply influence text book material. It engaged in close and intensive collaboration with publishers with the objective of making sure that the historical material used in text books suited its own positions. Time has not permitted an analysis of the products of this collaboration; we are not in a position to judge of the damage to objectivity which resulted from this collaboration. But one thing seems utterly clear: *no private group should have the power or the right to dictate what should be read and taught in our schools and colleges.*

THE ENDOWMENT'S "MIND ALCOVES".

A random sampling was taken by Miss Casey of books distributed by the *Carnegie Endowment* through the *International Mind Alcoves* or through the *International Relations Clubs and Centers*. Professor Kenneth Colegrove looked over the names of some of these books and commented upon a number of them as follows (Hearings, p. 926, et seq.):

Author	Name of Book	Prof. Colegrove's Comments
Harold J. Laski.....	Studies in the Problem Sovereignty.....	"Opposed to the 'national interest' Inclines toward extreme left."
Raymond Leslie Buell.....	International Relations.....	"Globalist"
Read, Elizabeth F.....	International Law and International Relations.....	"Rather Leftist"
Buck, Pearl S.....	The Good Earth.....	"Slightly leftist"
Angell, Norman.....	The Unseen Assassins.....	"Globalist"
Patterson, Ernest Minor.....	America: World Leader or World Led?.....	"Globalist"
Salter, Sir Arthur.....	Recovery, the Second Effort.....	"Globalist"
Ware, Edith E.....	Business and Politics in the Far East.....	"Doubtful"
Hindus, Maurice.....	Humanity Uprooted.....	"Marxian slant"
McMullen, Laura W.....	Building the World Society.....	"Globalist"
Strong, Anna Louise.....	The Road to the Grey Pamir.....	"Well known communist"
de Madariga, Salvador.....	Disarmament.....	"Ultra globalist and aimed at submergence of 'national interest.'"
James T. Shotwell.....	On the Abyss.....	"Globalist"
William T. Stone and Clark M. Eichelberger.....	Peaceful Change.....	"Globalist and leftist. Regarding W. T. Stone, see report of McCarran sub-committee. Stone was closely associated with Edward Carter of I. P. R."
Salter, Sir Arthur.....	World Trade and Its Future.....	"Globalist"
Angell, Norman.....	Peace with the Dictators?.....	"Globalist"
Streit, Clarence K.....	Union Now.....	"Globalist and submersion of national interest. Fallacious in his analogy of Union of American states in 1781 with world federation"
Bisson, T. A.....	American Policy in the Far East, 1931-.....	"Pro-communist"
Hunt, Dr. Erling (Teachers College).....	Citizens for a New World, year-book of Commission for Organization of Peace.....	"Ultra Globalist"
MacIver, R. M.....	Toward an Abiding Peace.....	"Extremely globalist and careless of the American 'national interest.'"
Lattimore, Owen.....	America and Asia.....	"Subtle propaganda along Communist line. Lattimore cited in McCarran sub-committee report as part of Communist cell in the Institute of Pacific Relations."
Pfeffer, Nathaniel.....	Basis for Peace in the Far East.....	"Leftist. See McCarran sub-committee report."
The Soviet Union Today an Outline Study.....	American Russian Institute.....	"Favorable to U. S. S. R."
Percy E. Corbett.....	Britain: Partner for Peace.....	"Extremely globalist"

A detailed analysis of the entire list of books distributed by the *Endowment* would probably disclose many more, the distribution of which could be seriously criticized on the ground of lack of objectivity or because in the aggregate they represent a distinct and forceful slanting to the globalist point of view. Nor is "globalism" the limit or extent of the criticism of the Endowment in its selection of books for wide distribution through the International Mind Alcoves and otherwise. It has been called to our attention that *The Pupils of the Soviet Union*, by Corliss Lamont currently a professor of philosophy at Columbia University, is being distributed by the Carnegie Endowment to the Alcoves. In view of the well-known fellow-traveller identity of the author (whose Communist affiliations are too extensive to be included in this report), it is quite shocking to learn that public funds are being used to distribute his literature.

A CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT CREATED INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS CLUB.

Dr. Felix Wittmer, formerly Associate Professor of the Social Studies at New Jersey State Teachers College, filed a sworn statement with the Committee (Hearings, Part 2) describing his experiences as faculty advisor to one of the *International Relations Clubs* founded by the *Carnegie Endowment* at the colleges. He stated that there was a network of close to a thousand of such clubs and indicated that, as a result of their operation and of the material fed into them by the *Endowment*, a large proportion of the student members had acquired leftist tendencies.

Dr. Lamont in a recent Facts Forum program, *Answers for Americans*, made the following amazing remarks:

"I don't think that Communist China is under control of Soviet Russia."

"We should have Communist China come in as a member [of the UN]." (Facts Forum News, August 1954, page 26.)

The *Endowment* supplied a large amount of printed material to the Clubs, Bulletins of the *Foreign Policy Association*, the *Headline Books*, publications of the *Institute of Pacific Relations* and of the *American Russian Institute*, and numbers of books on international subjects. Let us look at some of this literature fed into the colleges by the *Endowment*.

According to Dr. Wittmer, they included works by such pro-Communist stalwarts as RUTH BENEDICT, T. A. BISSON, EVANS CLARK, CORLISS LAMONT, OWEN LATTIMORE, NATHANIEL PFEFFER and ALEXANDER WERTH. Three of these, T. A. BISSON, CORLISS LAMONT and OWEN LATTIMORE were identified as Communists before the McCarran Committee. Miss BENEDICT was the co-author with GENE WELTFISH of a pamphlet which was finally barred by the War Department. Miss WELTFISH resigned from Columbia University after a Fifth Amendment refusal to state whether she was a Communist or not. EVANS CLARK (for many years a Director of the *Twentieth Century Fund*—which seems to need explaining at some future inquiry) has had a long record of association with subversive organizations. PROFESSOR PFEFFER has disclosed himself frequently as a pro-Communist or, at least, an advocate of support of the Chinese Communists. In a review of George Creel's *Russia's Race for Asia* in the New York Times, PFEFFER reprimanded Creel because "he fears Russia and does not like or trust the Chinese Communists." ALEXANDER WERTH is a well-known European apologist for many Communist causes.

Dr. Wittmer notes that "Many other books which the *Carnegie Endowment* sent to our college club as gifts, while not quite so outspokenly pro-Communist, were of the leftwing variety", and he named several in his statement.

Dr. Wittmer apparently had to supply his students from other sources with books which might tend to counteract the radical points of view of the literature presented by the *Endowment*. Such books were not obtainable from the *Endowment* itself.

Regional conferences were held from time to time and Dr. Wittmer notes that "a large majority of those students who attended such conferences favored the views which came close to that of the Kremlin." One can hardly avoid the conclusion that these points of view had been indoctrinated through the material supplied by the *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*.

Speakers were furnished for the *International Relations Club* by the *Endowment*. Dr. Wittmer notes that, as a final speaker, one year the *Endowment* suggested Alger Hiss. Dr. Wittmer, knowing something of his activities, protested but was overruled. The Secretary of the *Endowment* reminded him "in no uncertain terms that our club, like all the hundreds of other clubs, was under the direction of the *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, which had for years liberally supplied it with reading material, and which contributed funds to cover the Honoraria of conference speakers."

Dr. Wittmer states that radical infiltration into the *International Relations Club* of which he was faculty adviser became so acute that he finally felt obliged to disassociate himself from it.

The cumulative evidence indicates that the *Carnegie Endowment* created something of a Frankenstein in building up its vast propaganda machine. We suggest that much further study should be given to this subject. The extent to which this machine has been responsible for indoctrinating our students with radical internationalism needs careful inquiry. We have said that a propaganda machine can become a dangerous weapon, even though designed for good. How this propaganda machine may have been suborned deserves intense study.

THE FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION.

Some of the worst literature distributed by the *Carnegie Endowment* apparently came from the *Foreign Policy Association*, which it heavily subsidized. It is quite astonishing how frequently we find leftists in important positions in organizations supported by major foundations. *The Foreign Policy Association* was created "to carry on research and educational activities to aid in the understanding and constructive development of American Foreign policy." [Emphasis supplied.] Its Research Director for years has been VERA MICHAELS DEAN. Here is what Dr. Wittmer had to say about MRS. DEAN:

"MRS. DEAN belonged among those who in 1937 signed their names in the Golden Book of American-Soviet Friendship, a memorial which appeared in the Communist front magazine *Soviet Russia Today*, of November, 1937. According to the testimony of Walter S. Steele, before the House Un-American Activities Committee, on July 21, 1947, Mrs. Dean's writings figured in the Communist propaganda kit for teachers of the NATIONAL COUNCIL OF AMERICAN-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP.

"MRS. DEAN cooperated with the world's toughest Communist agents, such as Tsola N. Dragiocheva, of Bulgaria, and Madame Madeleine Braun, the French Communist deputy, in helping set up the Congress of American Women, a Com-

munist front so important in its world-wide ramifications that the House Un-American Activities Committee devoted a 114-page pamphlet to it. At one of the preliminary meetings of this Communist front VERA MICHEALS DEAN, according to *The New York Times* of October 14, 1946 (page 26), told 150 foreign and 50 American delegates to "whittle away their conceptions of national sovereignty" and to pull themselves out of the "ancient grooves of nationalism."

This was the selection of the *Foreign Policy Association*, virtually a creature of the *Carnegie Endowment*, to run its "research!"

The *Foreign Policy Association* purports to be objective and disclaims seeking "to promote any one point of view toward international affairs." Its produce, however, indicates that it is only interested in promoting that form of internationalism which Dr. Colegrove described in his testimony, frequently referred to as "globalism." Its principal financing has come from *The Carnegie Endowment* and *The Rockefeller Foundation* and, recently, from the *Ford Fund for Adult Education*, and in very substantial amounts indeed.

Among its productions have been the "*Headline Books*." These supposedly objective studies are worth a detailed examination. One of them, *World of the Great Powers*, by MAX LERNER, (1947), graciously says: "There are undoubtedly valuable elements in the capitalist economic organizations." It proceeds to say that "The economic techniques of the future are likely to be an amalgam of the techniques of American business management with those of government ownership, control, and regulation. For the people of the world, whatever their philosophies, are moving towards similar methods of making their economic system work." MR. LERNER, this foundation-supported author, proceeds to tell us that:

"If democracy is to survive, it too must move toward socialism. * * * It is the only principle that can organize the restless energies of the world's peoples. * * *"
(Hearings, p. 883.) [Emphasis supplied.]

MR. LERNER's position regarding Russia is made clear. We must allay the mutual fear and suspicion by granting loans to Russia to provide her with tools and machinery. We must also give "greater United Nations control of Japan and the former Japanese Island bases in the Pacific." Thus we can live in peace with Russia. Thus money indirectly contributed by the American taxpayers is employed to promote doctrines which many, if not most, seriously question or directly oppose. Yet the 1950 Rockefeller annual report refers to the *Headline Books* as "the popular *Headline Books*, with details on problems of importance to America and to the World." (Hearings, pp. 883, 941.)

Another of the *Foreign Policy Association's Headline Books* is *Freedom's Choice, The Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, by Dr. O. Frederick Nolde, which lauds this Declaration (emphatically rejected by our Government) without any mention of possibly distressing effects on our Constitutional law. (Hearings, p. 884.)

All this is "education" of our public, to give it the "international mind!"

THE COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS.

This is another organization dealing with internationalism which has the substantial financial support of both the *Carnegie Endowment* and the *Rockefeller Foundation*. And, as in the case of the *Foreign Policy Association*, its productions are not objective but are directed overwhelmingly at promoting the globalism concept. There

are, after all, many Americans who think that our foreign policy should follow the principle consistently adopted by the British and the French, among others, that the national interest comes first and must not be subordinated to any theoretical internationalistic concept; that international cooperation is essential but only as directed in favor of the national interest. That point of view goes begging in the organizations supported by the Carnegie, Rockefeller and Ford organizations. If private fortunes were being used to the exclusive support of the globalist point of view, that would be beyond criticism. But it is important to keep constantly in mind that we are dealing with the public's money, public trust funds.

We would like to make it clear that this Committee does not speak from an "isolationist" standpoint. It is obvious enough that the world has grown smaller and that international cooperation is highly desirable. But the essence of intelligent international cooperation can be measured by its direct usefulness to our national interest. Globalists may be correct in believing we should ignore the national interest in the wider interest of creating a world collectivism; but we feel confident we are right in our conclusion that a public foundation has no right to promote globalism to the exclusion of support for a fair presentation of the opposite theory of foreign policy.

The Council on Foreign Relations came to be in essence an agency of the United States government, no doubt carrying its internationalist bias with it. When World War II broke out, it offered its assistance to the Secretary of State. As a result, under the Council's Committee on Studies, The Rockefeller Foundation initiated and financed certain studies on: Security and Armaments Problems; Economic and Financial Problems; Political Problems; and Territorial Problems. These were known as the *War and Peace Studies*. Later this project was actually taken over by the State Department itself, engaging the secretaries who had been serving with the Council groups. A fifth subject was added in 1942, through the "Peace Aims Group."

There was a precedent for this. The Carnegie Endowment had offered its services to the Government in both World War I and World War II. There was even an interlock in personnel in the person of Professor Shotwell and many others, some of whom proceeded into executive and consultative office in the Government. There can be no doubt that much of the thinking in the State Department and much of the background of direction of its policies came from the personnel of The Carnegie Endowment and The Council on Foreign Relations. In considering the propriety of this, it must be kept in mind that these organizations promoted only the internationalist point of view, rejecting and failing to support the contrary position that our foreign policy should be based primarily on our own national interest. A reading of Miss Casey's report (Hearings, pp. 878, 879, 884 et seq.) gives some idea of the substantial integration of these two organizations with the State Department.

The Endowment in its 1934 Yearbook proudly asserts that it—

"is becoming an unofficial instrument of international policy, taking up here and there the ends and threads of international problems and questions which the governments find it difficult to handle, and through private initiative reaching conclusions which are not of a formal nature but which unofficially find their way into the policies of governments." (Hearings, p. 909.) [Emphasis ours.]

Note, moreover, that the term used is "governments", the plural. Perhaps this marked a feeling of satisfaction at having accomplished a successful infiltration into government function. The original method of the *Endowment* had been limited to arousing public pressure. Its 1925 Yearbook had stated:

"Underneath and behind all these undertakings there remains the task to instruct and to enlighten public opinion so that it may not only guide but compel the action of governments and public officers in the direction of constructive progress." (Hearings, p. 908.) [Emphasis ours.]

It is quite astounding to this Committee that the trustees of a public trust could possibly conceive of having the right to use public funds for the purpose of putting pressure on the government, to adopt the ideas the trustees happened to favor, by inflaming public opinion.

THE HISTORICAL BLACKOUT.

It must be kept in mind that the evils attendant on permitting propaganda by any individual foundation multiply geometrically when there is unified or combined or similar action by a group of foundations. We have seen that *The Carnegie Endowment* financed the production of text book material approved by its elite. *The Rockefeller Foundation* and some of its associates also entered this field of propaganda.

Professor Harry Elmer Barnes in his *The Struggle Against the Historical Blackout*, said:

"The readjustment of historical writing to historical facts relative to background and causes of the first World War—what is popularly known in the historical craft as 'Revisionism'—was the most important development in historiography during the decade of the 1920's."

Wars in this day and age are accompanied by the perversion of history to suit a propaganda thesis. Historians know this. Many of them, in a spirit of patriotism, misguided or not, lend themselves to this propaganda process. Whether they are ethically justified in this, is gravely questionable. It certainly becomes their duty, however, to revise their contorted historical emanations after propaganda reason for perversion has ceased to be in any way useful. This most of them seem not to do.

Where have the foundations fitted into this picture? *The Council on Foreign Relations*, an organization supported by *The Rockefeller Foundation*, *The Carnegie Corporation* and others, made up its mind that no "revisionism" was to be encouraged after World War II. The following is an extract from the 1946 Report of *The Rockefeller Foundation*, referring to the Council's work:

"The Committee on Studies of the *Council on Foreign Relations* is concerned that the debunking journalistic campaign following World War I should not be repeated and believes that the American public deserves a clear and competent statement of our basic aims and activities during the second World War."

Accordingly, a three volume history of the War was to be prepared under the direction of Professor William Langer of Harvard, in which (one must gather this from the use of the term "debunking") no revisionism was to appear. In other words, the official propaganda of World War II was to be perpetuated and the public was to be protected against learning the truth. As Professor Charles Austin Beard put it:

"In short, they hope that, among other things, the policies and measures of Franklin D. Roosevelt will escape in the coming years the critical analysis

evaluation and exposition that befell the policies and measures of Woodrow Wilson and the Entente Allies after World War I."

Do foundations have the right, using public funds, to support measures calculated to hide historical facts from the public and to perpetuate those contortions of history which war propaganda imposes on us!

A reading of Dr. Barnes' *Historical Blackout* is rewarding. He sets forth in detail what verges on a veritable conspiracy to prevent the people from learning the historical truth. Parties to this conspiracy are a good many of the professors of history with notable names; the State Department of former years; publishers who, under some misapprehension of their duty to the public, refuse to publish critical books; and newspapers which attempt to suppress such books either by ignoring them or giving them for review to rabidly antagonistic "hatchet-men". But what is most shocking in the story he tells is the part played knowingly or unknowingly by foundations in trying to suppress the truth. *The Rockefeller Foundation*, in 1946, allotted \$139,000 to the support of the three volume history which was to be produced as described above.

THE INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS.

The most tragic example of foundation negligence is to be found in the long continued support of *The Institute of Pacific Relations* by both *The Carnegie Corporation of New York* and the *Rockefeller Foundation*, as well as the *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*. We have referred elsewhere to the great power of the large foundations, for good or evil—what intrinsic danger there is in permitting them to have free rein in areas which involve human behavior or relations, or impinge on the political. Foundation executives have said that, while they make mistakes with some frequency, freedom of action is essential to enable them to perform their part of leading society into betterment. Should they have this license when some of their mistakes have tragic consequences?

The Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary held long hearings on IPR. Its report, substantially its opinion at length, concludes:

"The subcommittee concludes * * * that the IPR has been in general, neither objective nor nonpartisan; and concludes further that, at least since the mid-1930's, the net effect of IPR activities on United States public opinion has been pro-communist and pro-Soviet, and has frequently and repeatedly been such as to serve international Communist, and Soviet interests, and to subvert the interests of the United States." (Report, p. 84.)

Note that the Committee held that IPR had become a propaganda vehicle for the Communists as early as the mid-1930's. We have, then, the astounding picture of great foundations, presuming to have the right to expend public trust funds in the public interest, so unaware of the mis-use to which their funds were being applied that they permitted, year after year, Communist propaganda to be produced and circulated with funds supplied by these foundations. The contributions of *The Carnegie Corporation*, *The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace* and *The Rockefeller Foundation* to the IPR (the Pacific and American groups taken together for this purpose) ran into the millions.

In addition to these grants, both the *Rockefeller* and *Carnegie* foundations made individual grants to some of the most reprehens-

sible characters associated with IPR, these contributions to the Communist cause running into very substantial sums of public money.

The story of the suborning of our foreign policy through the activities of IPR and persons associated with it, including the sad story of infiltration into our State Department, has been told. *Nor does the point need to be labored that the loss of China to the Communists may have been the most tragic event in our history, and one to which the foundation-supported Institute of Pacific Relations heavily contributed.*

It must be remembered that the foundation executives consider themselves elite groups, entitled to guide the people by financing with public money research and propaganda in social fields. Are they elite if they have been so blind or so careless in their use of funds that their acts may actually be held to have been responsible for one of the most tragic events in our history?

According to the McCarran Committee, the foundations should perhaps have known in the 1930's that the IPR had ceased to be a proper or even safe recipient of foundations funds. Can they excuse themselves by saying they did not know or had not been informed? Were they not in fiduciary duty bound to learn? *Are the trustees of a foundation entitled to give money, year after year, to an institution without making any attempt to follow the effects of their donations?*

But the situation is worse even than this. The hearings of the Cox Committee disclose this set of facts. Mr. Alfred Kohlberg testified that he had been a member of IPR; that he had never paid much attention to what it was producing until 1943, when he saw some material which he found questionable. He then studied an accumulation of IPR material and made a lengthy report which he sent in 1944 to Mr. Carter, the secretary-general of IPR, and to the trustees and others. As a result he came into communication with Mr. Willets, a Vice-President of *The Rockefeller Foundation*. In the summer of 1945 an arrangement was made, apparently through Mr. Willets, for a committee of three persons to hear Mr. Kohlberg's charges, and his evidence of Communist infiltration and propaganda, and to make a report to IPR and to *The Rockefeller Foundation*. Later, apparently at the insistence of Mr. Carter, Mr. Willets withdrew as a mediator. Mr. Carter had indicated that he would take the matter up himself.

In the meantime, Mr. Kohlberg had brought, and lost, an action to compel IPR to give him a list of his fellow-members. At any rate, a meeting of the members was finally called at which Mr. Kohlberg presented his charges and asked for an investigation. His motion was voted down and no investigation was held.

The Rockefeller Foundation nevertheless went right on supporting the Institute. The explanations made by Mr. Rusk (now, but not then, its President) in his statement filed on behalf of the *Foundation* (Hearings, p. 1062 et seq.) and by Mr. Willets, its Director of Social Studies, in a separate statement (Hearings, Appendix), are highly unsatisfactory. Mr. Rusk stated that, at the time the Kohlberg charges were levied, the *Foundation* could not conduct a "public" hearing, "an undertaking for which the *Foundation* was neither equipped nor qualified." (Hearings, Part 2.) This begs the question, as no public hearing was necessary. Mr. Willets, on the other hand, admitted that the *Foundation* was equipped to make a thorough investigation. He said that one was actually made—"a very thor-

ough inquiry into the whole IPR situation by the *Foundation* staff"—"a careful investigation by us." But what sort of an investigation was this? Mr. Kohlberg, from his testimony before the Cox Committee, evidently had never heard of it. The grave charges had been made by him, yet he seems not to have been called upon to present them to the *Foundation* either in person or in documentary detail.

According to Mr. Willets' statement, great reliance was placed upon "A special committee of IPR trustees" who "reported that the Executive Committee had investigated Mr. Kohlberg's charges and found them inaccurate and irresponsible." Was this a way to discharge the duty of the *Rockefeller* trustees to determine whether support of the IPR should be continued—to rely largely upon some cursory investigation by the trustees or officers of that organization itself? Using such methods as this, it is no wonder that the *Foundation* concluded that the Kohlberg charges had been "exaggerated." The McCarran Committee did not find them exaggerated in any degree!

We have this sorry situation, then, that after Kohlberg had made his grave charges, *The Rockefeller Foundation* continued active support of the unit which was later declared to have supported subversion. The official *Rockefeller Foundation* position, from its filed statement, seems to be that further funds were advanced in order to help reform the organization. That is not convincing. Neither a sufficient alertness to danger was shown, nor a willingness to face the facts when disclosed and to repudiate an organization which had demonstrably turned out to be an instrument of subversion. *This baleful incident illustrates all too clearly the dangers of permitting public money to be used by private persons, without responsibility, in areas vitally affecting the public weal. It further illustrates the danger of delegating the discretion involved in the distribution of public funds, to an intermediary organization.*

We must grant to the *Carnegie Endowment* that it apparently withdrew its support of the IPR in 1939. Whether this was due partly or wholly to other reasons we have not investigated. If it was because of an understanding that the IPR had come upon evil ways, this would make all the more reprehensible the continued contributions by *The Rockefeller Foundation* after 1939.

THE FOUNDATIONS, THE STATE DEPARTMENT AND FOREIGN POLICY.

Miss Casey's report (Hearings, pp. 877, 878, 879, 881, et seq.) shows clearly the interlock between *The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace* and some of its associated organizations, such as the *Council on Foreign Relations*, and other foundations with the State Department. Indeed, these foundations and organizations would not dream of denying this interlock. They proudly note it in reports. They have

- undertaken vital research projects for the Department;
- virtually created minor departments or groups within the Department for it;
- supplied advisors and executives from their ranks;
- fed a constant stream of personnel into the State Department trained by themselves or under programs which they have financed; and
- have had much to do with the formulation of foreign policy both in principle and detail.

They have, to a marked degree, acted as direct agents of the State Department. And they have engaged actively, and with the expenditure of enormous sums, in propagandizing ("educating"—public opinion) in support of the policies which they have helped to formulate. (Hearings, pp. 886 et seq.)

It is obvious enough that a state department should be able to draw upon the services of specialists in the international field for necessary assistance in times of emergency and even in times of peace. No one could doubt the desirability of such procedure. *What this Committee questions, however, is whether it is proper for the State Department to permit organizations to take over important parts of its research and policy-making functions when these organizations consistently maintain a biased, one-tracked point of view.* Whether that point of view is the majority's, whether it is perhaps entirely sound (and historical events have proved it not to be) is beside the point. It is only through a conflict of ideas, and the presentation of opposite points of view, that objective decisions can be made.

What we see here is a number of large foundations, primarily *The Rockefeller Foundation, The Carnegie Corporation of New York, and the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, using their enormous public funds to finance a one-sided approach to foreign policy and to promote it actively, among the public by propaganda, and in the Government through infiltration. The power to do this comes out of the power of the vast funds employed. Research and propaganda by those of the persuasion opposite that of the agencies of these foundations (*The Council on Foreign Relations, The Institute of International Education, The Foreign Policy Association, The Institute of Pacific Relations*, and others) receive little support.

It may well be said that a majority of the "experts" in the international field are on the side of globalism. It would be amazing if this were otherwise, after so many years of gigantic expenditure by foundations in virtually sole support of the globalist point of view. Professors and researchers have to eat and raise families. They cannot themselves spend the money to finance research and publications. The road to eminence in international areas, therefore, just as in the case of the social sciences generally, is by way of foundation grants or support.

THE UNITED NATIONS AND UNESCO.

The Carnegie Endowment has justified its ardent support of the *United Nations* on the ground that support of UNO is an official part of United States policy. We are not convinced that this is the basic reason for the *Endowment's* support. It gave equally fervent support to the old *League of Nations*, after that organization had been repudiated by our Senate. The fact is that the *Endowment* has consistently advocated and propagandized for an international organization to promote peace as shown by its own report. (Hearings, pp. 909, 910, 911, et seq.)

That would be an estimable objective and a worthy cause to support in principle. To blindly support and educate an international organization merely because it is international seems hardly to be of benefit to our country. That seems to be exactly what the *Endowment* has done with its public funds. There are many who believe that an effective international organization is most highly desirable—

and even that it may be the only sound, eventual solution to the problem of preserving peace—and yet feel that the UNO as it now exists is abysmally ineffective, showing no hope of being reformed to effectiveness. Yet you may search in vain among the material circulated by the *Endowment* and the organizations it supports for any presentation of this point of view. If there is any such literature among the produce of these organizations, we have missed it.

What the official position of our Government may have been, or may now be, there are innumerable Americans who view the *United Nations Organization* with much less than enthusiasm. It is generally accepted that we are in it and should not at the moment desert it. Yet it is obvious enough that, short of a miracle or complete reform of the Communists, the UNO is a hopeless vehicle for producing international peace and understanding. Why, therefore, should foundations pour millions of public funds into “educating” the public into the idea that the UNO is our light and our savior, the hope of humanity. It may be granted that it has some usefulness as a place to exchange ideas with other nations and to reach some common understandings on lower levels of interest and importance, but to play it up as the magnificent instrument for peace which it so clearly is not, does our people a distinct disservice by obstructing that realism without which we cannot hope to solve our international problems.

Even the “sounding board” theory of UNO usefulness finds eminent detractors. The *New York Times* of August 11, 1953, reports General Mark W. Clark as saying:

“That, although he had been the commander of United Nations forces in Korea, he ‘had not had much respect’ for the United Nations. It had high purposes, he said, a nice big building in New York, and delegates from all over the world. But, he added, it gave a ‘sounding board’ to Soviet Russia and its satellites, and turned loose spies, saboteurs, to the point of giving great assets to Russia and dangerous disadvantage to the United States.”

Why are these critical points of view, shared by many eminent Americans, such as Generals MacArthur and Van Fleet and innumerable other worthy citizens, military and civilian, not supported or even given some distribution by the foundations and the organizations they finance, which deal with things international?

The 1947 Year Book of *The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace* contains a reprint of a document called *Recommendations of the President to the Trustees*, which recites that the most significant special circumstances favorable to an expansion of the *Endowment's* own direct activities is the establishment of the *United Nations* with its headquarters in New York, and with the United States as its leading and most influential member. “The opportunity for an endowed American institution having the objectives, traditions and prestige of the *Endowment*, to support and serve the United Nations is very great.”

The *President* then recommended earnestly “that the *Endowment* construct its program for the period that lies ahead primarily for the support and the assistance of the *United Nations*.” The program suggested should have two objectives. First, it was to be “widely educational in order to encourage public understanding and support of the *United Nations* at home and abroad” and “it should aid in the adoption of wise policies, both by our own government in its capacity as a member of the *United Nations*, and by the *United Nations Organization* as a whole.”

The report then proceeds:

"The number and importance of decisions in the field of foreign relations with which the United States will be faced during the next few years are of such magnitude that the widest possible stimulation of public education in this field is of major and pressing importance. In furthering its educational objectives the *Endowment* should utilize its existing resources, such as *The International Relations Clubs* in the colleges, and *International Conciliation*, and should strengthen its relationships with existing agencies interested in the field of foreign affairs. These relationships should include close collaboration with other organizations principally engaged in the study of foreign affairs, such as *The Council on Foreign Relations*, *The Foreign Policy Association*, *The Institute of Pacific Relations*, the developing university centers of international studies, and local community groups interested in foreign affairs of which the *Cleveland Council on World Affairs* and the projected *World Affairs Council* in San Francisco are examples.

"Of particular importance is the unusual opportunity of reaching large segments of the population by establishing relations of a rather novel sort with the large national organizations which today are desirous of supplying their members with objective information on public affairs, including international issues. These organizations—designed to serve, respectively, the broad interests of business, church, women's, farm, labor, veterans', educational, and other large groups of our citizens—are not equipped to set up foreign policy research staffs of their own. *The Endowment* should supply these organizations with basic information about the *United Nations* and should assist them both in selecting topics of interest to their members and in presenting those topics so as to be most readily understood by their members. We should urge *The Foreign Policy Association* and *The Institute of Pacific Relations* to supply similar service on other topics of international significance.

"Exploration should also be made by the endowment as to the possibilities of increasing the effectiveness of the radio and motion pictures in public education on world affairs." (Hearings, pp. 920, 921.)

It should be noted at this point that the President of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace who made these recommendations was Mr. Alger Hiss.

A continued inquiry into foundation activities might well study their support of *Unesco* projects. Whether all these are to the best interests of the United States, warranting the support by public funds through foundations, is doubtful.

AN INTERNATIONAL SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL.

One agency which has come into being as a result of *Unesco* action deserves special study. It is the *Provisional International Social Science Council*. Donald Young, President of the *Russell Sage Foundation*, explains the origin of this new organization in the March, 1952 issue of *Items*, the publication of the *Social Science Research Council*. A consultative organization meeting was held at the call of MME. ALVA MYRDAL as Director of the Department of Social Sciences of *Unesco*. MME. MYRDAL (wife of Gunnar Myrdal, whose *An American Dilemma* is discussed in section XIII of this report) is an extreme leftist who was at one time denied a visa by our State Department. That a person of MME. MYRDAL's persuasion should be a director of the social science department of *Unesco* is rather forbidding.

Three Americans were selected for places in the ten man initial group to organize the new *International Council*. One of these was Mr. Young, who was elected president; another was Professor P. H. Odegard of the University of California; the third was PROFESSOR OTTO KLINEBERG of Columbia University, well-known as an extreme leftist.

We have been unable to expend the time to investigate this new organization with any thoroughness. We suggest that such an in-

vestigation is highly desirable. There are indications that it is to act in the international field somewhat in the manner *The Social Science Research Council* acts in the domestic scene. The opportunities for coercive direction of research into a leftist direction will be present; and its integration with *Unesco* makes it likely that its direction will be to the left. Foundation support for its activities is apparently expected. The extent and purpose of such support, currently and in the future, bears watching. Perhaps more significant than anything else is that the *International Council* shall have among its duties (according to Mr. Young's article) this function:

"Whenever asked to do so, to tender [to *Unesco*] advice on the choice of suitable social scientists for interdisciplinary projects of research."

It could thus become a virtual accrediting agency, with all the power and danger such a system involves. The danger is increased by the apparent fact that the structure of the new organization is un-democratic, perhaps even more so than that of *The Social Science Research Council* after which it seems to have been somewhat patterned.

CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT AND THE AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION

Starting in 1946 *The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace* made substantial contributions to the *American Bar Association* on a matched-fund basis—that is, requiring the Association itself to supply part of the necessary funds—for the purpose of studying problems of international law. One of the problems contemplated for study was the crime of genocide. This project commenced while ALGER HISS was President of the *Endowment* and progressed while Professor Shotwell was his interim successor. Shortly after Joseph E. Johnson, the present President of the *Endowment*, came into office he launched into a controversy with the *American Bar Association* claiming that it had misused the funds granted by the *Endowment*. His main claim, as expressed in a letter of September 27, 1950 to Mr. Codey Fowler, President of the *American Bar Association*, was "that funds from the *Endowment* grant have been or are being employed for the purpose of opposing ratification of the Genocide Convention as submitted to the United States Senate by the President." Mr. Johnson also complained that in the deliberations of the Association the point of view supporting the Genocide Convention had not been given sufficient hearing.

Without going into details of the controversy, which involved some rather sharp correspondence, we conclude from the facts that Mr. Johnson's irritation stemmed from the *Bar Association's* having dared to condemn the Genocide Convention.

Foundation executives make much of the assertion that they are under no obligation to follow up their grants and that they have in fact no right to interfere with the use of funds which they have allotted. Mr. Johnson's quite bitter controversy with the *Bar Association*, however, indicates that when the grantee arrives at conclusions distasteful to those who control the granting foundation, they feel they have a right to object and complain. We do not believe that Mr. Johnson would have complained if the *American Bar Association* had come to the conclusion that the Genocide Convention should be ratified. This is consistent with the propaganda nature of the *Carnegie Endowment*.

FORD ENTERS THE FIELD.

The Ford Foundation entered the international field with ardor. It has already spent vast sums of money on projects abroad. One of its five major programs concerns international and foreign objectives.

We find, in the furtherance of this program, grants in 1951 and 1952 to the *American Friends Service Committee* aggregating \$1,134,000. The *Ford Foundation Annual Report* for 1951 recites that the "officers" (note it is not the trustees) "felt that the *American Friends Service Committee* had demonstrated over a long period its capacity to deal effectively with many of the economic, social and educational conditions that lead to international tensions." The same report later contains this somewhat naive statement:

"Our policy in Asia has failed to lead us to the real objectives of the American people because its preoccupation with strategy and ideology has prevented our giving sufficient weight to the economic, social and political realities of Asia. There, as elsewhere, we have tended to label as Communist any movement that sought a radical change in the established order, without consideration of the roots of such a movement. Quaker workers, during years of service in the troubled Orient, have witnessed the great changes taking place and the increasing hostility with which the United States has regarded them. They are convinced that an effective policy must take into account the actual conditions that have produced these changes, as well as the new situation that revolution has created in Asia. Our fundamental ignorance of the East is costing us dear, but the situation has been further complicated by the fact that United States policy towards Asia has recently been exposed in an unusual degree to the hazards of domestic criticism arising from political partisanship.

"It is surprising that we have not been able to understand the situation in Asia, because Americans should be peculiarly able to comprehend the meaning of revolution. Our own independence was achieved through a revolution, and we have traditionally sympathized with the determined attempts of other peoples to win national independence and higher standards of living. The current revolution in Asia is a similar movement, whatever its present association with Soviet Communism." [Emphasis supplied.]

Are these "officers" of a foundation who characterize a Russian-Communist armed and financed coup in China as a revolutionary movement similar to our War of Independence qualified to expend huge sums of money belonging in equity to the American people? Can a foundation be trusted to administer a half billion dollars of public funds in an area having to do with foreign affairs and international relations when its trustees apparently follow the advice of "officers" so uninformed in American history and institutions as to draw an analogy between a Communist conquest and the American Revolution!

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE.

Now let us briefly examine the record of the *American Friends Service Committee* to which the officers of the *Ford Foundation* attributed such "capacity to deal effectively" with vital problems that the *Foundation* granted that organization a total of \$1,134,000 of the public's money.

The *Friends Service Committee* supported the pacifist *Frazier Bill* which would have prevented us from waging war; and the *Griffen Bill* which would have prevented us from denying citizenship to those aliens who refused to take oath to defend the United States.

It sponsored the *WORLD YOUTH CONGRESS* which has been cited as a Communist front. It sent a delegate to the *WORLD YOUTH FESTIVAL*, held in Prague in 1947, a pro-Soviet and Communist-sponsored affair.

In June, 1948 it circulated Congress with a statement expressing its unalterable opposition to conscription for military service. This

statement, was signed by its Chairman, HENRY J. CADBURY, and its Executive Secretary, CLARENCE E. PICKETT. The Communist front affiliations of these two men (as well as of others associated with the *Friends Service Committee*) are shown in an appendix to this report.

The *Friends Service Committee* organized the *Student Peace Service Committee*, which assisted in the organization of the *Youth Committee Against War*, which brought together:

THE AMERICAN STUDENT UNION (cited as a Communist front);
 THE WAR RESISTERS LEAGUE;
 THE FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION;
 THE YOUNG PEOPLES SOCIALIST LEAGUE;
 THE FARMERS UNION;
 THE INDEPENDENT COMMUNIST LABOR LEAGUE;
 THE METHODIST FEDERATION FOR SOCIAL SERVICE (Youth Section);
 THE AMERICAN YOUTH CONGRESS;

and other left wing groups.

The *Friends Service Committee* has been an active lobbyist. A few years ago an organization known as the *Friends Committee on National Legislation* was set up in Washington. It is believed to be a vehicle of the *American Friends Service Committee*, or closely associated with it. This unit opposes military training, favors liberalization of the immigration laws and asks legislation to sustain conscientious objectors. It supported the *Lehman Amendment* to the *McCarran-Walter Immigration Act*; it urges extensive foreign aid programs. It solicits financial contributions. Whether it is right or wrong in its respective legislative positions is of no moment here—the point is that it engages actively in prompting some legislation and opposing other measures. This function should, in itself, deny it the support of a foundation.

Nor does the *American Friends Service Committee* itself refrain from political pressure. In January, 1950, it wrote the following message to President Truman, presuming to press him in an area of government activity of the greatest moment:

"Further intervention will result in the hardening of Chinese resentment against America and the strengthening of Sino-Russian ties by treating Communist China as an enemy and by refusing to recognize her, we are not isolating China, we are isolating ourselves."

It is the conclusion of this Committee that, in deciding that this organization should be supported, the officers of *The Ford Foundation* exhibited a lack of sound bases for judgment; and the trustees who gave these officers their support in distributing \$1,134,000 of public trust money were guilty of gross negligence.

Remember the contention of the foundations, expressed several times in the Cox Committee hearings, that they are entitled to make mistakes, that they cannot enter "experimental" fields without making mistakes! This contention is wholly acceptable when a mistake is sometimes made in some innocuous, nose-counting piece of research. When the mistake relates to the safety of our country, the burden passes heavily to the foundation to prove that its action was reasonable, carefully thought-out and *without* reasonable possibility of damage.

The Ford Foundation has become a propagandist for *Unesco*, as indeed have several of the other great foundations. Our school chil-

dren are being taught that *Unesco* is one of the hopes of the world. No critical analysis is ever given, as far as we have been able to determine, but merely blind adulation. The following testimony by Mr. Aaron Sargent is illuminating regarding *Ford's* position:

The Ford Foundation used its financial power to attempt to resist the will of the people of Los Angeles in connection with a pamphlet known as "*The E in Unesco*." This pamphlet was put out by the Los Angeles City School Department, and it promotes various *Unesco* activities, and it includes the international declaration of human rights.

Mr. Paul Hoffman, the president of *The Ford Foundation*, personally appeared before the Los Angeles Board of Education and sought to prevent the removal of these pamphlets out of the Los Angeles city schools by the action of a duly constituted board of the city of Los Angeles, and in so doing he engaged in lobbying, an activity prohibited to *The Ford Foundation*.

I have a news clipping, bearing date of August 26, 1952, Tuesday, in the Los Angeles Times, and it contains a picture of Mr. Hoffman, several other gentlemen with him, and the statement below reads as follows:

"Urge that it stay—These proponents of teaching *Unesco* were on hand as speakers. From left: Dr. Hugh M. Tlner, Pepperdine College president; Paul G. Hoffman, of *Ford Foundation*; Elmer Franzwa, district governor of Rotary, and William Joyce."

Mr. HAYS. What is wrong with that?

Mr. SARGENT. He has no right to engage in lobbying, and he was opposing a local matter and should not have in any way interfered with it. He was president of *The Ford Foundation*.

Mr. HAYS. You would not want anybody to say you have no right to come here and expound your views, would you?

Mr. SARGENT. He did it as president of *The Ford Foundation*, and used the power of *The Ford Foundation* as a leverage in the case. (Hearings, p. 379.)

Later came the following colloquy:

Mr. HAYS. You are inferring that because he was president of *The Ford Foundation* and he went out there to advocate this, he automatically brought *The Ford Foundation* into it.

Mr. SARGENT. They were discussing how they were going to handle it and they were afraid the *Unesco* pamphlet was going to be thrown out and they were discussing other ways in which they could back up Mr. Hoffman and bring more strength to bear on that Los Angeles City Board of Education. I overheard that conversation, and I was in the office at the time. Mr. Hoffman was lobbying intentionally. (Hearings, p. 381.)

(The statement filed by the *Ford Foundation* maintains that Mr. Hoffman did this bit of lobbying on his own as a private citizen and a resident of California, unconnected with his position with the *Foundation*. That may, of course, well be. He may, for the moment, have stepped out of his official character to go to work as an individual, but the general impression that he was acting as President of *The Ford Foundation* was a reasonable one.)

Subsequently Mr. Sargent explained that the propaganda in the *Unesco* matter included the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which has been rejected by the *American Bar Association* and our government itself. (Hearings, p. 382 et seq.)

The frantic efforts of some of the foundations to widen public support for *Unesco* deserve studied attention.

INTERCULTURAL PUBLICATIONS, INC.

One of the organizations established by the *Ford Foundation*

"In an attempt to increase understanding among the peoples of the world and to advance mutual appreciation of differing cultural and intellectual backgrounds through the exchange of ideas and literary and artistic productions * * *

was Intercultural Publications, Inc. According to the application for a tax-exempt status filed with the Internal Revenue Service, it was organized, among other purposes

"* * * to help maintain world peace and to promote better understanding between peoples of different nations, races and relations; to increase without the United States knowledge of the culture, art, intellectual works, customs, and interests of the United States and its peoples; * * *"

by means of production and distribution of all forms of written and spoken communication.

In addition to the quarterly magazine *Perspectives*, U. S., which is published in 20 countries, it also publishes *Diogenes*, *Kultura*, and an *Atlantic Monthly Supplement*, *Perspective of India*.

From its establishment in April 1952 until the close of 1953 *The Ford Foundation* has granted \$759,950 to Intercultural Publications, Inc., no figures being available for the year 1954.

As in so many of the projects with which *The Ford Foundation* and its offspring have associated themselves, the purposes set forth are entirely praiseworthy. But as a practical matter, based on a study of the six issues of *Perspectives* published to date, it is evident that there might be two schools of thought as to whether the particular means selected, as demonstrated by the content of these quarterly volumes, would necessarily accomplish the avowed purposes.

There is a much bigger question mark, however, in the minds of this committee, based on a study of the personalities associated with this "cultural" disciple of *The Ford Foundation*, either as a member of the advisory board, as a contributing author, or as an author whose works are selected for review.

The latest volume available (No. 6) lists 59 individuals as members of the advisory board. Of that number 18 have been mentioned in one way or another before Government agencies looking into subversion. These individuals, whose complete records are included in the appendix to this report are—

MORTIMER ADLER
JAMES AGEE
W. H. Auden
Jacques Barzun
BERNARD BERELSON
Paul Bigelow
R. P. Blackmur
François Bondy
Harvey Breit
Cleanth Brooks
Marguerite Caetani
Cyril Connolly
AARON COPLAND
MALCOLM COWLEY
HALLIE FLANAGAN DAVIS
IRVIN EDMAN
JAMES T. FARRELL
Francis Fergusson
W. H. Ferry
Alfred M. Frankfurter
ALBERT J. GUERARD
Hiram Haydn
Rudolf Hirsch
Henry Russell Hitchcock
Alfred Kazin
Paul Henry Lang
Melvin J. Lasky
HARRY LEVIN
Alvin Lustig
Richard P. McKeon

PERRY MILLER
Robert Motherwell
Dorothy Norman
Norman Holmes Pearson
Duncan Phillips
Renato Poggioli
John Crowe Ransom
Annada Sankar Ray
ROBERT REDFIELD
Kenneth Rexroth
Selden Rodman
Eero Saarinen
MEYER SCHAPIRO
ARTHUR SCHLESINGER, JR.
Mark Schorer
Delmore Schwartz
GILBERT SELDES
KARL J. SHAPIRO
Wallace Stegner
Allen Tate
Lionel Trilling
Ralph E. Turner
ROBERT PENN WARREN
Gordon Bailey Washburn
Victor Weybright
Monroe Wheeler
TENNESSEE WILLIAMS
Kurt Wolff
Morton D. Zabel

Among those who have contributed to the periodical, or whose books have been favorably reviewed are the following, whose records are also in the appendix.

KENNETH BURKE
AARON COPLAND
MALCOLM COWLEY
MARTHA GRAHAM
HORACE GREGORY
KENNETH GEARING
ALBERT J. GUERARD
SIDNEY HOOK
ROBERT HUTCHINS
JOHN HOUSEMAN
GEORGE F. KENNAN
ARCHIBALD M. MACLEISH
NORMAN MAILER

PERRY MILLER
GARDNER MURPHY
HENRY MURRAY
REINHOLD NIEBUHR
MEYER SCHAPIRO
KARL SHAPIRO
ARTHUR SCHLESINGER, JR.
GILBERT SELDES
JACOB VINER
ALEXANDER WERTH
WILLIAM CARLOS WILLIAMS
EDMUND WILSON

Summarized, tax exempt funds are being channeled into the hands of persons like Malcolm Cowley (literary editor of the *New Republic*), a member of the advisory board who has consistently followed the Communist Party line, has sponsored or been a member of at least half a dozen or so organizations cited by the Attorney General and Congressional committees and other governmental agencies as Communist, subversive or Communist front organizations. Or, like Aaron Copland, also a member of the advisory board, who in addition to a consistent record of joining such organizations as did Cowley, has composed a song entitled "The First of May" which drew high praise from such Communists as Hans Eisler.

The records of individuals obtained from official sources have been included in the appendix, and will bear close scrutiny. This Committee finds it difficult to believe that *only these individuals* can adequately portray to the people of the world the culture of the United States, and equally difficult to believe that there do not exist in this country rising artists of equal ability, whose art would be enhanced by a firm belief in the fundamental concepts of our political philosophy.

GLOBALISTIC ECONOMICS.

The extent to which foundations have promoted the theory that we must subordinate our own economic welfare for that of the world in order to have peace is worth an investigation of its own. *The Rockefeller Foundation* in its 1941 report said:

"If we are to have a durable peace after the war, if out of the wreckage of the present a new kind of cooperative life is to be built on a global scale, the part that science and advancing knowledge will play must not be overlooked."

The presumption is that a global economic system is desirable. Such a system could not exist without some form of coercive supervision. Whether Americans are ready to accept such supervision is extremely doubtful.

An aspect of this subject which may sorely need attention is the use made of foundation funds to promote international arrangements for the control and distribution of raw materials and other interferences with domestic manufacture and trade. In the overwhelming desire to make us part of "one world" as quickly as possible, many associated with foundation work have supported movements which are decidedly short-sighted from the standpoint of the nationalistic world in which we still, as a practical matter, live and work.

THE NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION GOES "INTERNATIONAL."

In 1948 the *National Education Association* issued a volume entitled *Education for International Understanding in American Schools—Suggestions and Recommendations*, prepared by the *Committee on International Relations*, the *Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development* and the *National Council for the Social Studies*, all departments of the NEA. (Hearings, p. 64 et seq.) It was the result of a project financed in part directly by the NEA through contributions from teachers and partly by a grant from the *Carnegie Corporation of New York*. (Hearings, p. 65.)

The foreword by Warren Robinson Austin, then our representative at the UN, stated that the UN in 1949 had unanimously called upon the member states to provide effective teaching about the UN in schools. Apparently the NEA project was at least partially in answer to this call. It recommended that the teachers in our schools educate pupils into internationalism and gave specific suggestions as to objectives and methods. (Hearings, p. 65.)

There is a grave question in the minds of this Committee whether this powerful organization of teachers has any right to attempt to promote a uniform program of education on a national basis; but, if such a procedure is proper, it might well be that planning to educate our children into a better understanding of the world and its component parts and how international things work might be highly desirable. The program of the NEA, however, as expressed in the book under discussion, went far further than a mere educational program. It assumed that because the *United Nations* had been accepted as an intrinsic part of American foreign policy it should receive virtually unqualified and uncritical support.

The fact is that while the *United Nations* does play an intrinsic part in our foreign policy, support among our citizens for its mechanism and the detailed actions of its various constituents, boards and bodies is far from universal. The intelligent observer cannot escape the conclusion that the agencies of the *United Nations* themselves in many instances have promoted ideas and concepts which seem antithetical to many of our own basic principles.

We find in Mr. Austin's preface, for example, reference to the necessity for "rationalization of production and distribution on a world-wide basis." It is suggested that "solution of economic problems on a purely national basis without regard to the effect of their conduct on other peoples and nations breeds economic war." (Hearings, p. 66.) That may well be but there are many in the United States who believe that our efforts to improve the world's economy at enormous cost to the American taxpayer have not only been ineffective but have been met with a universal egocentric response by the other nations. The general tone of the volume is that we must sacrifice a considerable part of our national independence in order to create a stable and peaceful world. That may also be true if and when the time comes when most of the nations of the world will be ready themselves for honest international collaboration. *In the meantime, to train our children into the desirability of becoming internationalists at a time when world society is characterized by the most intense kind of selfish nationalism seems both unrealistic and dangerous.*

The volume implies that the creation of the *United Nations* is only the first step in the establishment of a world order. Its adulation of

the *United Nations* itself is almost childish. In the face of our difficulties with Russia it says: "Through its Security Council, every dispute that affects the peace of the world can be brought before an international body endowed with authority to take all necessary steps for the restraint of aggression." (Hearings, p. 67.) *To impose this concept upon our children in the schools is to teach them nonsense. The futility of the United Nations in settling international disputes has been tragically evident. And this futility, moreover, is not the result of a failure on our part to be "international minded."*

"Collaboration" is emphasized in this volume. We are to collaborate with all the various UNO bureaus and agencies, even the *Commission on Human Rights*.

The volume emphasizes the responsibility of teachers for "contributing to the maintenance of enduring peace". (Hearings, p. 67.) This is to be accomplished by indoctrinating our children with the desirability of full cooperation with the UNO and all its works. "This will certainly involve curriculum revision and the recasting of many time-honored educational policies and practices. It is a case in which half-measures and lip-service will not be adequate, for if these are the substance of the effort, the challenge will go unanswered." (Hearings, p. 68.) The goal is set as producing citizens who might be called "world-minded Americans". We cannot escape the conclusion that what is meant is the production of advocates of a world state.

Again, we say that someday a world state may be desirable and possible. However, we are living in a very realistic era in which "one world" could only be accomplished by succumbing to Communism. The program suggested contains this specific identification of the "world-minded American": "The world-minded American knows that unlimited national sovereignty is a threat to world peace and that nations must cooperate to achieve peace and human progress."

On page 21 of this volume we find this astounding statement (Hearings, p. 69):

"* * * More recently, the idea has become established that the preservation of international peace and order may require that force be used to compel a nation to conduct its affairs within the framework of an established world system. The most modern expression of this doctrine of collective security is in the United Nations Charter."

On page 31 we find this:

"* * * The social causes of war are overwhelmingly more important than the attitudes and behavior of individuals. If this be true, the primary approach to the prevention of war must involve action in the area of social and political organization and control. (Hearings, p. 69.) [Emphasis supplied.]

Education is the recommended road to "social and political organization and control" and education is described "as a force for conditioning the will of a people * * *". It utilizes old techniques and mass media such as the printed word, the cinema, the radio, and now television." (Hearings, p. 69.) If we read these terms correctly they seem to mean to us that the educators are to use all the techniques of propaganda in order to condition our children to the particular variety of "world-mindedness" which these educators have adopted. Considerable space is later spent for "education for peace through mass media." (Hearings, pp. 69, 70.)

There is constant repetition of the idea that "the world-minded American believes that unlimited national sovereignty is a threat to world peace". On page 44 we find:

"* * * Many persons believe that enduring peace cannot be achieved so long as the nation-state system continues as at present constituted. It is a system of international anarchy—a species of jungle warfare. Enduring peace cannot be attained until the nation-states surrender to a world organization the exercise of jurisdiction over those problems with which they have found themselves unable to deal singly in the past. If like conditions continue in the future as in the past, like situations will arise. Change the conditions, and the situations will change."

Again, on page 46, we find this:

"We are likely to take the present nation-state system for granted; but in so doing, we are likely to overestimate its permanence and underestimate its significance. * * *"
[Emphasis supplied.] (Hearings, p. 70.)

There is a definite call to political action or at least to a promotion of the idea that we must surrender some of our political independence. On page 57 we find this:

"* * * The demonstration of the feasibility of international organization in nonpolitical fields and the failure of the League of Nations makes even more clear the fact that it is in the area of 'political' organization where failure seems to be consistent. This suggests that the difficulty may be traceable to the dogma of unlimited sovereignty—that nothing must be allowed to restrict the complete independence of the state. It suggests also that the dogma of sovereignty has a high emotional content that is self-generated and self-sustained and that so long as the dogma of illimitability obtains, international cooperation of a political nature will at best be tenuous." (Hearings, p. 71.)

On page 60 we find this recommendation that we must conform our national economic policies to an international world economy:

"* * * The development of international cooperation as a contributing force to economic well-being is possible only insofar as it is applied to give direction to common positive aims and to condition the effects of national economic policies that would otherwise be serious disruptions of the interdependent world economy." (Hearings, p. 71.)

We must have (page 62) a "planned economic cooperation on a world-wide scale."

Our children are not merely to be educated into international points of view—they are told how to make themselves effective in creating political pressure. We offer these quotations as examples:

Page 80:

"* * * An individual can increase his effectiveness in influencing foreign policy by associating himself with organizations and by helping to formulate their attitudes on international questions. The groups most suitable for this purpose are the political party and those generally called pressure groups."

Page 81:

"* * * The world-minded American, as a part of his program of action, should concern himself with how these groups operate. He will find that he himself can probably have a greater influence through this technique. He will also find that since a great deal of official action is determined by pressure group action, the use of this device will enable him to be heard and will also enable him to urge his interest for peace against those he considers to be urging a contrary interest. He will find that the variety and interest of the groups with which he can affiliate are endless; and he must, therefore, examine carefully the aims of the group or groups to which he will devote his energies."

Page 82:

"* * * Teachers must act. As citizens, their obligation to act on behalf of peace and international cooperation is a responsibility shared with all other citizens. But teachers cannot be content merely to do just as much as others; they must do more. Teachers in almost any American community have greater competence in leadership skills and in knowledge than most of their fellow

citizens. With greater capacity goes greater responsibility for bringing personal influence to bear on civic action on the local, State, and National levels." (Hearings, p. 72.)

The school is to be a sort of militant agent so that "the total impact of community thinking may be brought to bear on major issues. Such a role brings the school into working contact with those agencies in the community which are keyed to action * * *."

The schools are told how "to assume their responsibility". Programs are to be developed rapidly. School planning committees are to pool ideas and coordinate. "Aids and sources" are recommended, including reading materials, film and film strips, etc. A list of books are recommended and among them we find some the advisability of recommendations we seriously doubt. (Hearings, p. 73.)

Putting the evidence together, we conclude that the National Education Association has been an important element in the tax-exempt world used to indoctrinate American youth with "internationalism", the particular variety which Professor Colgrove referred to as "globalism." This point of view is closely related to the "new era" which so many social scientists have envisioned as the ultimate goal of our society when they have gotten through "engineering" us into it.

We note that the filed statement by the *National Education Association* has made no effort to explain any of the criticisms made of that organization in the testimony, including the material we have just treated on globalism. This crucial and well documented issue is completely evaded with the remark that the NEA is "unable to learn whether any of the previous testimony is regarded by your Committee as worthy of further examination." The following characterization disposes of the evidence itself: "This testimony, insofar as we have been able to examine it, is so vague and so self-contradictory, that detailed comment seems unnecessary." (Hearings, p. 1147.) We beg to differ with the NEA.

EXPENDITURES ABROAD.

This Committee has not been able to expend the time to ascertain the extent of foundation spending abroad. It is clear, however, that millions of the taxpayers' money are spent annually outside of the United States. A further investigation might well consider whether there should not be some limitations placed upon such a foreign use of American money. In this era in which our Government feels obliged to pour billions into the support of the rest of the world, it is questionable whether foundations should have the right, freely to use further millions of the people's money in alien ventures.

There is the further problem of whether foundation expenditures abroad may not, at times, directly conflict with government policy. The whole subject is worthy of intensive study.

THE BASIC, FOUNDATION-SUPPORTED PROPAGANDA RE FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

It is our conclusion, from the evidence, that the foundation supported activities which relate to foreign policy have been turned consciously and expressly in the direction of propagandizing for one point of view. That point of view, widely disseminated by foundations at great cost in public funds, has been the official line of the former two administrations, submitted with such rare criticism, if any, as to constitute truly political activity. Where has been the objectivity which we have the right to expect when trustees disburse our

money? Where has been an expression of the minority points of view which have, in the course of time, proved themselves correct?

The following quotation is from the speech of ex-President Hoover, as reported in *The New York Times* of August 11, 1954, upon the occasion of his 80th birthday, after so many years of selfless devotion to the people of the United States:

"In our foreign relations there are great dangers and also vital safeguards to free men. During the last war we witnessed a special encroachment of the Executive upon the legislative branch. This has been through a new type of commitment of the United States to other nations.

"I am not going to argue legalisms, for they do not go to the center of the issue. The real issue is whether the President, through declaration or implication or by appeasement or by acquiescence or by joint statements with foreign officials, can commit the American people to foreign nations without the specific consent of the elected representatives of the people.

"There has been a grievous list of such commitments. They include international agreements which shackle our economy by limiting a free market. But more terrible were such executive agreements as our recognition of Soviet Russia which opened the headgates for a torrent of traitors.

"Our tacit alliance with Soviet Russia spread communism over the earth. Our acquiescence in the annexation by Russia of the Baltic States at Moscow and the partition of Poland at Teheran extinguished the liberties of tens of millions of people.

"Worse still was the appeasement and surrender at Yalta of ten nations to slavery. And there was the secret agreement with respect to China which set in train the communization of Mongolia, North Korea and all of China.

"These unrestrained Presidential actions have resulted in a shrinking of human freedom over the whole world. From these actions came the jeopardies of the 'Cold War.' As a by-product these actions have shrunk our freedoms by crushing taxes, huge defense costs, inflation and compulsory military service.

"We must make such misuse of power forever impossible.

"And let me say, I have no fears of this evil from President Eisenhower but he will not always be President.

"Our dangers from the Communist source of gigantic evil in the world are unending. All of the peace agencies we have created and all of the repeated conferences we have held have failed to find even a whisper of real peace.

"Amid these malign forces, our haunting anxiety and our paramount necessity is the defense of our country.

"It is not my purpose to define the foreign policies of our Government.

"Sooner or later a new line of action will become imperative.

"I have disagreed with, and protested against, the most dangerous of our foreign political policies during the whole of the twenty years prior to the last Presidential election. I opposed and protested every step in the policies which led us into the Second World War.

"Especially in June, 1941, when Britain was safe from a German invasion due to Hitler's diversion to attack on Stalin, I urged that the gargantuan jest of all history would be our giving aid to the Soviet Government. I urged we should allow those two dictators to exhaust each other. I stated that the result of our assistance would be to spread communism over the whole world. I urged that if we stood aside the time would come when we could bring lasting peace to the world.

"I have no regrets. The consequences have proved that I was right."

It would be interesting to take each criticism offered by President Hoover and to determine how much foundation money has been spent in disseminating it among our people, as against disseminating the concept or principle which it criticizes. We are confident, from the evidence we have examined, that the result would show a preponderance against Mr. Hoover's criticisms of about one million to one, in almost every instance. *If this is the way these foundations have discharged their duty to the people to be objective and fair, we are frank to say that their tax exemption may have been a tragic mistake. They have been propaganda agencies; and foundation propaganda in any political area cannot be tolerated.*

XII. COMMUNISM AND SUBVERSION

THE COMMUNIST PENETRATION.

The group frequently referred to as the "anti-anti-Communists" has persuaded a large part of the American public that exposing Communists and their helpers undermines our traditions and principles. It admits that Communism is a grave danger to our national safety. It asserts that Communists should be driven out of government and places of power and influence. But it suggests that this should be done (in some mysterious and undefined way) by the government. Yet, strangely, these anti-anti-Communists vigorously and consistently oppose all determined and effective measures by which the government, through its duly delegated committees, exposes Communists.

It does not seem quite clear how this is to be managed; but nothing is worse, in the opinion of this vociferous group, than a Congressional investigation. That, they assert, is the worst way to handle the problem; a Congressional investigation is almost *per se* a violation of individual right; the individual must be protected, they allege, against the abuse inherent in Congressional inquiries even if the safety of the nation is at stake.

Some of this group say that the Attorney General should act, and he alone; forgetting that he cannot prosecute anyone for merely being a Communist: he can prosecute for espionage (and how rarely a spy is caught) or for perjury (and how rarely even a *Hiss* is caught). Others say that the job is one for the F. B. I., as though it should be used as a sort of *Gestapo*, with the right to both catch and try and, perhaps convict, for Communism. The fact is that the F. B. I. can only report what it finds to executive authority and then hope for the best. Many feel that, in any event, no man should be deprived of any right to position or employment unless he has actually been convicted of espionage or something equally overt and sinister. A man may, after all, they say, be a Communist and still be a good citizen and mean us no harm.

Against these various types of soft-mindedness and blindness to danger, the Congressional investigation still stands as a protection. *If, for example, the Cox Committee had done nothing else, its investigation was justified in so far as it disclosed that there had been an actual, definitive and successful Russian-Communist plan to infiltrate American philanthropic foundations.* Little reference has subsequently been made to this material disclosed by the Cox Committee hearings—it has certainly been conveniently forgotten by those in the foundations who are anti-anti-Communists. It bears review.

One of the Cox witnesses was Maurice Malkin, Consultant with the Immigration and Naturalization Service, who had been a charter member of the Communist party in America and had been expelled in 1937. He testified that a Russian agent had come to this country in 1936 "and ordered us that instead of depending on Moscow to finance the American party directly and at all times, we should try to work out ways and means of penetrating philanthropic, charitable, grants, foundations, and et cetera, and these organizations like social-service organizations, charitable institutions, and other cultural fronts, to try to penetrate these organizations; if necessary take control of them and their treasuries: if not, to at least penetrate them where we would have a voice of influence amongst those organizations, in

order to drain their treasuries that they should be able to finance the Communist Party propaganda in the United States, besides the subsidies that will be granted by Moscow." (Cox Hearings, p. —.)

The existence of this plot was corroborated by others and stands amply proved. The infiltration had commenced earlier than 1936. Mr. Bogolepov testified before the Cox Committee concerning infiltration as early as 1930. Bogolepov quoted Stalin as having said that Marx was wrong in so far as he may have thought that the Western world could be won by the workers. Stalin said:

"* * * it would be necessary to maintain the revolutionary status through the brains of Western intellectuals who were said to be sympathetic with Communist ideas." (Cox Hearings, p. 676 et seq.)

There were many waiting to be used by the Communists for their own purposes,—socialists and other leftists who did not always have sympathy with Communism itself but joined with it in certain immediate objectives, not realizing that, by doing so, they were assisting Communism to achieve its ultimate goals. Among this group were *those innocents who, in the 30's, sought to direct education in the United States, and research in the social sciences, to the end of ushering in a new order, prerequisite to which was the destruction or sapping of free enterprise. We have met some of them in previous sections of this report.*

In the August 20, 1954 issue of *U. S. News and World Report* is a long interview with Congressman Martin Dies, entitled *They Tried To Get Me, Too*. It is well worth reading. Mr. Dies tells the story of his difficulties as Chairman of the famous committee bearing his name which investigated Communism, in the face of the most bitter opposition from the then Administration. To the "liberals" of that day, Mr. Dies was worse than McCarthy is to the "liberals" of today. Yet his disclosures of Communism in high and important places were beyond questioning and were staggering in their implications. At one time he presented to the Executive a list of 2,000 Communists on the Federal payroll, including Alger Hiss, Harry Dexter White and Harold Glasser. Perhaps no one man, outside the F. B. I., knows more about the subversive movement during the period of his investigation than Mr. Dies. In his interview he recounts how so many "liberals" became the tools of Communism:

"The truth of the matter was, as I told the Jenner Committee, there were 10 million 'liberals' running around like a chicken with its head chopped off and wanting to change everything. They didn't know exactly what they wanted to change, but they were for changes. Along came the Commies, and they were the only group in that bunch that had a program. They knew where they were going and what they were doing.

"So they took over this 10 million and used them, and then suddenly came the exposure that here were these organizations that the 'liberals' had sponsored and worked under and contributed money to under the control of Moscow."

Mr. Louis Budenz testified before the Cox Committee that he was chairman of a Communist group which penetrated the press and other media of public information and that a commission had been created to penetrate the foundations, and he named names. Mr. Manning Johnson testified that he was a member of the Party from 1930 to 1940 and gave his opinion that the foundations had been successfully penetrated on both high and low levels. He said that from his own personal experience he knew that the *Garland Fund*, the *Marshall Foundation*, the *John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation* and the

Rosenwald Fund, in particular has been used, as well as the *Institute of Pacific Relations*.

How Do THEY Do It?

How has the penetration by Communists taken place? How was it accomplished? In an effort to see if the foundations themselves could assist in answering these questions, Counsel to this Committee asked three selected foundations, the *William C. Whitney Foundation*, the *Rockefeller Foundation* and the *John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation*, to examine their own records to try to see if they could shed any light on how grants to Communists and Fellow-travellers came to be made. In the case of the *Whitney Foundation*, two of its officers cooperated fully. In conferences with Counsel, it was agreed that no pattern appeared and the number of grants to subversives was, in any case, insufficient to provide a pattern.

In the case of the *Rockefeller Foundation*, Mr. Dean Rusk, its President, also cooperated fully, reporting to Counsel in writing both for the *Foundation* and for the (Rockefeller) *General Education Board*. The reports described the origin of each grant in so far as Mr. Rusk was able to ascertain it, and stated his conclusion that "no pattern emerges."

In the case of the *Guggenheim Foundation*, nothing further was heard from Dr. Moe, its chief officer, after the request for a study was made by Counsel. As the suggestion had been made merely to see if the foundations could assist in discovering how subversive grants came about, nothing further was done in the case of the *Guggenheim Foundation*, which apparently did not see fit to cooperate. (Appendix to Report, pp. —.)

This Committee is unable to arrive at any express conclusion as to the methods and manner of Communist penetration of foundations or the ways which have been used to take advantage of foundations. The subject would require detailed study far beyond this Committee's capacity in time and money. We suspect, however, that one factor which has contributed to the ease with which Communism has used our foundations has been the attitude of many foundation executives that the political opinions of a grantee is of no consequence. Dr. Hutchins, long a power in *The Ford Foundation* and now President of its offspring, *The Fund for the Republic*, has put himself on record as taking that position, and he is not alone. The attitude of Dr. Johnson in selecting his assistants in connection with the preparation of the *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, referred to elsewhere, seems typical of many of the leading characters in the social science field.

Some foundations have prided themselves that they do not enquire into the "politics" of those who receive grants or fellowships. They say they would not, of course, take on an avowed or proven, present Communist, but they do not seem concerned, however leftist the political or social bias of the prospective recipient of public money by their grace may be, short of actual, present, proven Communist membership. To some this position may seem sound—that a "scientist" should not be condemned or discriminated against unless he is established as an enemy of our country. Certainly whether the recipient is a Democrat or a Republican can make no possible difference. It may not even matter that he is some variety of collectivist, provided his political slant could make no material difference in the area in

which he is to work. But we are concerned in this report almost exclusively with the social sciences; in these, the political slant of a grantee may have enormous impact on his work. In dealing with mathematics or physics, it may be utterly inconsequential that a researcher is a socialist: in the social sciences, which so often have direct or indirect political significance, the radical character of the researcher may be all-important. *Political conformity should not be the price of foundation support. However, in projects of political significance, when the radical opinions of the applicant may affect his work, foundation support should be denied. Nor is it sufficient for a foundation to take the position that it is not responsible for the results produced by a radical who has received a grant in error or who has abused the confidence of the foundation. It is incumbent on the foundation, as a dispenser of public money, to publicly disavow the radical results promptly and without equivocation.*

THE EXTENT OF SUBVERSIVE GRANTS.

During the testimony of Professor Rowe of Yale, Mr. Hays of this Committee pointed out that, in the case of one foundation, it had made only forty grants to persons or organizations allegedly subversive, and that this was but a small percentage of the total grants. Professor Rowe answered that it seemed to him this was a mis-use of statistics. His position was that it was the aggregate impact of the unfortunate grants which was important, not their relative number. The Chairman then suggested that the number of grants did not tell the whole story of Communist infiltration, whereupon the testimony continued:

Dr. ROWE. Yes. Could I comment on that briefly, and make a few other comments that are connected with this? I am fully in agreement with the notion that—picking a figure out of the air—2 or 3 grants that are made to wrong people can have a tremendous effect in undoing much of the good that is made by the rest of the 40,000. Again it is not a matter of every grant being equal in significance. You can't evaluate them in terms of how many dollars were involved. A small grant made to a person in a critical position where he is going to make a wrong move, and implement the matter, can negate hundreds and thousands of grants made to people who are out on the fringes, the outskirts of positions of power and influence where the impact of everything they do that may be good will not be directly felt in policy areas.

Another interesting feature of that is that grants to organizations, it seems to me, have to be very carefully taken into account when you are talking about the total number of grants. I don't quite understand here whether the grants to organizations were included in this total figure.

The CHAIRMAN. They were not. These are grants to individuals.

Dr. ROWE. Of the grants to organizations I can only give you the best example that I know of. Those that involved, for instance, the *Institute of Pacific Relations*. I don't know what the sum total of the money was. It came from *Rockefeller* and *Carnegie* and from private contributions.

Mr. WORMSER. I believe it was something over \$3 million.

Dr. ROWE. \$3 million. The grants to the *Institute of Pacific Relations*, it seems to me, helped to implement a lot of people who did not, in my opinion, have the best interests of the United States at heart. (Hearings, pp. 535, 536.)

Professor Rowe then proceeded with testimony which this Committee found to be of extreme importance:

Here I want to talk about another item. It seems to me we make a mistake in talking about identifying Communists as grantees on the one hand, non-Communists as grantees on the other hand. *In much of the activity that has to do with identification of Communist activity in the United States, it has seemed to me that we are going off on the wrong track when we limit ourselves to efforts to identify overt Communists, or let us say organizational Communists, people who carry a card or who can be positively identified as members of an organization subject to organized discipline. For every one of those that you fail to identify, and it seems*

to me we even fail to identify most of those, there are a thousand people who could not possibly be identified as such, because they have never had any kind of organizational affiliation, but among those people are many people who advance the interests of world communism, in spite of the fact that they are not subject to discipline and do not belong to any organization.

So here again I think your categories, statistically, have to be refined somewhat. Here, of course, you get into this area of opinion. What constitutes an individual who is attempting to advance the interests of world communism?

This is a very controversial subject, but if we are ever to deal with the problem of Communist influence in this country, or ever to deal with the problem of preserving our security against the world Communist conspiracy, this is the critical area. The people who can be trailed and tagged by the FBI are a very, very small minority. They occupy a very powerful position and a potentially important one, but the people who do the important work are unidentifiable, and if I were planning to infiltrate the United States, I would see to it that they were unidentifiable.

Here it seems to me you have to set up an entirely different category than the two categories of Communists on the one side, and other people on the other side. (Hearings, p. 536.) [Emphasis supplied.]

To illustrate the necessity of making qualitative rather than quantitative judgments as to foundation grants, Professor Rowe discussed the IPR situation as follows:

* * * I would like to add this regarding the IPR and regarding the problem of Far Eastern policy. You remember some of my earlier remarks about the state of Far Eastern studies in the United States 20 or 30 years ago; how I said there was practically none of it; how some of the foundations started to finance the building up and training of personnel. It seems to me this kind of thing has to be taken into account in evaluating foundation grants, namely, that the area of ignorance in the United States about Far Eastern matters was so great that here was the strategic place in which to strike at the security of the United States by people interested in imperilling our security and fostering the aims of world communism. They would naturally not pick the area in which we have the greatest intellectual capacities and in which we have the greatest capacities for defense. They would pick the area of greatest public ignorance, with the greatest difficulty of defending against the tactics of their attack, and so these people naturally poured into Far Eastern studies and exploited this area as the area in which they could promote the interests of world communism most successfully in the general ignorance and blindness of the American people.

So that it is not only quantitative evaluation that counts; it is not only the numbers of grants or the amounts of grants; it is the areas in which the grants are given that are significant. Here, you see, it seems to me, it takes a great deal of subject matter know-how—quite apart from dollars and cents—people and their affiliations or lack thereof, to evaluate the impact on this country of any given foundation grant, I don't care whether it is \$50 or \$5 million. It is a qualitative matter, not a quantitative matter. Here is where judgment comes in and where the greatest possibility of disagreements and controversies lies. But where it seems to me if you are going to do an evaluating job on foundation activities you are going to have to make up your mind with the best help you can find just what the meaning of the grants was. (Hearings, pp. 541, 542.)

SUBVERSIVES FED TO GOVERNMENT.

We have described briefly elsewhere the extent to which the government has come to rely upon foundations and foundation-supported organizations to provide "social scientists" for research and in advisory capacities. The whole subject deserves deep and careful study and analysis, particularly the part which these foundations and associated organizations have played in infiltrating government with subversives. A shocking example of this was disclosed by the testimony of Professor Kenneth Colegrove.

Professor Colegrove testified concerning the appointment of political advisors to the occupation forces at the end of the second World War. In 1945, as Secretary of the *American Political Science Asso-*

ciation he submitted a list of names of experts for the Army of Occupation in Japan and for that in Germany—a list of political scientists who would be helpful to the government. While he did not put his own name on the list, he was asked to become an adviser to General MacArthur, and did subsequently occupy that position. (Hearings, p. 560.)

What became of the list which Professor Colegrove had provided? It was not accepted by the Pentagon. Another list was accepted and, as Professor Colegrove testified:

I was shocked when I saw the list, because there were none of the recommendations that we had made.

I took that list over to an old friend of mine who had served as Chief of the Far Eastern Division in OSS (Office of Strategic Services). His name is Charles Burton Fahs, a very outstanding specialist in Japan and a man of great integrity. And I remember that Charles Burton Fahs was astonished by the character of the names that had been recommended.

We checked those names off. *Some of them were known to us to be Communists, many of them pro-Communists or fellow travelers. They were extremely leftist.*

I went back to the Pentagon to protest against a number of these people, and to my amazement I found that they had all been invited, and they had all accepted, and some of them were already on their way to Japan.

I wanted to find out where the list came from, and *I was told that the list had come from the Institute of Pacific Relations.* [Emphasis supplied.] (Hearing, p. 561.)

Professor Colegrove testified later that *another list had been supplied by the American Council of Learned Societies* and that *the final selections had been made from these two lists* (the IPR and the American Council of Learned Societies) and the list of the American Political Science Association had been ignored. (Hearings, p. 580.)

"And so",

said Professor Colegrove,

"General MacArthur, who had very little control over the personnel that was sent to Japan at this time for civil affairs, practically no control, had to receive a large group of very leftist and some of them communist advisers in the field of political science." (Hearing, p. 561.)

THE BASIC PROBLEM OF SUBVERSION.

There have been very few foundations which would consciously make a grant to a known Communist. In fact, with a few notable and tragic exceptions such as the *Institute of Pacific Relations*, the *Marshall Foundation* and the *Garland Fund* (these last two having lost their tax exemption and being now extinct) we do not know that any large sums of foundation money have gone directly into Communist channels. That is not the most serious problem which faces those foundation trustees who wish to do their full fiduciary duty to the people whose money, in the form of foundation trust funds, they administer. The leakage, *the substantial diversion of foundation funds to subversive purposes, comes clearly through the support of individuals and efforts which are contributive to Communist success though not always easily so recognizable.*

Many individuals have permitted themselves to be seduced into the support of Communist front organizations through negligence and an anxiety to join "progressive" and "liberal" causes. So, the foundations have often, in the social sciences, lent themselves to the support of efforts and causes which weaken our society and create factors of dissidence and disorganization of which the Communists are alert to take advantage. *We cannot too strongly state that this Committee*

respects the true liberal and deems him as important to the proper political functioning of our society as is the conservative. In using the term "liberal" in quotes, we do so to indicate a type of leftist who is the unconscious helper of Communism. He may be, with the utmost earnestness, a violent and inveterate opponent of Communism: but he travels IN, if not UNDER the same direction. The term "fellow-traveller" is perhaps too extreme. He may utterly reject revolution in favor of evolution, but the evolutionary change he seeks must be a quick one, and he must hurry to aid in ushering it in. In his anxiety for the better world of the future, he falls into the error of wishing to destroy before he knows the significance of that with which he wishes to replace.

These political comments are to this Committee of grave importance in relation to foundations. The evidence indicates that the foundations dealing in the social sciences have become so enamoured of the idea that foundations funds must be used for "risk capital" that they have all too infrequently failed to measure the risk. The "risk capital" concept is admirable in such areas as medicine and health and the physical sciences. To apply it in areas where the security of the state is involved, and the construction and manner of our society, converts it into "danger capital" instead of "risk capital." It propels foundation executives into a constant search for something new, a pathological scrutinizing of what we have, on the premise that there must be something better. Much of what we have is undoubtedly susceptible of improvement or even desirable supplanting. But much that we have is, to the average American, sound and inviolate. The tendency always to seek an improvement runs foundation executives into the hazards of neglecting the study of what we have in order to ascertain why it is so good and, rather, supporting change on the premise that what we have must be wrong.

This premise leads to the support of the leftist, the man who does not like what we have and wants to change it. What so few of the trustees of the major foundations seem to realize is, as Harold Lord Varney put it in his article in the *American Mercury* entitled *The Egg-Head Clutch on the Foundations*:

"The social sciences are the citadel of the 'egg-heads'. Once the foundation millions begin to flow into these fields, queer specimens with queer ideas begin to come out from under the academic logs, and qualify for grants and fellowships and sinecures. The Left Wing boys constitute the largest segment of this zany band."

We quote again from Mr. Hoover's speech ²⁷ rendered on his 80th birthday:

"Despite the clamor over ferreting out these persons, you must not be led into the mistake that Moscow has closed down its recruiting offices for American agents. Or that continued action of the F. B. I. and Congressional committees is not equally imperative.

"I have little fear that these Communist agents can destroy the Republic if we continue to ferret them out. Our greater concern should be the other varieties of Karl Marx virus.

"Among them are the Socialists. They assert they would proceed only by Constitutional means.

"The Socialists prowl on many fronts. They promote the centralized Federal Government, with its huge bureaucracy. They drive to absorb the income of the people by unnecessary government spending and exorbitant taxes. They have pushed our government deep into enterprises which compete with the rights of free men. These enterprises are endowed with exemption from control of state and local governments. Congressional committees have listed hundreds of these

²⁷ *New York Times*, August 11, 1954.

Federal activities. But only a drop of typhoid in a barrel of drinking water sickens a whole village.

"Every step of these programs somewhere, somehow, stultifies the freedom, the incentives, the courage and the creative impulses of our people.

"Beyond all this, there is proof in the world that the end result of socialism can be bloody communism. *In the Iron Curtain states it was the Socialist intellectuals who weakened the freedom of men by destroying free enterprise.* Thus they furnished the boarding ladders by which the Communists captured the Ship of State.

"One of the post-war cousins of socialism is the so-called 'Welfare State.' This poison gas is generated by the same sort of fuzzy-minded intellectuals. Its slogan is 'Planned Economy.' The phrase itself was borrowed from totalitarian governments. The end of it would at least be a government wherein whatever is not forbidden would be compulsory.

"*One of the annoyances of this cult is its false assumption that our nation has never been heedful of the welfare of our people. That we are our brother's keeper was rooted in religious faith long before these fuzzy-minded men were born.* Since the foundation of the Republic we have recognized and practiced both private and governmental responsibility for the unfortunate and the aged; for the education of our youth and the health of our people.

"Moreover, this cult has a host of gimmicks for giving away the people's money. Among their ideas is that government should guarantee every citizen security from the cradle to the grave.

"But it is solely the initiative and the labor of the physically able in the prime of life that can support the aged, the young, the sick—and the bureaucracy. And this active earning group requires the pressures of competition, the rewards of enterprise and new adventure to keep it on the job.

"Even if security from the cradle to the grave could eliminate the risks of life, it would be a dead hand on the creative spirit of our people. Also, the judgment of the Lord to Adam about sweat has not been repealed.

"When we flirt with the Delilah of security for our productive group we had better watch out lest in our blindness we pull down the pillars of the temple of free men.

"The British under a Socialist government tried it. Its result was a level of poverty which British Socialists sought to obscure with the term 'austerity.' Britain is now in retreat from it.

"Among the delusions offered us by fuzzy-minded people is that imaginary creature, the Common Man. It is dinned into us that this is the Century of the Common Man. The whole idea is another cousin of the Soviet proletariat. The Uncommon Man is to be whittled down to size. It is the negation of individual dignity and a slogan of mediocrity and uniformity.

"The Common Man dogma may be of use as a vote-getting apparatus. It supposedly proves the humility of demagogues.

"The greatest strides of human progress have come from uncommon men and women. You have perhaps heard of George Washington, Abraham Lincoln, or Thomas Edison. They were humble in origin, but that was not their greatness.

"The humor of it is that when we get sick, we want an uncommon doctor. When we go to war, we yearn for an uncommon general or admiral. When we choose the President of a university, we want an uncommon educator.

"The imperative need of this nation at all times is the leadership of the Uncommon Men or Women. We need men and women who cannot be intimidated, who are not concerned with applause meters, nor those who sell tomorrow for cheers today.

"Such leaders are not to be made like queen bees. They must rise by their own merits. America recognizes no frozen social stratifications which prevent this free rise of every individual. They rise by merit from our shops and farms. They rise from the thirty-five million boys and girls in our schools and colleges. That they have the determination to rise is the glorious promise of leadership among free men.

"A nation is strong or weak, it thrives or perishes upon what it believes to be true. If our youth is rightly instructed in the faith of our fathers; in the traditions of our country; in the dignity of each individual man, then our power will be stronger than any weapon of destruction that man can devise.

"And now as to this whole gamut of Socialist infections, I say to you, the neighbors of my childhood, the sons and daughters of my native state, God has blessed us with another wonderful word—heritage. *The great documents of that heritage are not from Karl Marx. They are the Bible, the Declaration of Independence*

and the Constitution of the United States. Within them alone can the safeguards of freedom survive. Safeguard the true spirit of these guarantees for your children, that they may not become the prisoners of a hydraheaded socialism.

"If anyone rises to say that all this is reactionary, you may class him as either fuzzy-minded or an ignorant enemy of free men." [Emphasis supplied.]

The evidence before us leads to the conclusion that conservative causes, those which seek to support what we have, have received but meager support from foundations operating in the social sciences; overwhelmingly, the foundations have prompted and supported ventures and individuals to the left. *In a broad sense, and vitally so, much of this leftist trend of the foundations in the social sciences has been "subversive", in so far as it has worked to undermine some of our precious institutions, and some of our basic moral and religious and political principles.*

The social scientist can fall readily into a close relationship with Communism or socialism if he succumbs to what Professor Hobbs has called "liberal scientism." Starting at page 145 of his *Social Problems and Scientism*, Professor Hobbs says:

"One of the greatest windfalls which ever fell the way of the zealots of scientism was the depression of the 1930's. How eagerly they exploited this temporary condition, and how reluctant they are to recognize that it is long since past. Particularly amusing was the exploitation of 'one-third of a nation.' This phrase, or a similar one, is to be found in practically every sociology textbook published from 1937 to the present. The wide usage, and the unquestioning acceptance of such a phrase is another illustration of the double standard of evidence employed by 'liberal' zealots of scientism. The phrase itself goes back at least to 1919, when it was picked out of the air by a social worker to dramatize poor housing among unskilled workers. It was then revived on the basis of a study made in the mid-thirties. This study was not even a study of income distribution, and was full of misleading interpretations. Did the 'scientists' investigate it, and point out the fallacies? Not at all. They were even more eager than politicians to seize upon any data which seemed to give scientific support to their dramatization of the failure of capitalism. They not only accepted the conclusions of one of the loosest studies ever made, they even exaggerated them. They coupled such conclusions with horrendous complaints about the breakdown of the system, the death of opportunities for youth, and the futility of efforts to improve one's economic or social status. They were pathetically eager to seize this seeming excuse to plead for ever-greater expansion of government.

"When the depression ended, the scientific liberals were among the last to admit it, and they still continue to present figures to 'prove' that a large percentage of the people are in an 'underprivileged' category. Despite great increases in wages—increases which far outstrip rises in prices—despite marked narrowing of the gap between upper and lower income groups, the theme continues to be played. As a matter of fact, several of the textbooks appearing during the period of high wage levels following World War II contained figures which 'proved' that there was a *higher percentage* of underprivileged than was alleged to exist during the depression! Governmental agencies have also contributed toward fostering this delusion. The exaggerated and one-sided criticism of the economic system is not confined to textbooks but is also expressed in many novels and in some of the most popular non-fiction 'trade' books. One of the more popular of these was *Middletown*.

"Scientific liberals make no serious effort to describe the economic system nor to present an objective description of economic conditions. Their efforts are devoted almost solely to criticism. This criticism paints a picture of tragic conditions which can be remedied only by 'social planning.' The details of such planning are not described, nor are the ramifications admitted, but almost invariably it is presented as a remedy. You will find 'social planning' recommended in a substantial majority of the modern textbooks in sociology, and I believe you will also find it in other fields of social science. It is commonly recommended even in the professional journals, which are supposed to be much more scientific and moderate than the texts. A study of articles dealing with the topic of social planning was made by a graduate student at the University of Pennsylvania, Mr. Kenneth E. Cuthbertson. Mr. Cuthbertson analysed all such articles which

appeared in *Sociology and Social Research* from 1930 to 1950. The conclusion he reached was:

"There is only one generalization that can be made. In all of the forty-seven articles studied, not one raises the question of the desirability and necessity of social planning. Without exception, every article is based on the assumption that social planning is necessary."

"Recommendations for social planning are presented in a manner which gives the impression that they have a scientific basis, whereas no scientific basis actually exists. The technique is one wherein one-sided criticism is levelled against the economic system; economic conditions arising out of capitalism are assumed to cause a wide variety of individual and social problems, and social planning is presented as the remedy. Of course, it has never been proved that economic conditions do actually cause delinquency, marital maladjustment and the other problems which they are supposed to cause. Nor do the 'liberal' advocates of social planning specify *how* the planning is to be scientifically accomplished or how it will remedy the conditions it is designed to cure. As with most other aspects of scientific liberal programs, social planning is offered as an amorphous idealism." On this level, those who question social planning can be denounced as 'reactionaries,' 'vested interest groups,' and enemies of progress.

"Liberals' as well as Communists and Socialists consistently criticize private enterprise and capitalism. The criticism is frequently one-sided and creates a very unfavorable impression of what has been, by and large, a highly successful economic system. The criticism is not confined to intervals of economic depression, but continues unabated during prosperity such as no society in history has ever witnessed. *It is of such persistence and variety that it can never be satisfied by any objective improvement in the system or in economic conditions.*

"These three groups similarly advocate 'social planning.' The programs and techniques differ in detail, but are similar in principle. This similarity should not serve as an excuse for silencing merited criticism of capitalism, nor for labeling all critics as 'Communists' or 'Socialists,' but it should be recognized."

He says further, at p. 160:

"The line of liberal scientism parallels those of communism and socialism through several important areas. All three have a common focus in economic determinism which contends that economic inequalities are responsible for delinquency, unhappiness, marital maladjustment, war, and a variety of other problems. All three slant toward an exaggerated and one-sided criticism of the economic system of capitalism and private enterprise. All three contrapose their exaggerated criticism with idealisms such as 'cooperation' and 'security' and 'democracy.' All three, but in varying degrees, advocate governmental regulation of economic processes in a program of 'social planning.' All three promote political policies behind a facade of 'science' and 'democracy'. All three exploit desire for peace and the conditions of war to promote their economic-political programs, to disparage patriotism, and to promote internationalism. All three emphasize differences between social classes and the extent of class conflict."

FOUNDATIONS AND SUBVERSION.

Foundation spokesmen have emphatically denied any support of subversion. We question, however, whether in such denials they did not misinterpret the meaning of the term "subversion". Their denials were justified in so far as they are related to the direct support of Communism, but these spokesmen were well aware of the nature of some of the evidence produced before this Committee which showed that foundations had frequently supported those who wish to undermine our society. Their denials of subversion in relation to such activities are without merit.

What does the term "subversion" mean? In contemporary usage and practice, it does not refer to outright revolution, but to a promotion of tendencies which lead, in their inevitable consequences, to the destruction of principles through perversion or alienation. Subversion, in modern society, is not a sudden, cataclysmic explosion, but a gradual undermining, a persistent chipping away at foundations upon which beliefs rest.

By its very nature, successful subversion is difficult to detect. It can easily be confused with honest, forthright criticism. In our free society outright and honest criticism is not only permissible but immensely desirable. Individuals who engage openly in such criticism, who criticize political institutions from a political perspective, and economic institutions from an economic perspective, should be given free rein and encouraged. The issues involved in permitting open and honest criticism, however, differ vitally from the issues raised by subversion promoted by foundations. Some of these vital differences (which foundation spokesmen refused to acknowledge, much less discuss, in their conscious misinterpretation of the term "subversive") are these:

Fundamental to the entire concept of tax-exemption for foundations is the principle that their grants are to be primarily directed to strengthening the structure of the society which creates them. *Society does not grant tax exemption for the privilege of undermining it.* Reasonable license is granted to satisfy personal idiosyncracies, with the result that there is much social waste when grants serve no truly useful purpose to society. But such tolerated waste is something far different from the impact of grants made by foundations which tend to undermine our society. Such grants violate the underlying, essential assumption of the tax-exemption privilege, that the substantial weight of foundation effort must operate to strengthen, improve and promote the economic, political and moral pillars upon which our society rests.

Despite vehement protestations to the contrary, abundant evidence indicates that many of the social science projects sponsored by foundations are neither in the form of open and honest criticism, nor can they be interpreted as promoting the welfare of our society—except as interpreted by those who wish radically to change its form and nature.

In the modern usage of the term, "subversion", it is no exaggeration to state that in the field of the social sciences many major projects which have been most prominently sponsored by foundations have been subversive.

Numerous examples of such foundation-sponsored projects, subversive of American moral, political and economic principles, were offered in testimony. Foundation spokesmen failed utterly to provide any evidence that such heavily-financed and prominently-sponsored projects were in any real sense balanced by projects which promoted or strengthened the principles upon which our society rests. In this sense, the weight of influence of foundation tax-exempt funds applied in the social sciences has been on the side of subversion.

Moreover, the subversive projects have been offered with spurious claims to "science." With this false label they have been awarded a privileged status. They have been offered as "scientific" and, therefore, beyond rebuttal. The impact of these subversive works has been intensified manifold by the sponsorship of foundations.

PART THREE

CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

XIII. SOME SUPPLEMENTAL COMMENTS

THE PROBLEM OF FOUNDATION SURVIVAL.

A number of foundations have complained bitterly about a "second" investigation, bemoaning the inconvenience of repeated inquiries. Whatever the inconvenience, this Committee urgently recommends a continued inquiry. The fullest possible study is necessary adequately to expose certain weaknesses and errors of operation, the failure to recognize which might, some day, result in a growing movement to destroy the foundation as an institution by wholly denying it tax exemption.

There are many today who believe that foundations should not be permitted. Among them are one group of advocates of "state planning," who take the position that all the functions now performed by foundations should be in government control; that foundations prevent the over-all coordinated planning in Washington which, they say, should be our goal. Others feel that the privilege of giving away the public's money (tax-exempt money) should not be subject to the idiosyncrasy of the donor or the disposition of a self-perpetuating group of foundation managers. There are others who resent, on a simple motivation of human envy, the presence of great sums of money segregated to the directed desires of some person of great wealth.

None of these points of view are received sympathetically by this Committee.

There is another group, however, which says that nothing would be lost by abolishing foundations, except factors which are undesirable or unpleasant. That is, they say, a donor could still make all the charitable donations he wished, by conferring his benefactions on existing institutions such as colleges and universities, hospitals, churches, etc. He could still get the same tax benefit for himself and for his estate, and save the equity control of a business for his family through such transfers. He could give himself the same egotistical satisfaction, if that is important to him, by attaching his name to a fund. He could even designate a purpose for which a recipient college, for example, must use his grant. He could even attach reasonable conditions and restrictions to his gifts.

All that would thus be lost by abolishing foundations, say these critics, would be (1) the inability to use a foundation itself as a vehicle for maintaining control or partial control of a business and (2) the inability to insist upon the management of the fund through family members or other self-perpetuating, designated persons. We would thus still have the equivalent of foundations, but they would be administered by universities and other responsible institutions instead of by those appointed by a miscellaneous selected board of private trustees and by "clearing houses."

This argument cannot be lightly dismissed. Nor can it be defeated by the insistence that foundation funds are most valuable as "risk capital." If the risk capital theory is sound, would it not be a safer "risk" to society to have such funds administered by responsible university trustees? The delineation of scope of purpose in a deed of gift could very easily warrant the taking of reasonable "risks."

While we recognize the weight of these arguments, we do not support the proposal that foundations be abolished or refused Federal tax exemption. One reason is that foundations are generally creatures of state law and it does not seem to us that the Federal government should, through the power of its taxing arm, virtually prevent the states from retaining the foundation as a permissible institution if they wish to.

Another reason is that some foundations have accomplished so much that is good. Institutions which are capable of doing for the American people the magnificent things which foundations have been responsible for, in medicine, public health and elsewhere, indicate that they should be saved if they can be. But the foundations cannot rest on their beneficial accomplishments alone. Not only must their balance sheets show a preponderance of good—that preponderance must be truly overwhelming. That they have improved the public health, for example, cannot offset that they have permitted themselves to be used to undermine our society and some of our most precious basic concepts and principles.

If they are to be permitted to continue and to wield the tremendous power which they now exercise, it must be upon the basis of complete public acceptance—because they will have committed mere venial sins and not mortal ones. For this reason we so strongly advocate the most complete possible airing of criticism and the most thorough possible assembling of facts. In no other way can foundation trustees come to realize the full degree of their responsibility, nor the extent of the dangers which they must avoid to prevent foundation destruction.

THE PROPOSED CONTINUED INQUIRY.

Various suggestions have been made as to the proper or most advisable vehicle for a continued inquiry. One is that a permanent sub-committee of Ways and Means be created to complete the investigation and to act as a permanent "watch-dog." Another is that the whole problem be turned over to the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation. A third is that something in the nature of a British "royal commission" be created. Whatever the means used, we urge that the investigation be retained under the control of the legislative branch of the government, where it belongs.

How should that continued inquiry be conducted? We have pointed out that such an inquiry is primarily a matter of laborious research. Facts are best secured by this method, rather than through the examination and cross-examination of a parade of witnesses.

Some foundation spokesmen have alluded to "Committee witnesses" and "foundation witnesses" in connection with the current investigation. There has been no such division of witnesses. All who came, or were to come, before us were, or were to be, "Committee witnesses." What these foundation spokesmen have attempted to do is give this proceeding the character of a trial, rather than an investigation. It has been no trial, and could not be.

There has been a growing insistence on the part of some groups of extreme "liberals" that Congressional investigations be changed in character to approach very closely to trial practice. Such suggestions fly in the very face of the nature of Congressional investigations and seek to undermine the independence of the legislative arm of the government by depriving it of the right to unhampered inquiry.

The use of a trial method, with complaint, answer, reply, rebuttal, surrebuttal, etc., as to each issue, would mean utter confusion and make of each investigation an endless "circus."

This Committee has been much maligned, in part by the press and by foundation spokesmen, because it first placed critical witnesses on the stand. This was done, with the unanimous approval of the full Committee, in order to be utterly fair to the foundations by letting them know, in advance of their own expected appearances, the main lines of inquiry which were to be followed. This was explained repeatedly by the Chairman and by Counsel, and appears in the record again and again. In the face of these statements foundation spokesmen, echoed by parts of the press inimical to this investigation for whatever reasons of their own, have cried "unfair!"

The insistence on something close to trial practice is illustrated by a telegram from *The Rockefeller Foundation* to the Committee which says:

"We must assume that the Committee's decision [(to discontinue the hearings)] means that it will not submit a report to the Congress containing any material adverse to our foundation on which we are not fully heard." (Hearings, p. 1062.)

This statement is made as though this condition were advanced as a matter of right. We reject it emphatically. We are not "trying" the foundations; we are investigating them. To require us, in advance of a report, to submit to a foundation every piece of evidence or comment which our staff may have collected would be an absurdity, hampering a committee such as this to the point of destroying its effectiveness.

The Rockefeller Foundation statement goes even further than demanding to see every piece of material which might be used in criticism of it. It says: "We suggest that the Committee insure this [refraining from unfairly injuring the foundations] by affording the foundations an opportunity to be heard on the draft of any report which the Committee proposes to submit." That is both intolerable arrogance and an absurdity. Perhaps this will be added to the list of things which the advanced "liberals" are asking of Congressional procedure—that no Congressional committee be permitted to file any report until all persons interested have had an opportunity to see it in draft and comment upon it to the committee!

Such procedure, aside from its interference with the independence of Congress, would involve the endless protraction of investigations. In our case, for example, there are some seven thousand foundations. Does Mr. Rusk, who signed the Rockefeller statement, believe that only *The Rockefeller Foundation* should have the right of examination? Or does he believe all foundations should have that right? Does he suggest they be called in one by one, or all in a group? The impossibility of his suggestion is obvious enough. And how about the cost? We have heard no foundation voice raised to assist this Committee in securing adequate financing.

THE ATTITUDE OF THE FOUNDATIONS.

United States News and World Report of October 22, 1954, page 104, contains excerpts from an article in *Harpers Magazine* for February, 1936, concerning Congressional investigations, written by Supreme Court Justice Hugo L. Black. Justice Black describes how pressure against an investigation commences before the investigation even begins.

"At the first suggestion of an investigation the ever-busy, ceaseless vigilant Washington lobby sounds the alarm."

The instant a "resolution is offered, or even rumored, the call to arms is sounded by the interest to be investigated."

"High-priced political lawyers swarm into the Capitol. Lobbyists descend upon members. Telegrams of protest come from citizens back home protesting against the suggested infamy."

Certain newspapers can generally be depended upon to raise a cry against the proposed investigation. The opposition does not end when a resolution passes; the next step is to try to influence appointments to the Committee. Finally, pressure is put upon the controlling legislative Committee to restrict the activities of the investigating committee by limiting its funds.

Justice Black's article is worth reading. It goes on to describe the difficulties which confront Congressional investigations when they do get under way.

Unfortunately this Committee concludes that some of the foundations have followed the traditional course which Justice Black described as taken by "the interest to be investigated." Nor have we been impressed with the general willingness of foundations to submit their performance to public scrutiny.

This Committee can judge the attitude only of those foundations with which it has had intimate contact. These, as well as the "clearing house" organizations have been fully cooperative in supplying information. Both groups, however, have demonstrated an intolerance toward criticism. This unwillingness even to consider that they might, in any respect, be guilty of serious error, we find distressing and discouraging. We can only conclude that it emanates from a sense of power and security, even *vis-a-vis* the Congress. Some of the foundations have gone so far as to imply that it is an injustice for Congress to investigate any complaint against them.

They have filled their statements with cliché material regarding the desirability of "free speech", and "freedom of thought", and "academic freedom" as though they had a monopoly on the defense of freedom and there were serious danger that Congress might unfairly curtail it. A form of arrogance and a pretension to superiority leads them to believe that critics must, *per se*, be wrong. Foundations are sacred cows. The men who run them are above being questioned. This Committee, continues their general attitude, is bent upon the destruction of the sacred right of foundations to do as they please; it is full of malice; its staff is manned with incompetents who have called in incompetents as witnesses; no one who criticizes a foundation could be competent.

One gathers the impression from some of the filed statements that the foundation officers who have signed them believe that they have a vested and inalienable right to do as they please, and that it is an

outrage that a Congressional Committee should dare to question any of their actions. The fact is that they have a limited privilege—limited by what the public may determine is for its own good; and the public, in this sense, is represented by the Congress.

This Committee has even been attacked by foundations which it has not investigated in any detail. Several such attacks, for example, have been launched by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, one appearing in its October, 1954, *Bulletin*, which begins by announcing—before the completion of our investigation, that it has failed. The lengthy article refers to the Committee members and staff as "actors" in a "charade", and refers to the witnesses called by the Committee as "a strange group." It is replete with vituperation and prejudices in vicious manner before the publishing of a report upon which alone any final judgment of this Committee's work could be made. The concluding sentence of the article is:

"Its failure as a Congressional investigation is a great victory for the American people."

There can be no possible justification for such an attack by a tax exempt organization in the course of a Congressional investigation.

This Committee is quite conscious of the possibility that it may itself have erred in some facts or in some judgments. Unlike some of the foundation-supported social scientists and some of the foundation executives (to judge them from their own statements) we do not consider ourselves Olympian. It is partly for this reason that we strongly recommend a completion of the project of an investigation of foundations—so that all possible facts in the criticized areas may be adduced which might be favorable to them. Based on an incomplete inquiry, all final conclusions are subject to possible revision.

On the other hand, we are quite shocked that some of the foundations have presumed to imply malice and an intention by this Committee to do a biased and prejudiced job. We should like to print in full the initial report prepared by Counsel to the Committee under date of October 23, 1953, outlining his proposals for the conduct of the work. It is a measured, objective and thoroughly unprejudiced document running to 22 pages, the result of extremely careful thought; it formed the basis upon which the Committee built its operations. We shall quote merely part of it to indicate the attitude which this Committee has had in its work.

"Control as a Basic Problem. This brings us to the basic control problem. We would assume that the Committee would be disposed to a minimum of Federal control. The rights, duties and responsibilities of foundations are, in our opinion, primarily matters of state law with which the Federal government should not interfere unless grounds of national welfare, strong enough to induce an application of a broad Federal constitutional theory, should appear. For the moment, then, the only available mechanism of control available to the Congress is the tax law. Congress has the clear right to place reasonable conditions upon the privilege of tax exemption. It has done so, as to income tax, gift tax and estate tax. If amendments to these tax laws come to appear desirable it is the province of the Committee on Ways and Means, as we understand it, to consider such amendments. We conceive our function in part to be to produce the facts upon which that Committee may, if it chooses, act further. We deem it within our province to state the facts which have appeared, collate them, and suggest areas of consideration for Ways and Means if the Committee finds this desirable.

"If acute or chronic foundation ailments should appear, the remedies may not, in every case, be through legislation. A disclosure of the ailments may, to some extent, induce reform within the ailing foundation itself. And the very statement of the facts may induce the public to take an interest of a nature to bring about reform through the force of public opinion."

This measured language does not indicate an intention to "railroad" the foundations or to impose restrictions on them which might, as some of the foundations purport to fear, destroy their usefulness. To quote once more from this initial and guiding report of Counsel:

"Starting with the premise that foundations are basically desirable, excessive regulation, which would deprive them virtually of all freedom, might well destroy their character, their usefulness and their desirability. Therefore, regulatory measures should be approached with great caution. We are not prepared at this time even to suggest that further regulation is needed. It seems essential to us that as scientific a collection and integration of facts as possible be accomplished before anyone, whether in this Committee or outside, arrives at any precise conclusions."

This is the spirit in which this Committee started its work and in which it has continued through the preparation of this report.

XIV. SPECIAL RECOMMENDATIONS NOT FULLY COVERED IN THE PREVIOUS TEXT

We shall not burden this already lengthy report with a repetition of all the various observations, conclusions and recommendations stated in its course. Because of the incompleteness of the inquiry, we have been disinclined to arrive at many final and fixed recommendations. We shall, however, discuss briefly some features of foundation operation which seem to require additional or fresh comment.

THE JURISDICTION OF WAYS AND MEANS.

Wherever suggestions are made herein for possible changes in the tax laws, we are mindful of the superior jurisdiction of the Committee on Ways and Means and respectfully offer such suggestions to that Committee for its consideration.

REFORM FROM WITHIN THE FOUNDATIONS.

This Committee has never swerved from the concept laid out in the initial report of Counsel to it that whatever reform of foundation procedure is necessary should, if possible, come from within the foundations themselves. We are not overly encouraged, from the content and import of the statements filed by some of the foundations, and their general attitude, that much willingness exists among executives of the foundations and of the associated organizations to institute any reform whatsoever. A prerequisite to such reform from the inside would lie in a recognition that it is needed. If these foundations and organizations persist in their attitude that they are sacrosanct, that they have not committed and cannot commit any serious errors, and that they, therefore, need no reform whatsoever, then Congressional action in various directions seems inevitably necessary, even to the possible extent of a complete denial of tax exemption.

LIMITATIONS ON OPERATING COSTS.

Suggestions have been made that the operating cost of foundations is sometimes excessive, resulting in a waste of public funds. There is much to this allegation, particularly in the case of heavily-staffed foundations with complex machinery of operation, and those which double overhead by using intermediary organizations to distribute some of their funds. There seems to be no reasonable way, however,

to control such waste through any form of regulation. It is our opinion that this is one of the areas in which reform from the inside is the only kind possible. We urge foundations trustees to consider it carefully.

"COLLECTING" FOUNDATIONS.

Special attention might be given to abuses by foundations used for the purpose of collecting money from the public. These have been extensively investigated in the State of New York and elsewhere, and organizations like the National Better Business Bureau can supply much data concerning them. The chief complaint against many of these organizations is that their costs of operation often far exceed the net amount available for distribution to "charities." Legislation to protect the public against abuses of foundations of this type is possible, perhaps in the form of a limitation on a percentage of permitted overhead. This Committee has not had time, however, to study this specific problem nor did it feel it advisable to duplicate any of the work done, for example, by the investigation in the State of New York.

WASTE IN GENERAL.

The evidence indicates that there is a good deal of waste in the selection of projects, particularly mass research projects in which large sums are expended, and the services of a substantial number of researchers employed, when the end to be achieved does not measure favorably against the aggregate expenditure of valuable manpower and of money. This error seems to us often to relate to an excessive interest in empirical research. The services of ten or more researchers might be used to assemble "facts" on some narrow subject when the same money spent on this piece of mass-fact-production could support those ten or more men, each in valuable, independent research. It would not be difficult, for example, to find a better use for \$250,000 than the mass research on the Tai Ping Rebellion concerning which Professor Rowe testified. We urge foundation trustees, who alone can prevent such waste, to scrutinize carefully the proposed end-objective of any suggested research project involving possible waste of manpower and public funds. We suggest to them, further, that foundation money is precious; that the capacity to distribute it is not a right but a privilege, a privilege granted by the people—that, therefore, waste should be avoided even more strictly than in the use of one's personal funds.

DEFINING FOUNDATIONS.

In order that statistical material of great value may be produced by the Bureau of Internal Revenue, and so that special rules might be applied to foundations (and "clearing house" organizations) as distinguished from the miscellany of organizations included within the scope of Section 101 (6) (now 501 (c) (3)) of the Code, we suggest that the Committee on Ways and Means consider a division of that section into two parts.

INTERNAL REVENUE SERVICE MANPOWER.

It is the opinion of this Committee that, although complete observation of foundation activity by the Internal Revenue Service is impossible, the subject is of sufficient social importance to warrant an

increase in the manpower of the pertinent department of the Bureau to enable it more closely to watch foundation activity.

FULL PUBLIC ACCESS TO FORM 990A.

We consider it an absurdity that the public does not have open access to the full reports filed by the foundations and known as Form 990A. Why any part of the activity or operation of a foundation, a public body, should not be open to the public eye, we cannot understand.

A "RULE AGAINST PERPETUITIES"

Many have urged that a "rule against perpetuities" be applied to foundations in the form of an aggregate limit on life of, say, from ten to twenty-five years. We strongly support this proposal. It should be applied primarily to foundations and other non-institutional organizations whose sole or chief function is distributing grants. Some operating research organizations might, possibly, be exempted from the rule and classed with institutional organizations such as colleges, universities, hospitals, churches, etc. And careful study may disclose other types of foundations which might be excluded from the proposed limitation on length of existence. It would not be easy to define these classes or to draw the lines of demarcation; but the difficulty of delineation should not prevent the undertaking.

Measures to forestall evasion would have to be considered. For example, a foundation, shortly before its duration-expiration, might pass its assets to another foundation created for the purpose or having similar objectives and management. There are other problems requiring difficult study. But it seems wise to proscribe perpetual foundations of the general class. This would minimize the use of the mechanism to enable a family to continue control of enterprises *ad infinitum*; avoid the calcification which sometimes sets in on foundations; and, among other desirable objectives, minimize the seriousness of the danger that a foundation might, in some future period, pass into the control of persons whose objectives differed materially from those which the creator of the foundation intended.

ACCUMULATIONS.

Foundations may not accumulate income "unreasonably." The pertinent provision of the tax law is analogous to Section 102 applying to ordinary corporations, and has a sound principle behind it. Yet it seems to us to sometimes work out unhappily. Foundations should not be overly-pressed to distribute their income, lest they do so casually or recklessly. We suggest, therefore, that this rule be changed so that:

1. a foundation be given a period of two or three years within which to distribute each year's income, but that
2. within that period, *all* of that year's income be paid out.

If a "rule against perpetuities" were applied, our suggestion might be that a foundation be given an even longer period of income accumulation.

CAPITAL GAINS.

With the objective of preventing any accumulations (beyond the limits discussed above), we suggest that capital gains be treated as income. That is, all capital gains realized should be subjected to the

same rule as to accumulations, as though they were ordinary income. Whether or not capital losses should be allowed as an offset for the purpose of treating accumulations is debatable.

RESTRICTIONS ON CORPORATION-CREATED FOUNDATIONS.

We have suggested that such foundations require the thorough study which we have not been able to give them. We are not in a position to make final recommendations. We do suggest that, while such foundations seem entirely desirable, they should be subjected to some restrictions which would prevent them from aggregating enormous capital funds with which they could (1) exercise powerful control of enterprises through investment and (2) come to have a very strong impact upon our society. One method might be to treat all donations to such foundations as income for the purpose of compelling distributions and proscribing accumulations. That is, whatever rule is applied, directed at the improper accumulation of income, should be applied to a corporation's annual donations as though these were income to the foundation.

NATIONAL INCORPORATION.

It has been suggested that foundations be either compelled or permitted to incorporate under Federal law. We adopt neither suggestion. This Committee does not advocate any unnecessary extension of Federal jurisdiction. Federal incorporation would have the advantage of permitting regulations to be enacted on a broader base than the tax law. But we feel that the further centralization of government function would be an unhappy invasion of states rights.

RETROACTIVE LOSS OF EXEMPTIONS.

This Committee has pointed out that, upon violation by a tax-exempt organization of the rules of the tax law relating to subversion and political activity, the only penalty is the future loss of income tax exemption (and the corresponding right of future donors to take tax deductions for gifts or bequests). We urgently recommend that means be studied by which the initial gift tax and/or estate tax exemption, granted upon the creation of the organization, may be withdrawn and the tax due collected to the extent of the remaining assets of the organization. It impresses us as absurd that, having been guilty, for example, of subversive activity, a foundation whose funds were permitted to be set aside because of tax exemption, can go right on expending its capital for further subversion.

REMOVAL OF TRUSTEES.

A sensible alternative to the imposition of the retroactive penalty described above, would be the immediate removal of the trustees or directors. This is primarily a matter of state law, and the Federal government could not force such removal. It could, however, we believe, provide that the retroactive penalty be assessed unless all the trustees or directors forthwith resign and arrangements are made for the election of directors appointed by a court or an agency of the state of incorporation or of the situs of the trust.

PUBLIC DIRECTORS.

The suggestion has been made that each foundation should be required to have, upon its board, or as one of its trustees, a member selected by a government agency, perhaps the state government.

The purpose of the suggestion is that the public would thus have a direct representative who could watch the operations of the foundation and take whatever action he might deem necessary if he found a violation of good practice or of law. The suggestion may have merit; it may be well worth the consideration of the Committee on Ways and Means.

REVOLVING DIRECTORATES.

Directed against the calcification which may set in upon a foundation, the suggestion has been made that a director or trustee be permitted to sit upon a board for only a reasonably limited number of years, after which he would be ineligible for reelection. This suggestion also seems to have considerable merit, and may be worth the attention of Ways and Means.

SELECTION OF WORKING TRUSTEES.

We urge most strongly upon those who control the great foundations, in particular, that they fill their boards with men who are willing to take the time to do a full job of trust administration. This is meant as no personal criticism of those many estimable men who sit upon foundations boards. We have gone into this matter elsewhere in this report. The president of a great corporation cannot possibly give to the management of a foundation the time which should be required. Many of the weaknesses of foundation management might be avoided if the trustees were selected from among men able and willing to give a large amount of time to their work.

RELIEF FOR THE ALERT CITIZEN.

As it is obvious that the Internal Revenue Service cannot, except at prohibitive cost, follow the activities of the individual foundations to ascertain whether violations of law exist, this Committee believes that some additional method should be established to protect the people against a misuse of the public funds which foundation money represents. An interesting suggestion has been made, which deserves careful study, that legal procedure should be available in the Federal courts under which a citizen could bring a proceeding to compel the Attorney General to take action against a foundation upon a showing, to the satisfaction of a Federal judge, that a *prima facie* or probable cause exists.

PROHIBITED ABUSES.

The Internal Revenue Code specially taxes "unrelated income" and proscribes certain transactions and uses of foundations. Among them are the unreasonable accumulation of income and certain prohibited transactions between the foundation and its creator or other closely associated persons and corporations. Within the limitations of time and funds faced by this Committee it did not feel warranted to enter this area of research which is, in any event, peculiarly the province of the Committee on Ways and Means. Doubtless certain defects in the existing law covering these areas need attention, but these must be left to consideration by the controlling Committee.

FOUNDATIONS USED TO CONTROL ENTERPRISES.

One subject which does need careful consideration by the Congress is the use now so frequently made of foundations to control businesses. In an early section of this report we alluded to the extent to which

foundations are being currently created in order to solve estate and business planning problems. We mentioned also the possibility that so great a percentage of enterprises may, someday, come into the hands of foundations that this very factor in itself may oblige legislative relief. We believe the Congress and the public should be sharply aware of this factor of enterprise-control through foundations; it has already had some effect on our economy.

There is nothing now in the law prohibiting such control. A donor or testator can transfer the controlling stock of an enterprise to a foundation and it may hold it in perpetuity, its self-perpetuating directors or trustees voting the stock as they please. It is conceivable that certain situations of a special character might be attacked by the Internal Revenue Service. For example, if the continued holding of one stock by a foundation seemed to prevent it from using its funds to the best advantage in relation to its dedicated purposes, it is possible that a court might cut off its tax exemption. But such instances would have to be extreme and irrefutably clear to promise relief. In the ordinary case, nothing will interfere with the continued holding. By the same token, foundations holding only a minority percentage of the voting stock of a corporation can act in consort with other stockholders, perhaps of one family, to become part of a controlling group; there is nothing in the law to prevent this either.

To prevent a foundation from receiving any substantial part of the securities of an industrial enterprise would extremely limit the use of the foundation mechanism for the solution of the problem of how to meet the heavy death charges in estates whose assets consist chiefly of securities in a closely held enterprise. On the other hand, the retention of a substantial holding in any enterprise may, in the long run, operate against the general public interest. We are not absolute in our conclusion, but suggest to the Committee on Ways and Means that it consider the advisability of denying the tax exemption to any foundation which holds more than five or ten per cent of its capital in the securities of one enterprise—and, in the case of an initial receipt of such securities, it might be well to give the foundation a period of two to five years within which to bring its holdings down to the prescribed maximum level.

AREA EXCLUSIONS AND RESTRICTIONS.

We qualifiedly support the theory of the foundations that their capital and income is often wisely used in "experimenting" in areas which the government or other private philanthropic organizations do not enter—we support this theory, however, only as to such areas where there is no grave risk to our body politic and to our form of society. With this limitation, the theory of "risk capital" seems sound and its observation accounts for many of the great boons to society for which foundations have been responsible, particularly in medicine and public health.

The question comes—should foundations be excluded from any special fields, such as the social sciences? Some ask that they be restricted to certain limited fields, such as religion, medicine, public health and the physical sciences. We do not support this theory. We believe they should be prohibited from using their funds for "subversive" purposes and from all political use, and we shall discuss this further. Beyond that, we believe that foundations should have full freedom of selection of areas of operation.

In giving them this freedom, there is a great risk of waste. This risk must be taken at the alternative cost of such hampering of operations through controls as to make foundation independence a virtual fiction. But we urge again that foundation trustees exercise great care in avoiding waste.

TYPE EXCLUSIONS.

Suggestions have also been made that foundations be restricted in various ways as to type of operation. These suggestions are of all sorts, some of them conflicting:

That they should not be permitted to act as operating units;

That they should only be permitted to operate, and should not be permitted merely to make grants;

That they should not be permitted to create subsidiaries, affiliates or progeny foundations or operating units;

That they be permitted to make grants only to existing operating units of certain types, such as colleges, universities, hospitals, churches, etc.

That they be denied the right, in the social sciences, to attach any condition to a grant, as to detail of operation, personnel, etc.;

That they be excluded from grants to other foundations, including "intermediary" organizations; and many others.

If any of these and similar suggestions are to be considered, we recommend that this be done only after a truly complete investigation has been had; and then only, after the most careful study. It is the general position of this Committee that no restraints should be put upon the operation of foundations which do not seem inevitably necessary for the protection of our society.

PROTECTION AGAINST INTERLOCK.

Many detailed suggestions have been made to prevent the growth and even the continuance of the concentration of power to which we have given considerable attention. These suggestions, for the most part, should also await the completed study and should be approached with great care. Some of the intermediary organizations should perhaps be continued, to go on with whatever valuable and safe activities they now pursue; but efforts should be made to induce or prevent them from acting in any coercive role, whether by intention or by the very nature of the structure of the foundation world.

Some few suggestions are, however, worthy of immediate consideration. One is that no trustee, director or officer of any foundation or intermediary organization be permitted to act as a trustee, director or officer of another, except where members of constituent societies may be associated with a parent body.

Another is that the fullest democracy be imposed on the election of members of such associations of societies and similar organizations to prevent the self-perpetuance which exists, for example, in the *Social Science Research Council*.

For the moment, we believe that the problem of "power" urgently demands the attention of foundation trustees. In order to escape an eventual substantial curtailment of foundation independence, trustees will have to understand how powerful their organizations are and how much care must be exercised so that no abuse of this power

occurs. They must also understand the terrific social impact which a concentration of foundation power entails and avoid, like the plague, operations or associations which tend to coerce, or even carry the propensity for coercing or in any way effecting, social controls, compulsions toward uniformity or any form of pressure on society or on those who are or are to become its intellectual leaders.

GREATER USE OF COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES.

Among other approaches to the solution of the problems raised by a concentration of power, this Committee urges trustees of foundations more frequently to use colleges and universities as media for research operations, suggesting further that grants to such institutions be made as free as possible of conditions and limitations.

THE EXCESS OF EMPIRICISM.

This Committee is entirely convinced by the evidence that the foundations have been "sold" by some social scientists and employee-executives on the proposition that empirical and mass research in the social sciences is far more important than theoretical and individual research, and should be supported with overwhelming preponderance. We are conscious of the fact that Congress should not attempt to exert any control over the selection of methods of research or the relative distribution of foundation funds over various types. Nevertheless, this Committee suggests that foundation trustees consider carefully and objectively our conclusion, from the evidence, that an overindulgence in empiricism has had results deleterious to our society, particularly in subordinating basic and fundamental principles, religious, ethical, moral and legal. In such consideration, we also suggest, as we have previously in this report, that they consult not alone with their professional employees who are the advocates of overwhelming empiricism but also with those scholars and students who are critical of the preponderance.

POLITICAL USE AND PROPAGANDA.

It is the opinion of this Committee that the wording of the tax law regarding the prohibition of political activity of foundations should be carefully re-examined. We recognize that it is extremely difficult to draw the line between what should be permissible and what should not. Nevertheless, the present rule, as interpreted by the courts, permits far too much license. While further study may be indicated, we are inclined to support the suggestion that the limiting conditions of the present statute be dropped—those which restrict to the prohibition of political activity "*to influence legislation*" and those which condemn only if a "*substantial*" part of the foundation's funds are so used. These restrictions make the entire prohibition meaningless. We advocate the complete exclusion of political activity, leaving it to the courts to apply the maxim of *de minimis non curat lex*. Carefully devised exceptions to this general prohibition against political activity might be made in the case of certain special types of organizations, such as bar associations.

Whatever the difficulties which foundations may face in determining when a proposed activity may have political implications, we cannot see any reason why public funds should be used when any political impact may result.

LOBBYING.

An astonishing number of tax-exempt foundations are registered as lobbyists in Washington. Under the present law, it seems clear that lobbying in itself is not held to be political activity of a type which might deprive a foundation of its tax exemption. Moreover, registration may, in many instances, take place to protect the foundation against a technical violation of the law requiring registration, when the only activity approaching true lobbying may consist of merely keeping an eye on developing legislation in some special field of interest. Nevertheless, there is evidence to indicate that much true lobbying goes on. The whole area needs investigation. Whether tax-exempt organizations should have the privilege of lobbying is at least extremely doubtful.

SUBVERSION.

The prohibition against the use of foundation funds to support subversion also needs wholesale revision. As the law stands it is only the support of Communism and Fascism which is prohibited. It may be that the adequate revision of the law regarding political use would suffice, but it is clear to us that all support of socialism, collectivism or any other form of society or government which is at variance with the basic principles of ours should be proscribed. This subject, too, requires considerable study. We well understand that some research clearly not intended to have any political implication may, nevertheless, incidentally impinge on the political. We also understand that the effect may relate to what is merely one facet of an aggregate of collectivist thought. Yet we feel that the whole field of the social sciences is of such a nature that "risk" is not desirable. As much as we support taking "risks" in the physical sciences, in medicine and public health and other areas, it is clear to us that risks taken with our governmental, juridical or social system are undesirable. If there is a burden placed on the foundations through the difficulty of drawing a line between what is in the broad sense "subversive" or "political" and what is not, it is better that the foundations suffer this burden than that they take risks with our happiness and safety.

FOREIGN USE OF FOUNDATION FUNDS.

In this area this Committee has not been able to do sufficient study to come to a final evaluation. However, we offer this suggestion tentatively and subject to further investigation of the extent and significance of foreign grants and grants for foreign use—that such grants be limited to ten per cent of the annual income of the foundation or, if it is disbursing principal, ten per cent, in the aggregate, of its principal fund. An exception should be made in the case of religious organizations, such as foreign missions, and perhaps in some other instances of peculiar and historic nature.

FURTHER AREAS OF INVESTIGATION.

We have limited ourselves in the scope of our inquiry, in order not to scatter over the entire, gigantic field. We urge, however, that the proposed continued inquiry cover those sections which we have perforce omitted. Among them is that of organizations which have religious names, or some connection with religion or a religious group, which have engaged in political activity. There is evidence that such

groups exist in all three major sects. The right of a minister, priest or rabbi to engage in political activity is clear enough. When such activity takes place, however, under the shelter of a tax-exempt organization which is not in itself a church, we question its permissibility.

There are some special types of tax-exempt organizations which seem to us seriously to need investigation. Among them are the cooperative organizations, some of which seem to engage in political activity and even to promote a form of collectivism. Some labor and union organizations also might be studied to see if they have not crossed the border from privilege to license in matters political. Among unions, for example, there is the basic question whether dues payable by the members should be used for political purposes which the members have not authorized.

There are some special foundations or similar organizations to which we have been able to give insufficient attention in some cases and none in others. These should all be studied. Among those which we have not heretofore mentioned (or mentioned only briefly) are these:

The Public Administration Clearing House;
The National Citizens Commission for Public Schools;
The Advertising Council;
The Great Books Foundation;
The American Heritage Council;
The American Heritage Program of the National Library Association;
The American Foundation for Political Education;
The American Friends Service Committee;
The Institute of International Education.

Another special group requiring study is the so-called "accrediting" organizations. These (apparently tax-exempt) organizations are extra-governmental, yet they act, in effect, as comptrollers of education to a considerable degree. For various reasons colleges, universities and specialized schools and departments today require "accreditization", that is, approval of one or more of these organizations which presume to set standards. Some of these accrediting organizations are supported by foundations; through such support, they may well control them. An incidental factor involved in this accrediting system imposed on American education is its often substantial expense to the institutions themselves. The Committee is informed that some colleges are obliged, through this system, to pay as much as \$20,000 per year to enable them to stay in business. The standards set may perhaps in every instance be beyond criticism, yet the system in itself is subject to question in so far as it imposes on institutions standards set by private organizations not responsible to the people or to government.

As we have been able to devote intensive study only to some of the major foundations, we suggest that a selected number of the more important foundations of what might be called the second rank in size should be examined carefully. A study of these may produce type or sampling material of great value in considering the over-all foundation problems.

We have been unable to do much concerning small foundations and their problems and difficulties. Some of these involve matters which should be primarily the concern of the Internal Revenue Service, but we have pointed out that its capacity for watching over the foundation field to discover breaches of law and offensive practices is very limited. A thorough study should, therefore, perhaps solicit from the public complaints against smaller foundations, as well as large, in order that studies may disclose what weaknesses exist in the operation of these smaller organizations.

* * * * *

While this Committee has spent little time in investigating the activities of foundations in the natural sciences on the ground that their performance in this area has been subjected to very little criticism, a continued inquiry might well give attention to this field in relation to the problem of subversion. There is evidence that some foundations and foundation-supported scientific enterprises have been used by Communists, through a special form of infiltration which has escaped the notice of those in control. Several important scientific projects seem to have been so employed for Communist purposes. They have become clearing centers for building up the reputation of persons of hidden Communist persuasion and subsequently placing these pseudo-scientists in situations where they are able to engage in espionage. The process includes using the assistance of scientists who are fellow-travellers or outright Communists to provide the material which is then used by the infiltrate to establish his scientific reputation. This is all done so adroitly that the foundations which support such projects know nothing of it.

This Committee was fortunate in securing Mr. Rene A. Wormser, of New York, as general counsel. In addition to his great ability he brought to the Committee a wealth of training and experience in the field of our inquiry. The Committee appreciates his devotion to the task and the superior contribution he has made. The Committee has relied heavily upon him in assembling and consolidating the material embodied in this report. He and Mr. Arnold Koch, the associate counsel, were able to associate themselves with the Committee only at considerable personal sacrifice.

The Committee has received material assistance from the Internal Revenue Service which has been at all times cooperative, from the Government Printing Office, the Library of Congress, and from the Senate and House committees covering certain aspects of the subject matter involved.

The Committee also desired to express its appreciation and give recognition to the able and untiring work of the members of the staff.

The foregoing report is respectfully submitted, this 20th day of December, 1954, on the affirmative votes of the following members:

B. CARROLL REECE, *Chairman*, Tennessee.

JESSE P. WOLCOTT, Michigan.

ANGIER L. GOODWIN, Massachusetts.

Casting contrary votes were:

WAYNE L. HAYS, Ohio.

GRACIE FROST, Idaho.

STATEMENT OF B. CARROLL REECE SUPPLEMENTAL TO THE MAJORITY REPORT

In view of the decision of the ranking minority member of the Committee to file a minority report, copies of which will not be made available to the other members of the Committee until released to the press, I feel it is desirable to include a brief summation of the attempts to frustrate the work of the Committee for which the ranking minority member has been responsible.

It was made clear at the outset that the inquiry was to be an objective study. In line with this purpose and after consultation by Counsel with attorneys for some of the foundations, the Committee decided to inform the foundations in advance of the main lines of criticism into which inquiry would be made, giving sufficient supporting evidence so that they would know what to reply to in their own testimony. This decision was unanimous. It seemed the most fair approach for the foundations.

In accordance with the unanimously agreed procedure, and also by unanimous assent, Mr. Dodd, the Director of Research, prepared an initial report to the Committee which was read into the record at the first two hearings. This report, representing his tentative personal observations after initial studies had been made, was intended to indicate the main lines of inquiry. His report stated:

"As this report will hereafter contain many statements which appear to be conclusive, I emphasize here that each one of them must be understood to have resulted from studies which were essentially exploratory. In no sense should they be considered proved. I mention this in order to avoid the necessity of qualifying each as made."

This statement could not be clearer. On the first day both the Chairman and Counsel made the purpose of the report utterly clear—it was "to give the foundations an opportunity to know what most important matters we want to go into in relation to them." During the hearings this identification of Mr. Dodd's report was repeated both by the Chairman and Counsel. Yet the ranking minority member repeatedly asserted that the majority had arrived at pre-judged decisions. Newspapers reported him as having said that this was an "Alice-in-Wonderland" investigation in which a decision had been made in advance of the trial of a case. The majority submits that in taking this attitude the ranking minority member intended to discredit and harass the investigation, and to impugn the good faith of the majority and of the staff.

From the start, Mr. Hays has assumed an attitude of aggressive suspicion and insulting distrust of the majority members and the staff. He has said frequently that he has known in advance what the majority was going to decide. The shoe is, in fact, on the other foot. Mr. Hays could not have made clearer, from the beginning of our work, that he intended to frustrate the investigation to the limit of his abilities, and to attempt wholly to "whitewash" the foundations.

The lines have not been drawn in this Committee on a political party basis. The opinions of the majority are not party-line opinions. They are not "Republican" opinions, any more than the opinions of the minority are "Democratic" opinions. Many Democrats voted for the establishment of this Committee, and many Republicans

voted against it. There is no party significance whatsoever in this Committee's work, which crosses party lines, and I am confident that our findings will find both supporters and opponents in both parties.

Sixteen public hearings were held, in the course of which the patient attempt was made by the Chairman to follow the procedure unanimously agreed upon in advance: that the main lines of criticism to be investigated were first to be aired, with sufficient evidence to show the reasonableness of investigating them, after which the foundations were to be brought into the hearings to state their positions.

The last public hearing was held on June 17th. Further public hearings were discontinued by a resolution passed by the majority at an executive meeting on July 2, 1954.

The reason for the cessation of hearings was that the attitude and conduct of the ranking minority member had made it impossible to conduct orderly hearings. Among the obstructive and harassing acts of Mr. Hays—all of them during the public sessions—were these:

He interrupted witnesses beyond all reason, attempting to frighten witnesses and to disorganize both the initial presentations and orderly interrogation by others. In one session of 185 minutes he interrupted 246 times.

When, after harrowingly frequent interruptions by Mr. Hays, great numbers of which were on extraneous matters, a rule was passed by a majority that a witness was to be permitted to finish his presentation before being questioned, Mr. Hays angrily remarked that he would pay no attention to any such rule and would interrupt whenever he pleased; and this he continued to do.

His interruptions were very frequently intemperate, both in tone and substance, and in purposeful disregard of parliamentary procedure and the rules of the House.

He repeatedly, and from the rostrum, villified the staff and accused it of having prejudged the complaints against the foundations.

He repeatedly, from the rostrum, vilified other members of the Committee and questioned their good faith. He publicly accused the Chairman of lying and being a coward; and accused Mr. Goodwin of duplicity and of cowardice. The following excerpt from the record of the hearings which I, as Chairman, had deleted from the printed record in an effort to achieve harmony and to maintain the dignity of the Committee and the House, is illustrative of the violent and abusive remarks of Mr. Hays.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, the gentleman from Ohio, I am sure is not going to get anybody worked up or irritated here. If he has that in mind he might just as well subside, because the Chairman for one has made up his mind that he is not going to let any byplay get him out of temper. That would impair the usefulness of this committee.

Mr. HAYS. Let me say to the Chairman that I took his word and he assured me his word was good, and if the time arose when I felt that we needed somebody on the minority side that the Chairman would put somebody on.

The CHAIRMAN. The conversation was that if the gentleman from Ohio and his colleague should finally decide to write a minority report, that a member of the staff would be made available to cooperate with them on that.

Mr. HAYS. No, that was not the agreement, because I don't want any member of this staff writing a minority report for me.

The CHAIRMAN. I said cooperate.

Mr. HAYS. Or to cooperate either.

The CHAIRMAN. And assist. That was the conversation. I do not know what the gentleman had in mind.

Mr. HAYS. I will say this to the gentleman, that out where I come from we have a saying that if a man doublecrosses you once, that is his fault; if he doublecrosses you twice, that is your fault. I just want you to know you won't get the second opportunity.

The CHAIRMAN. Even that statement is not going to provoke the Chairman, but there is no living man can justifiably say that this Chairman—that this man who happens to be Chairman at this time—has ever doublecrossed anybody or he had failed to keep his word.

Mr. HAYS. I am saying both.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all right.

Mr. HAYS. Is that clear enough? There is no inference there, is there?

The CHAIRMAN. That does not disturb me a particle.

Mr. HAYS. I know. You are pretty hard to disturb. I thought they had more guts in Tennessee.

The CHAIRMAN. You are not going to provoke me. You need not worry, I have already made up my mind on that.

* * * * *

In an effort to discredit a staff witness, he employed quotations from papal encyclicals, bringing in by inference a religious issue where it had no bearing.

He cast aspersions on the character and record of a Catholic nun, the daughter of Senator McCarran.

He repeatedly vilified and openly insulted witnesses appearing before the Committee. In a letter dated May 30, 1954 Professor Kenneth Colgrove noted that Mr. Hays had insulted, villified and browbeat a witness "in the most brutal fashion." "*On thirty or more occasions*" wrote Prof. Colgrove, "*Congressman Hays deliberately insulted the witness, and on numerous occasions, he inferred that he was a liar. Throughout three days, Congressman Hays was allowed to interrupt the testimony with irrelevant questions and to make distracting and insolent remarks. On the second day, even after Congressman Hays promised to refrain from interruptions (see page 638), he continued to interrupt and insult the witness without rebuke from the Chairman.*"¹ *I doubt whether the entire history of Congressional investigations will show more unfair or cowardly attack upon a witness than the treatment accorded to Mr. Sargent. Obviously no self-respecting scholar will care to testify before such a Committee under such conditions.*"

Mr. Hays referred in scurrilous terms to witnesses who had been heard, using such expressions as suggesting that the Committee should have a psychiatrist present; referring to witnesses as "crackpots"; asserting that they had been "dredged up" by the majority or the staff; asserting that not one single fact had been adduced by the testimony; etc. Among these witnesses were professors of repute and eminence. In a letter to the Chairman dated June 21, 1954 Professor Hobbs referred to the conduct of Mr. Hays and said that an atmosphere was created "*of fear among competent persons who might otherwise question the omniscience of the directors of those foundations. Witnesses are thereby warned that no matter how objective their testimony, no matter how legitimate their questions, their character will be smeared and their testimony ridiculed. Such threats add substance to an existing awareness that any pointed questioning of anti-intellectual or*

¹ Note that the record will show that the Chairman used unlimited patience to try to induce a reasonable attitude on the part of Mr. Hays without converting the hearings into an open brawl.

unscientific activities of these foundations will seriously handicap or permanently destroy an academic career."

The first witness who might be called a spokesman for the foundations was Mr. Pendleton Herring, President of the Social Science Research Council. After Mr. Herring had stated what he wished, and at great length, the Committee's Associate Counsel began cross-examination, whereupon the ranking minority member of the Committee immediately made plain that he would not permit sequential, orderly examination. Starting with an insult to the Associate Counsel, he indicated by his conduct that he intended to frustrate the cross-examination of foundation representatives by counsel and to prevent the eliciting of any material unfavorable to the foundations. The record of that last hearing on June 17th will show that a final incident of interference by Mr. Hays with orderly procedure justified the majority in concluding that no further hope existed of conducting public hearings properly in view of Mr. Hays' intransigence and refusal to obey rules of decency and propriety.

Among the other difficulties for which the ranking minority member was responsible was the loss, in the middle of its work, of two of its ablest investigators, released at the insistence of the ranking minority member who indicated that he would otherwise oppose any additional appropriation for the Committee. It was felt advisable to comply with this demand rather than to risk the abandonment of the investigation for lack of funds. The loss of the two investigators was a severe one. Several extremely valuable projects which had been started by the released investigators were left unfinished, and the remainder of the staff could not add the completion of these studies to their own heavy schedules. It is the belief of the undersigned that the demand for the release of the two investigators was prompted by their very evident ability and information.

One more comment upon the termination of the hearings. Some of the foundation statements filed with the Committee have been more than intemperate in castigating this Committee for ending the hearings. The Ford Foundation, for example, said:

"We therefore regard the decision of the Committee to discontinue public hearings and to limit the foundations' defense to written statements or closed sessions as a puzzling and unexpected act of injustice."

The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace was even more belligerent. It commenced its statement with an introductory paragraph which is an affront to a committee of the Congress of the United States. Other foundations approached this insolence in their statements.

What impresses this Committee, in relation to these unwarranted and intemperate remarks, is the fact that none of these foundations interposed any objections to the harassments to which this Committee was subjected in the course of its work. Indeed, some foundations very obviously worked closely with the ranking minority member of the Committee in his attempts to frustrate the investigation.

B. CARROLL REECE.

(Mr. Goodwin's added remarks were not received in time to be included in this printing of the report, but will be included when the report is reprinted.)

APPENDIX TO THE REPORT

Throughout the text of this report the names of certain individuals or organizations appear in a distinctive kind of type. This was in order to identify them immediately as having been cited by the Attorney General of the United States, or by various governmental agencies for associations and affiliations of a questionable character.

All the material contained in this Appendix is taken from the public records, files and publications of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, and is arranged alphabetically in this Appendix for ready reference. In some cases the records are in narrative form, and in others they are in columnar form. The latter identify particular organizations indicating citation by one of the following:

- (1) The Special Committee and/or Committee on Un-American Activities
- (2) The U. S. Attorney General
- (3) Other government agencies, state or municipal, etc.

MORTIMER J. ADLER

It is noted that Ernie Adamson, Counsel, Committee on Un-American Activities, addressed a letter to Prof. Mortimer J. Adler on December 14, 1945, requesting a copy of a speech delivered by Professor Adler in Cleveland, Ohio, October 29, 1945.

Under date of December 19, 1945, Professor Adler replied:

I do not have a copy of the speech I delivered in Cleveland and elsewhere because I spoke extemporaneously from manuscript notes. The content of the lecture, however, was taken from my published book, *How to Think About War and Peace*, and the lecture said neither more nor less than that book said.

Briefly, the thesis of my lecture, as of my book, is that world peace depends on world federal government; that world federal government requires the total relinquishment and abolishment of the external sovereignty of the United States as well as that of all other presently existing sovereign nations; that this may seem a high price to pay for peace, but that it is nevertheless the absolutely minimum condition, without which we shall have another world war in less than fifteen years. Since I think that the atomic warfare which impends will be absolutely destructive of the civilization of the United States, whether we win or lose that war, I feel that I am justified in strongly recommending action by the American people to prevent that war—even if it means the loss of our national sovereignty.

ELEANOR COPENHAVER ANDERSON (MRS. SHERWOOD ANDERSON)

<i>Organization and affiliation</i>	<i>Source</i>
Coordinating Committee to Lift the Embargo (1). Named as a "Representative Individual" in favor of lifting the Spanish embargo.	Booklet, "These Americans Say:" p. 10.
Consumers National Federation (1). Sponsor.	Pamphlet, "The People vs. H. C. L.," Dec. 11-12, 1937, p. 2.
Conference on Constitutional Liberties in America (1) (2). Sponsor.	Program leaflet, "Call to a Conference on Constitutional Liberties in America, June 7, 1940," p. 4.
Conference on Pan American Democracy (1) (2). Sponsor.	Letterhead, Nov. 16, 1938.

MRS. SHERWOOD ANDERSON

*Organization and affiliation**Source*

- Action Committee to Free Spain Now (2). Signer of statement protesting the "delay in breaking diplomatic relations with Franco Spain." Daily Worker, June 17, 1946, p. 2.
- American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom (1). Sponsor of Citizens Rally, Carnegie Hall, New York City, April 13, 1940. Leaflet, "Citizens Rally * * *."
- League of Women Shoppers (1). Sponsor. Letterhead, Apr. 19, 1940.
- New Jersey League of Women Shoppers. Sponsor. Letterhead, July 7, 1941.
- National Council of American-Soviet Friendship (1) (2). Sponsor and member of its Committee of Women. "Call to a Conference on Women of the U. S. A. and the U. S. S. R. in the Post-War World," Nov. 18, 1944, New York City; and, letterhead of the NCASF, Committee of Women, Mar. 1, 1948.
- Save the Voice of Freedom Committee [Voice of Freedom Committee (2)]. A tea under sponsorship of the organization given in her home. Undated leaflet issued by the Voice of Freedom Committee.

See Also: Public Hearings, Special Committee on Un-American Activities, vol. 4, page 2898; and, vol. 17, pages 10304, 10341, 10345-10348. Public Hearings, Committee on Un-American Activities: Testimony of Walter S. Steele, July 21, 1947, page 83. Hearings Regarding Communist Infiltration of the Motion Picture Industry, October, 1947, pages 536 and 537.

NORMAN ANGELL

*Organization and affiliation**Source*

- American League for Peace and Democracy (1) (2). Contributor to "Fight." Fight, July 1938, p. 7; Pamphlet, "7½ Million * * *," p. 40.
- "Soviet Russia Today" (1). Contributor. Soviet Russia Today, Sept. 1936, p. 17.

See Also: Public Hearings, Special Committee on Un-American Activities, vol. 1, pages 617, 687, and 689; vol. 4, page 3074.

ROGER N. BALDWIN

In Report No. 2 of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, dated January 3, 1939, a chapter was devoted to the American Civil Liberties Union. We find the following excerpt concerning it which was taken from a report of the United Mine Workers, filed in 1924:

There are 200 organizations in the United States actively engaged in or sympathetic with the Communist revolutionary movement as directed and conducted by the Communist Party in America. * * * In virtually every instance, these

organizations have direct contact, through the mechanism of inter-locking directorates, with the central executive committee of the Communist Party of America, or with its "legal" branch, the Workers Party of America.

Illustrative of this arrangement is the executive committee and the national committee of the American Civil Liberties Union, at New York, posing as the champion of free speech and civil liberties, but serving as a forerunner and trail blazer for the active and insidious activities of the Communists * * * The managing director is Roger Baldwin who served a term as a draft evader in the Essex County jail in New Jersey in 1918 and 1919 (Report No. 2, pp. 82 and 83).

In Report No. 2290, the Special Committee to Investigate Communist Activities in the United States stated the following:

The American Civil Liberties Union is closely affiliated with the Communist movement in the United States, and fully 90 per cent of its efforts are on behalf of Communists who have come into conflict with the law. * * *

Roger N. Baldwin, its guiding spirit, makes no attempt to hide his friendship for the Communists and their principles. He was formerly a member of the I. W. W. and served a term in prison as a draft dodger during the war. This is the same Roger N. Baldwin that has recently issued a statement "that the next session of Congress our job is to organize the opposition to the recommendations of the congressional committee investigating communism." In his testimony before the committee he admitted having said at a dinner held in Chicago that "The Fish Committee recommendations will be buried in the Senate." Testifying on force and violence, murder, etc., the following is quoted:

"The CHAIRMAN. Does your organization uphold the right of a citizen or alien—it does not make any difference which—to advocate murder?"

"Mr. BALDWIN. Yes.

"The CHAIRMAN. Or assassination?"

"Mr. BALDWIN. Yes.

"The CHAIRMAN. Does your organization uphold the right of an American citizen to advocate force and violence for the overthrow of the Government?"

"Mr. BALDWIN. Certainly; in so far as mere advocacy is concerned.

"The CHAIRMAN. Does it uphold the right of an alien in this country to urge the overthrow and advocate the overthrow of the Government by force and violence?"

"Mr. BALDWIN. Precisely on the same basis as any citizen.

"The CHAIRMAN. You do uphold the right of an alien to advocate the overthrow of the Government by force and violence?"

"Mr. BALDWIN. Sure; certainly. It is the healthiest kind of thing for a country, of course, to have free speech—unlimited.

"The American Civil Liberties Union has received large sums from the Garland Fund, of which Roger N. Baldwin is one of the directors." (Report issued January 17, 1931; pp. 56 and 57.)

The American Fund for Public Service (Garland Fund), referred to in the foregoing quotation, was established in 1922. "It was a major source for the financing of Communist Party enterprises" (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, report of March 29, 1944, pp. 75 and 76).

Roger N. Baldwin was a member of the Executive Committee of the American Friends of Spanish Democracy, as shown on letterheads of that organization dated November 18, 1936, and February 21, 1938.

A letterhead of the Russian Reconstruction Farms, Inc., lists the name of Roger N. Baldwin as a member of the Advisory Board of that organization (letterhead dated March 20, 1926).

Mr. Baldwin sponsored the Mother Ella Bloor Birthday Banquet in 1936 (Program, January 24, 1936, pp. 7 and 9); the celebration in 1937 (Daily Worker, June 14, 1937, p. 8); and he sent greetings to and sponsored the 75th birthday celebration (undated letterhead, and Souvenir Book, p. 23).

Roger N. Baldwin was a member of the All-American Anti-Imperialist League in 1928, as shown on a letterhead of that group, dated April 11, 1928.

Letterheads of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, dated April 27, 1938, and January, 1940, list Roger Baldwin as a member of the Advisory Committee of the organization. He was also one of the sponsors of the Fourth Annual Conference of the organization held in Washington, D. C., March 2 and 3, 1940 (letterhead of the Fourth Annual Conference).

An undated letterhead of the New York Tom Mooney Committee listed Mr. Baldwin as a sponsor of the organization.

Labor Defender, a "Communist magazine," in its issue of July 1931 listed the name of Roger N. Baldwin as a member of the Prisoner's Relief Fund of the International Labor Defense; he sent greetings to the Third Biennial National Conference, as shown on the printed program of that Conference.

Roger N. Baldwin was one of the sponsors of the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy (New Masses, September 28, 1937, p. 28).

A pamphlet entitled "Youngville, U. S. A.," lists Roger N. Baldwin as a member of the National Advisory Committee of the American Youth Congress (p. 62).

Roger N. Baldwin was a member of the Advisory Board of the American Student Union, as shown in a pamphlet entitled "Presenting the American Student Union." He was a speaker at the Fourth National Convention of that group (The Student Almanac, 1939, p. 32).

An undated letterhead of Frontier Films lists the name of Roger Baldwin as a member of the Advisory Board of that group.

Roger Baldwin was a contributor to New Masses, issues of November 16, 1937, and May 13, 1941.

Roger Baldwin was a sponsor of the National Congress for Unemployment and Social Insurance and signed the call to the Congress ("Unemployment Insurance Review," Volume 1, 1935, p. 3; leaflet "Call to a National Congress for Unemployment * * *").

In a pamphlet entitled "The People vs. H. C. L.," December 11-12, 1937, p. 2, Roger Baldwin is listed as one of the sponsors of the Consumers National Federation.

The "Struggle Against War" for June 1933, p. 2, listed Roger Baldwin as a member of the American Committee for Struggle Against War; the same publication in the August 1933, issue (p. 2), listed him as a member of the Arrangements Committee for the United States Congress Against War, under the auspices of the American Committee for Struggle Against War; a letterhead of November 1, 1933, of the United States Congress Against War also named him as a member of the Arrangements Committee.

Roger Baldwin was a member of the National Executive Committee of the American League Against War and Fascism (Fight magazine for April 1934, p. 14; the "Call to the Second U. S. Congress Against War and Fascism, September 28, 29, and 30, 1934, Chicago, Illinois," p. 2; and a letterhead of the organization dated August 22, 1935). He spoke at a Legislative Conference of the group, as shown in the Daily Worker (February 27, 1937); and sponsored a joint meeting of the group with the American Friends of the Chinese People (Daily Worker, September 24, 1937, p. 6).

A leaflet entitled "Call to Action, American Congress for Peace and Democracy, January 6-8, 1939, Washington, D. C.," listed the name of Roger Baldwin as one of those who endorsed the Congress. He was a member of the National Committee of the American League for Peace and Democracy (letterhead of July 12, 1939, and a pamphlet entitled "7½ Million Speak for Peace"). He spoke at the United Anti-Nazi Council of the American League for Peace and Democracy, as reported in the *Daily Worker* of May 12, 1938, p. 2.

Mr. Baldwin contributed to the November 1933 and September 1937 issues of *Fight* magazine, official publication of the American League Against War and Fascism.

The *Daily Worker* of September 24, 1940, p. 5, reported that Roger Baldwin had signed a letter of the Communist Party and the American Civil Liberties Union, demanding discharge of Communist Party defendants in Fulton and Livingston counties.

The *Worker* (Sunday edition of the *Daily Worker*) dated October 30, 1949, p. 6, named Roger Baldwin as one of those who had "spoken out against" the verdict handed down against the eleven Communist leaders.

The *New York Times* of October 27, 1949, p. 29, reported that Roger Baldwin, director of the American Civil Liberties Union since its inception in 1920, will resign January 1.

After leaving his administrative post with the union, Mr. Baldwin will devote full time to specialized work in the field of international civil rights.

The article further stated that Mr. Baldwin would act for the International League for the Rights of Man, "an affiliate of the union."

It is noted in the "Korean Independence" of August 6, 1947, that Roger N. Baldwin stated that—

Unless American policy undergoes a change in southern Korea, we are probably going to deliver another country into the waiting arms of the Soviet Union.

Roger Baldwin's name appeared on a partial list of signers on a statement in behalf of Refugees Behind the Iron Curtain as shown in the *New York Times* of October 20, 1949, p. 25.

The following appeared in the Harvard Class of 1905 Thirtieth Anniversary Report, June, 1935, p. 7:

Roger Nash Baldwin writes, "I have continued directing the unpopular fight for the rights of agitation, as Director of the American Civil Liberties Union; on the side engaging in many efforts to aid working class causes. I have been to Europe several times, mostly in connection with international radical activities, chiefly against war, fascism, and imperialism; and have traveled constantly in the United States to areas of conflict over workers' rights to strike and organize. Aside from social and economic issues, I have been active in the fight for the conservation of birds and animals and forests. My "chief aversion" is the system of greed, private profit, privilege, and violence which makes up the control of the world today, and which has brought it to the tragic crisis of unprecedented hunger and unemployment. I am opposed to the new deal because it strives to strengthen and prolong production for private profit. At bottom I am for conserving the full powers of every person on earth by expanding them to their individual limits. Therefore I am for socialism, disarmament, and ultimately for abolishing the State itself as an instrument of violence and compulsion. I seek social ownership of property, the abolition of the propertied class and sole control by those who produce wealth. Communism is the goal. It all sums up into one single purpose—the abolition of the system of dog-eat-dog under which we live, and the substitution by the most effective non-violence possible of a system of cooperative ownership and use of all wealth."

Cited organizations referred to herein: (1) Cited as a Communist or Communist-front organization by the Committee on Un-American Activities and/or the Special Committee on Un-American Activities; (2) Cited by the United States Attorney General.

All-American Anti-Imperialist League (1) and (2)
 American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born (1) and (2)
 American Committee for Struggle Against War (1)
 American Congress for Peace and Democracy (1)
 American Friends for Spanish Democracy (1)
 American Friends of the Chinese People (1)
 American League Against War and Fascism (1) and (2)
 American League for Peace and Democracy (1) and (2)
 American Student Union (1)
 American Youth Congress (1) and (2)
 Consumers' National Federation (1)
 Frontier Films (1)
 International Labor Defense (1) and (2)
 Labor Defender (1)
 National Congress for Unemployment and Social Insurance (1)
 New Masses (1) and (2)
 New York Tom Mooney Committee (1)
 North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy (1) and (2)
 Russian Reconstruction Farms, Inc. (1)
 United States Congress Against War (1) and (2)

RUTH BENEDICT

Shortly after her death, Dr. Ruth Fulton Benedict was eulogized by Peter Stone in an article written for the Daily Worker on October 13, 1948 (p. 7).

Ruth Benedict was co-author of a pamphlet entitled "The Races of Mankind" which was the subject of an investigation by the House Committee on Military Affairs in 1944, due to the fact that some fifty-five thousand copies were purchased by the War Department for distribution among students of the Army orientation course.

It is to be noted that the Communist publication, the Daily Worker, condemned the War Department's ban on the use of the pamphlet; an article which appeared on the editorial page of the March 8, 1944, issue of the publication claimed that—

it is difficult to reconcile such an act with the cause for which we are fighting. (See page 6.)

From the same issue (page 4), we find that—

The National CIO War Relief Committee will distribute the pamphlet * * * to members of the House and Senate—

and that—

The CIO Committee began distribution of this pamphlet to members of armed forces following the USO board's decision, upholding Chester I. Barnard's insistence that the popularly written pamphlet be banned from YMCA-sponsored USO units.

On February 25, 1938, Miss Benedict made a speech in the Department of Agriculture Auditorium, comparing American civilization with primitive tribes. The following report is taken from "Agricul-

ture Exchange," a Department of Agriculture employee magazine, for March 3, 1938:

No primitive tribe has gone as far as we. All the people, even be they slaves, are taken care of. Rich and poor eat of the same food. This is in contrast to our own society where an employer may fire his employees without assuming any responsibility for their further welfare or existence * * *. Since no man can have riches and its attendant power, suicide and murder are practically unknown. Initiative is not destroyed; it is developed through group tribal incentive toward bigger projects.

According to a news release of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties dated December 26, 1941, the name of Ruth Benedict appears as one of those who signed the release. The National Federation for * * * has been cited as "one of the viciously subversive organizations of the Communist Party" (Special Committee on Un-American Activities in reports of June 25, 1942; March 29, 1944; January 2, 1943); the Attorney General of the United States cited the group as an organization "by which Communists attempt to create sympathizers and supporters of their program"; and as subversive and Communist. (Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, page 7687; and press releases of December 4, 1947 and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953.)

"In 1941, the Communists established a school in New York City which was known as the School for Democracy (now merged with the Workers School into the Jefferson School of Social Science)." (From Report 1311 of the Special Committee * * * dated March 29, 1944.) A brochure of the School for Democracy dated April 6, 1942, named Miss Benedict as one of the lecturers; the catalogue of the School for January 1942 named her as Guest Lecturer.

Ruth Benedict was a member of the National Committee of the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom, according to a letterhead of September 22, 1939; she was named as a member of the New York Committee of the organization on a letterhead dated December 1, 1939; she signed an appeal on behalf of anti-fascist refugees trapped in France, which was sent to Secretary of State Cordell Hull by the organization, as reported in the Daily Worker of July 22, 1940 (page 1, column 5); she signed an Open Letter to Nicholas Murray Butler denouncing "pro war" policies, which letter was sponsored by the organization (Daily Worker, October 7, 1940, page 3).

The American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom was cited as a Communist-front organization which defended Communist teachers (reports of June 25, 1942, and March 29, 1944, by the Special Committee * * *).

A letterhead of the Council for Pan-American Democracy dated July 11, 1940 named Miss Benedict as one of the members of that organization's Executive Committee; she signed an Open Letter to the President of Brazil to save Luiz Carlos Prestes, a Brazilian Communist leader, which letter was sponsored by the Council for Pan-American Democracy (New Masses, December 3, 1940, page 28).

The Council for Pan-American Democracy (known also as the Conference on Pan-American Democracy) was cited by the Special Committee as a Communist-front organization which defended Luiz Carlos Prestes, Brazilian Communist leader and former member of

the executive committee of the Communist International (report of March 29, 1944; also cited in report of June 25, 1942); the Attorney General cited the Council as subversive and Communist (press releases of June 1 and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953).

Ruth Benedict was one of those who signed a telegram to President Roosevelt and Attorney General Jackson on behalf of the International Fur and Leather Workers Union defendants, sponsored by the New York Conference for Inalienable Rights (Daily Worker, September 17, 1940, pages 1 and 5). The New York Conference * * * was cited as a Communist-front organization which called a conference for February 14, 1941 in New York City "to attack anti-sabotage legislation and the Rapp-Coudert Committee investigating subversive activities in the New York public-school system." (Special Committee * * * in report dated March 29, 1944; the Special Committee also cited the union referred to above as being strongly entrenched with Communist leadership.)

A statement by Miss Benedict is included in the pamphlet, "We Hold These Truths," prepared and published by the League of American Writers. The Attorney General found that the League of American Writers was founded in 1935 "under Communist auspices" and "in 1939 * * * began openly to follow the Communist Party line as dictated by the foreign policy of the Soviet Union." (Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, pages 7685 and 7686.) The Special Committee cited the League as a Communist-front organization in three reports (January 3, 1940; June 25, 1942; and March 29, 1944).

According to a pamphlet entitled "7½ Million * * *," (page 19) Ruth Benedict was a member of the Commission on Latin America of the American League for Peace and Democracy, an organization cited as subversive and Communist by the Attorney General (press releases of June 1 and September 21, 1948); previously, the organization had been cited as "designed to conceal Communist control, in accordance with the new tactics of the Communist International" (Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, pages 7683 and 7684). The Special Committee * * * cited the organization as a Communist front (reports of January 3, 1939; January 3, 1940; January 3, 1941; June 25, 1942; March 29, 1944).

The Daily Worker of August 23, 1948 (page 7), reported that Ruth Benedict was delegate to the Intellectuals World Congress for Peace; she was identified as an anthropologist. The World Congress of Intellectuals was held in Wroclaw, Poland on August 25-28, 1948 and was cited by the Committee on Un-American Activities as follows:

This bitter hatred for all western culture and the attempt to divorce writers, scientists, and artists from their own native land and win their allegiance for the Soviet Union is the underlying aim and theme of these scientific and cultural conferences for world peace (House Report 1954, April 26, 1950, originally released April 19, 1949.)

T. A. Bisson

Organization and affiliation

Source

American Friends of the Chinese Letterhead, May 16, 1940.
 People (1). Member, National
 Advisory Board.

<i>Organization and affiliation</i>	<i>Source</i>
American League for Peace and Democracy (1) and (2). Sponsor, "Boycott Japanese Goods Conference."	"Daily Worker," Jan. 11, 1938, p. 2.
American Student Union (1). Convention speaker; Foreign Policy Association.	"The Student Almanac—1939" for the 4th Annual National Convention, Dec. 26–30, 1938, p. 32.
Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy (2). Consultant, "Far East Spotlight."	"Far East Spotlight," March 1949 (inside front cover); "Far East Spotlight," June 1949, p. 2.
Member, Board of Directors; Consultant.	Letterhead, May 28, 1948.
Consultant	Letterheads, 1946 and 1947.
Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy (2) and Conference on American Policy in China and the Far East (2). Sponsor.	"Daily Worker," Jan. 16, 1948, p. 7.
Friends of the Soviet Union (1) and (2). Contributor, "Soviet Russia Today".	"Soviet Russia Today," November 1938, p. 15.
National Conference on American Policy in China and the Far East (2). Co-chairman; former, Spec. advisor, Gov't. Section GHQ, Supreme Command Allied Powers, Japan.	"Daily Worker," Jan. 1, 1948, p. 3.
National Chairman	"* * * Jan. 23–25, 1948, New York City" Conf. Call.
Open Letter for Closer Cooperation with the Soviet Union (1). Signer; Research Assoc., Foreign Policy Association.	"Soviet Russia Today," September 1939, p. 25.
"Soviet Russia Today" (1). Contributor.	"Soviet Russia Today," November 1940, p. 14.
Author of "Japan in China" reviewed by Anna Louise Strong: "He talked with Mao Tsetung and other Communist leaders last summer."	"New Masses," June 14, 1938, p. 24.
Signed statement* in defense of Chinese Communist armies (*Note: this statement immediately preceded formation of the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy).	"Daily Worker," Aug. 17, 1945, p. 2.
His books, "Japan's War Economy" and "American Policy in the Far East, 1931–41" recommended.	"Spotlight on the Far East," Mar. 1947, p. 7.

<i>Organization and affiliation</i>	<i>Source</i>
Referred to as having played an important role in enlightening the American reading public on the Far East.	"Daily Worker," Aug. 3, 1945, p. 11.
His book, "Prospects for Democracy in Japan" favorably reviewed by Philip O. Keeney.	"Far East Spotlight," Feb. 1950, p. 13.
Wrote article of attack on American policy in Japan.	"Daily Worker," Apr. 5, 1948, p. 8.
Photo-----	"Spotlight on the Far East," Feb. 1948, p. 6.
Record given-----	Congressional Record, March 30, 1950, pp. 4433-4470.
Contract as visiting political science lecturer at University of California terminated; was a witness before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee in 1952.	"Daily People's World," July 8, 1953, p. 6.

PAUL BLANSHARD

<i>Organization and affiliation</i>	<i>Source</i>
American Student Union (1) Member of the Sponsoring Committee of a dinner.	Announcement, "Are You an Alumnus Without an Alma Mater?" which appeared in "The Student Advocate," publication of the American Student Union issue of Feb. 1937, p. 2.
Consumers Union (1). Sponsor; identified as Commissioner of Accounts, New York City.	Undated circular, "New Masses," Mar. 2, 1937, p. 28.

BRUCE BLIVEN

Contributions by Bruce Bliven have appeared in the following issues of "New Masses": January 2, 1934 (p. 22); December 21, 1937 (p. 20); March 15, 1938 (p. 19); April 5, 1938 (p. 21); and April 12, 1938 (p. 19).

In the report of March 29, 1944, the Special Committee on Un-American Activities cited "New Masses" as the "nationally circulated weekly journal of the Communist Party." The magazine was cited also by the Attorney General of the United States as a "Communist periodical" (Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7688).

Bruce Bliven, identified as an Editor of "New Republic" was a member of the National Advisory Committee of the American Youth Congress, as shown in the pamphlet, "Youngville, U. S. A.," (p. 62); his name appeared on a letterhead of the American Youth Congress (undated) among the members of the National Advisory Board. "The Student Advocate" for February 1937 (p. 2) listed Bruce Bliven as a member of the Sponsoring Committee for an "Alumni Homecoming"

dinner scheduled for March 21st in New York City, by the American Student Union.

The American Youth Congress was cited by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities as "one of the principal fronts of the Communist Party" and "prominently identified with the White House picket line * * * under the immediate auspices of the American Peace Mobilization" (Report of June 25, 1942, p. 16; also cited in Reports of January 3, 1939, January 3, 1941, and March 29, 1944). The Attorney General of the United States cited the American Youth Congress as having been formed in 1934 and "controlled by Communists and manipulated by them to influence the thought of American youth" (Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7685); it was included in the Attorney General's lists of subversive and Communist organizations furnished the Loyalty Review Board and released to the press by the U. S. Civil Service Commission, December 4, 1947 and September 21, 1948. The organization was redesignated by the Attorney General, April 27, 1953, pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450, and included on the April 1, 1954 consolidated list of organizations previously designated.

The American Student Union was cited as a Communist front which was "the result of a united front gathering of young Socialists and Communists" in 1937. The Young Communist League took credit for creation of the American Student Union, and the Union offered free trips to Russia. The Union claims to have led "as many as 500,000 students out in annual April 22 strikes in the United States." (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report of January 3, 1939, p. 80; also cited in Reports of January 3, 1940, June 25, 1942 and March 29, 1944.)

The "Daily Worker" of February 13, 1939 (p. 2) reported that Bruce Bliven was a member of the Descendants of the American Revolution; he was listed as a sponsor of the Descendants * * * on the back page of a pamphlet entitled "Descendants of the American Revolution."

The Special Committee on Un-American Activities cited the Descendants of the American Revolution as—

a Communist-front organization set up as a radical imitation of the Daughters of the American Revolution. The Descendants have uniformly adhered to the line of the Communist Party. * * * The educational director * * * is one Howard Selsam, an instructor at the Communist Party's Workers School in New York. (Report of June 25, 1942, pp. 18 and 19.)

"New Masses" for January 5, 1937 (p. 31) listed Bruce Bliven as a member of the General Committee, American Friends of Spanish Democracy, Medical Bureau. A letterhead of the American Friends of Spanish Democracy dated February 21, 1938 listed him as a member of the Committee, and the "Daily Worker" of April 8, 1938 (p. 4) reported that he signed a petition of the American Friends * * * to lift the arms embargo. The "Daily Worker" on February 27, 1937 (p. 2) reported that Mr. Bliven was a tag day sponsor of the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy. He was listed in the booklet, "These Americans Say:" on p. 8, as one of the representative individuals who advocated lifting the embargo on Spain; the booklet was prepared and published by the Coordinating Committee to Lift the (Spanish) Embargo.

The American Friends of Spanish Democracy was included in the following citation made by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities in the Report of March 29, 1944 (p. 82):

In 1937-38, the Communist Party threw itself wholeheartedly into the campaign for the support of the Spanish Loyalist cause, recruiting men and organizing multifarious so-called relief organizations * * * such as * * * American Friends of Spanish Democracy.

In the same report (pp. 137 and 138), the Special Committee cited the Coordinating Committee to Lift the (Spanish) Embargo as one of a number of front organizations set up during the Spanish Civil War by the Communist Party in the United States and through which the party carried on a great deal of agitation. The North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy was cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee (Reports of January 3, 1940 and March 29, 1944) and as Communist by the Attorney General of the United States (press release of the U. S. Civil Service Commission, April 27, 1949). This organization was redesignated by the Attorney General, April 27, 1953, and included on the April 1, 1954 consolidated list.

The "Daily Worker" of April 6, 1937 (p. 9) reported that Bruce Bliven was a member of the Advisory Board of Frontier Films. His name was carried on an October 3, 1936 letterhead among the members of the Non-Partisan Committee for the Re-election of Congressman Vito Marcantonio. A letterhead of March 16, 1937 listed him among the members of the National Peoples Committee Against Hearst.

Both Frontier Films and the Non-Partisan Committee for the Re-election of Congressman Vito Marcantonio were cited as Communist fronts in the report of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities dated March 29, 1944.

In the June 25, 1942 report of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, the National Peoples Committee Against Hearst was cited as a "subsidiary" organization of the American League for Peace and Democracy. The Special Committee, in its report of January 3, 1939, cited the American League as "the largest of the Communist 'front' movements in the United States." The League was cited also as a Communist front by the Attorney General (Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, pp. 7683 and 7684) and was later included on the Attorney General's lists of subversive and Communist organizations furnished the Loyalty Review Board (press releases of June 1 and September 21, 1948). The organization was redesignated by the Attorney General, April 27, 1953, pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450, and included on the April 1, 1954 consolidated list.

A letterhead of the Conference on Pan-American Democracy dated November 16, 1938 listed Bruce Bliven as a sponsor; he signed a Call of the Conference on Pan-American Democracy, as shown in "News You Don't Get," November 15, 1938 (p. 3). Mr. Bliven signed a cable sponsored by the Prestes Defense Committee, as reported in the "Daily Worker" of February 13, 1937 (p. 2).

The Conference on Pan-American Democracy was cited as subversive and Communist by the Attorney General in lists furnished the Loyalty Review Board and released to the press by the U. S.

Civil Service Commission, June 1 and September 21, 1948. The organization was redesignated by the Attorney General, April 27, 1953, pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450. The Special Committee cited the Conference as a Communist front which defended Carlos Luiz Prestes, a Brazilian Communist leader and former member of the executive committee of the "Communist International" (Report of March 29, 1944, pp. 161 and 164). The Prestes Defense Committee was cited as a "Communist organization" by the Special Committee in the report of March 29, 1944 (p. 112).

In a pamphlet entitled "The People vs. H. C. L." dated December 11-12, 1937 (p. 2), Bruce Bliven was listed as a sponsor of the Consumers National Federation, cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee in the Report of March 29, 1944.

A statement released by the International Juridical Association was signed by Bruce Bliven, as reported in the "Daily Worker" of July 25, 1936 (p. 2).

The Special Committee, in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 149), cited the International Juridical Association as a Communist front. In Report 3123 of the Committee on Un-American Activities dated September 21, 1950, it was cited as a Communist front which "actively defended Communists and consistently followed the Communist Party line."

The "Daily Worker" of March 9, 1938 (p. 5) reported that Bruce Bliven was a sponsor of a conference of the Book and Magazine Guild, Local 18, United Office and Professional Workers of America. In Report 1311 of March 29, 1944 (pp. 18 and 19), the Special Committee cited the United Office and Professional Workers of America as one of the CIO unions in which the Committee found Communist leadership entrenched. The Union was expelled from the CIO on charges of Communist domination by vote of the Executive Board, February 15, 1950 (Press Release of the 12th CIO Convention, November 20-24, 1950).

During testimony before the Committee on Un-American Activities in public hearings on July 13, 1949, Rabbi Benjamin Schultz stated that Bruce Bliven was "not a Communist." ("Communist Infiltration of Minority Groups," p. 437.)

It is noted that a sworn affidavit of Bruce Bliven, member of the editorial board and managing editor of the "New Republic," is found on page 3092 of the public hearings of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities in which Mr. Bliven denied that "New Republic" was a Communist publication.

ROBERT BRADY

Organization and affiliation

American League for Peace and Democracy (1) (2). Member, National Committee (shown as a Professor in California).

Source

Letterhead of Baltimore Division, ALPD, May 18, 1939; letterhead, ALPD, July 12, 1939; and pamphlet, "7½ Million" page 34.

See Also: Public Hearings, Special Committee on Un-American Activities, vol. 3, page 1988; vol. 10, page 6278; Appendix V (1941), pages 1661 and 1680.

ROBERT A. BRADY

Organization and affiliation

Harry Bridges Defense Committee (1). Member, Northern Division, California Sponsoring Committee.

"Hollywood Quarterly" [published by Hollywood Writers Mobilization (2)]. Writer of article (Professor, Univ. of Calif., Berkeley; author of "The Spirit and Structure of German Fascism").

Open Letter for Closer Cooperation with the Soviet Union (1). Signer (Prof. of Economics, Univ. of Calif.).

See Also: House Report No. 2748, Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Jan. 2, 1943, page 5. Hearings Regarding Communist Espionage in the United States Government, Committee on Un-American Activities, July-Sept. 1948, page 626.

Source

Letterhead, Aug. 24, 1939.

Hollywood Quarterly, April, 1947, No. 3, Vol. 11, p. 225; and, Screen Writer, July 1947, p. 41.

"Soviet Russia Today," Sept. 1939, p. 25.

THEODORE BRAMELD

Organization and affiliation

Signer of statement defending the twelve Communist leaders.

Signer of appeal to President Truman requesting amnesty for leaders of the Communist Party convicted under the Smith Act.

Signer of statement in defense of the appointment of Simon W. Gerson, a Communist, to the staff of Stanley Isaacs.

American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born (1) and (2). Signer of statement against denaturalization.

American League for Peace and Democracy (1) and (2). Supporter of the Boycott Japanese Goods Conference.

Committee for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact (1). Signer of statement calling for an international agreement to ban the use of atomic weapons.

Mid-Century Conference for Peace (1). Sponsor of conference, May 29 and 30, 1950, Chicago, Ill.

Source

"Daily Worker," Feb. 28, 1949, p. 9.

"Daily Worker," Dec. 10, 1952, p. 4.

"Daily Worker," Feb. 10, 1938, p. 1.

"Daily Worker," Aug. 10, 1950, p. 5.

"Daily Worker," Jan. 11, 1938, p. 2 and Jan. 25, 1938, p. 2.

Statement attached to press release of the organization dated Dec. 14, 1949, p. 12.

Conference Program (reprinted in report of the Committee on Un-American Activities, on the Communist Peace Offensive, Apr. 1, 1951, pp. 144-146).

<i>Organisation and affiliation</i>	<i>Source</i>
National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions (1). Sponsor of the Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace, New York City, Mar. 25-27, 1949.	Conference Program.
Sponsor of conference held Oct. 9-10, 1948.	Leaflet, "To Safeguard These Rights * * *" published by the Bureau of Academic Freedom of the Council.
Signer of statement-----	Congressional Record, July 14, 1949, p. 9620.
National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions (1). Signer of "Resolution Against Atomic Weapons".	Mimeographed list of signers attached to a letterhead of July 28, 1950.
Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions (1). Initiating sponsor.	Letterhead of Minn. Division dated Sept. 28, 1946.
Non-Partisan Committee for the Re-Election of Congressman Vito Marcantonio (1). Member.	Letterhead dated Oct. 3, 1936.
Refugee Scholarship and Peace Campaign (1). Sponsor.	Letterhead dated Aug. 3, 1939.
Signer-----	Brief on behalf of John Howard Lawson and Dalton Trumbo submitted by Cultural Workers to the Supreme Court at the October Term, 1949.

PEARL S. BUCK

Pearl S. Buck contributed a review of John Steinbeck's book, "The Moon is Down," to the March 24, 1942 issue of "New Masses" (p. 23). "New Masses" was cited by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities as the—

nationally circulated weekly journal of the Communist Party * * * whose ownership was vested in the American Fund for Public Service (from Report 1311 of the Special Committee dated March 29, 1944; also cited in Reports of January 3, 1939 and June 25, 1942).

It was cited as a "Communist periodical" by the Attorney General of the United States (Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7688).

The April 1943 issue of "Soviet Russia Today" (p. 31) listed Pearl S. Buck as a sponsor of the "Soviet Russia Today" dinner celebrating the 25th Anniversary of the Red Army, February 22, (1943), Hotel Commodore, New York City. Jessica Smith, Editor of "Soviet Russia Today," in a letter addressed "To Valentina Grizodubova, Chairman of the Soviet Women's Anti-Fascist Committee, and to all Soviet Women" stated:

So as you hold your meetings throughout the Soviet Union on March Eighth International Woman's Day, accept these messages as representing the new spirit that now fills the women of America, * * * ("Soviet Russia Today," March 1942, pp. 10 and 11)—

in this connection, the publication published the following message attributed to Pearl Buck, writer, Nobel Prize Winner 1938:

I send my personal congratulations to the brave Soviet women, who are an encouragement to all women. We look to Russia with fresh hope and new understanding. We work together not only for victory in war but for a better world to come.

It is noted that the west coast organ of the Communist Party, the "Daily People's World" in the issue of March 9, 1942 (p. 5), published the same statement by Mrs. Buck in an article entitled "Messages of Solidarity From U. S. to Women of the U. S. S. R."

The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its Report of March 29, 1944, cited "Soviet Russia Today" as a Communist front; the Committee on Un-American Activities cited it as a "Communist-front publication" in Report 1953 of April 26, 1950, originally released October 23, 1949 (p. 108).

Pearl Buck was one of the sponsors of the Congress of American-Soviet Friendship, as shown in "Soviet Russia Today" for December 1942 (p. 42); a letterhead of the Congress dated October 27, 1942, listed her as a patron of the group. The Congress of American-Soviet Friendship was cited as a "Communist-front" organization by the Special Committee * * * in its Report of March 29, 1944 (p. 94).

"New Masses" for April 7, 1942 (p. 25, an advertisement) and the "Sunday Worker" for March 22, 1942 (p. 8, an advertisement), named Pearl S. Buck as a speaker at a meeting scheduled for April 8, (1942), Manhattan Center, (New York City), under the auspices of the Council on African Affairs. The United States Attorney General included the Council on African Affairs on lists of subversive and Communist organizations furnished the Loyalty Review Board and released to the press by the U. S. Civil Service Commission, December 4, 1947 and September 21, 1948; the Council was redesignated by the Attorney General pursuant to Executive Order 10450, April 27, 1953.

Mrs. Buck was named as a Representative Individual who advocated lifting the embargo on arms to Spain, in a pamphlet entitled "These Americans Say:" which was prepared and published by the Coordinating Committee to Lift the (Spanish) Embargo. The Special Committee * * *, in its Report of March 29, 1944, cited the Coordinating Committee * * * as one of a number of front organizations, set up during the Spanish Civil War by the Communist Party in the United States and through which the party carried on a great deal of agitation.

Pearl S. Buck was the author of "Talk About Russia With Masha Scott," recommended by the Washington Cooperative Bookshop, as shown in "Books on the USSR," a selected bibliography by Bessie Weissman, issued by the Washington Cooperative Bookshop (p. 20):

The Washington Cooperative Book Shop, under the name The Book Shop Association, was incorporated in the District of Columbia in 1938. * * * It maintains a book shop and art gallery at 916 Seventeenth Street, Northwest, Washington, D. C., where literature is sold and meetings and lectures held. Evidence of Communist penetration or control is reflected in the following: Among its stock the establishment has offered prominently for sale books and literature identified with the Communist Party and certain of its affiliates and front organizations * * * certain of the officers and employees of the bookshop, including its manager and executive secretary, have been in close contact with local officials of the Communist Party of the District of Columbia (United States Attorney General, Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, page 7688).

The Book Shop was included on the Attorney General's lists of subversive and Communist organizations furnished the Loyalty Review Board (press releases of December 4, 1947 and September 21, 1948; redesignated, April 27, 1953, pursuant to Executive Order 10450). The Special Committee * * *, in the Report of March 29, 1944, cited the Book Shop as a Communist front.

On January 15, 1951, a letter from Mrs. Buck appeared in the Washington "Evening Star" (p. A-10), in which she made the statement that "The Communists in China know how heartily I oppose their creed."

"New Times" was cited by the Committee on Un-American Activities as an "internationally circulated Communist publication" published in Moscow. "Its purpose is obviously to guide the policy of Communist Parties throughout the world." Its predecessors were the War and the Working Classes, World News and Views, and Inprecorr (Imprecorr). (Report 1920, May 11, 1948, pp. 23, 25, and 43.) N. Sergeyeva, writing in the "New Times" for August 29, 1951 (pp. 10-12) stated:

"Asia and America" is a subject very much in vogue in the American press. One of those who are racking their brains over the problem is the well-known authoress Pearl S. Buck, who has the reputation of being an authority on China. An article of hers that appeared in the Christian Century of June 27, is typical of others. In order to acquaint our readers with her line of thought, we shall reproduce the gist of her article in the form of a dialogue.

The article concluded with the following statement:

We beg the reader to forgive us for having expounded Pearl S. Buck's article so freely. All the same, her trend of mind is very significant. She cannot help seeing that American policy is a failure, and she ventures to say so more or less coherently. She tries, it is true, to avoid drawing the conclusions, but at bottom her remarks are a damning characterization of imperialist policy in Asia.

A review of Pearl Buck's book, "Kinfolk," published in 1949, is found in the March 15, 1950 issue of "New Times" (pp. 27-32); excerpts from the review, written also by N. Sergeyeva, follow:

"Kinfolk," the latest in Pearl Buck's series of novels about modern China, is a book that merits attention. In it this writer, who is considered an expert on Chinese life and customs, attempts to deal with political, moral and psychological problems of considerable interest at the present time. * * *

The daughter of an American missionary, and a missionary herself, Pearl Buck lived in China for many years. A writer of undoubted ability, she attracted attention in the thirties by her books about the life of the Chinese people, and especially of the Chinese peasants. Her prewar novels * * * which were translated into Russian too, are widely known to the reading public.

However, there was always one big failing in Pearl Buck's books. This was her attempt to ignore the tremendous political and social changes taking place in modern China. Mrs. Buck is not a progressive-minded individual. Her literary ability and gift of observation sometimes get the better of her prepossessions, and the truth of life prevails over her false political views. And so, alien as she is to the vanguard section of Chinese society, to the progressive forces of the people, her books, particularly the earlier ones, were not without social significance. They revealed the appalling poverty of the Chinese peasant, his want and land hunger, the ruthless exploitation to which he was subjected, the bestial visage of militarism. She gave some lifelike portraits of ordinary Chinese folk, very moving in their beauty and integrity of character. The finest traits of the Chinese people were embodied in these toilers of the soil, and they stood out the more saliently against the background of the corrupt and decaying feudal system, the brigandage of the militarists and the rapacity of the comprador bourgeoisie.

But even in these early writings, Pearl Buck's presentation of Chinese realities was very one-sided, precisely because she tried to shut out the class struggle and China's political life from the reader's view. While her books could help the

thoughtful reader to understand the causes of the Chinese popular revolution, this was so against her intention. She did not and would not understand the essence of the profound processes taking place in the country. She would not speak of the development of the popular revolution. She would not see the events that were impending in China. And in the Chinese people's great war for liberation, Pearl Buck was not on their side.

While carefully studying the manners, customs, traditions, and psychology of the Chinese people, Mrs. Buck completely ignored their political aspirations and political life. That was her political contribution to the effort of American big business to subjugate China.

In a China enveloped in the flames of civil war and waging a desperate, heroic struggle against the foreign imperialists and the Chiang Kai-shek clique—a China where new forms of social relations were being established under the guidance of the Communist Party—Pearl Buck's characters lived in a seeming vacuum, totally unaware of any of these events.

* * * In her political utterances and articles on world affairs, Pearl Buck looks at China through the spectacles of U. S. aggressive imperialism. Even today she seems to think that, provided dollars are handed out in sufficient profusion, the march of history could be reversed and the old way of things restored in China.

You will look in vain in Pearl Buck's novels for any mention of imperialists. * * *

And in her latest book, written at the height of the people's victorious liberation movement, Pearl Buck still clings to her false conceptions, and attempts, in spite of everything, to wall herself off from politics and ignore the changes in China. By doing such monstrous violence to realities, she courts—and achieves—utter failure. Her literary ability and craftsmanship are powerless to save her. Mrs. Buck's new novel sets the seal on her bankruptcy, as artist and as "expert on China" alike.

On November 28, 1952, the "Daily People's World" (p. 6M) carried an unsigned review of Miss Buck's "The Hidden Flower," which stated:

Miss Buck could have shown her characters putting up a real fight against prejudice, living happily together and bringing up their babies, as thousands of mixed couples do, even in the U. S. The assumption is such a happy ending might have landed her in trouble with the House un-American committee.

RAYMOND LESLIE BUELL

<i>Organization and affiliation</i>	<i>Source</i>
Coordinating Committee to Lift the Embargo (1). His Individual Statement on lifting the Spanish embargo appears in the organization's booklet.	Booklet, "These Americans Say:," p. 4.
World Youth Congress (1). Sponsor.	Daily Worker, Mar. 28, 1938, p. 3.

KENNETH BURKE*Organization and affiliation**Source*

- Committee of Professional Groups for Earl Browder and James W. Ford, Communist candidates for President and V-President (1). Member.
- Committee for Israel Amter's candidacy for President, N. Y. City Board of Aldermen on Communist party ticket. Member.
- John Reed Club Writers School, N. Y. City (1) (3). Lecturer.
- Proposed national convention of American revolutionary writers, to be affiliated with International Union of Revolutionary writers "as was the John Reed Club." Signer of Call.

Letterhead, dated Sept. 22, 1936;
Daily Worker, Sept. 2, 1936.

Daily Worker, Oct. 21, 1936.

Testimony, Walter S. Steele, August 1938, Public Hearings, Volume I, pp. 560-561.

Same. *Daily Worker*, Jan. 18, 1935.

A Call was issued for a Congress of American revolutionary writers to be held in New York City, May 1, 1935, with the proposal—

that to this Congress shall be invited all writers who have achieved some standing in their respective fields; who have clearly indicated their sympathy to the revolutionary cause; who do not need to be convinced of the decay of capitalism, of the inevitability of revolution * * * We believe such a Congress should create the League of American Writers, affiliated with the International Union of Revolutionary Writers.

This source named Kenneth Burke as one of those who "have already responded to this call".

- Congress of American Revolutionary Writers (1) (2) (3). Speaker at First, Second, and Third Congress; Signer of Call for Third Congress.
- New Masses (1) (2) (3). Contributor Reviewed Kenneth Fearing's "Dead Reckoning."
- Science and Society (1) (3). Contributing Editor.
- The Worker Sunday edition of the *Daily Worker* (1) (3). Contributor.
- Daily Worker*, Apr. 29, 1935;
Daily Worker, July 7 and 9, 1937; Program Direction, May-June, 1939; Congressional Record, Sept. 24, 1942, pp. 7685, 7686.
- New Masses, June 15, 1937, Oct. 5, 1937, Feb. 8, 1939, Feb. 21, 1939.
- Science and Society, vol. VIII No. 2.
- Issues of the Worker Dec. 21, 1931, Dec. 21, 1935.

The chief journalistic mouthpiece of the Communist Party * * * founded in response to direct instructions from the Communist International in Moscow. * * * No other paper or publication of any kind in all American history has ever been loaded with such a volume of subversive, seditious, and treasonable utterance as has this organ of the

American Communists. Special Committee, Report, March 29, 1944, pp. 59, 60; Reports, January 3, 1939, p. 30; January 3, 1940, p. 7; January 3, 1941, p. 14; and June 25, 1942, p. 4.

<p>American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born (1) (2) (3). Sponsor. Book Union (2) (3). Member of Advisory Council.</p>	<p>Printed Program of 5th National Conference, Atlantic City, N.J., Mar. 29-30, 1941. Undated letterhead of Book Union, Inc.; Special Committee Report, Mar. 29, 1944, p. 96.</p>
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EDWARD C. CARTER

A letterhead of the American Russian Institute, dated July 12, 1939, named Edward C. Carter as a member of the Board of Directors of that organization; an invitation to dinner issued by the American Russian Institute for October 19, 1944, and dedicated to American-Soviet Post-War Relations, named him as one of the sponsors and as a member of the organization's Board of Directors.

The Attorney General of the United States cited the American Russian Institute as Communist in letters released to the press April 27, 1949; redesignated pursuant to Executive Order 10450 in Consolidated List of April 1, 1954.

A letterhead of the Congress of American-Soviet Friendship, dated October 27, 1942, contains the name of Edward C. Carter in a list of patrons of that congress, cited as a Communist-front organization by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities in Report 1311 of March 29, 1944.

It was reported in the Daily Worker of March 17, 1938 (p. 2), that Edward C. Carter spoke at a meeting at Mecca Temple Auditorium on "The Soviet Union and Present World Affairs." His photograph appeared in the Daily Worker on November 8, 1941 (p. 5). He was identified in this source as Chairman of the Board, Russian War Relief, Inc., and was being presented with a \$5,000 check "to purchase four portable X-ray machines and accessories." The Daily Worker of June 28, 1945 (p. 4) reported that he had been invited to the U. S. S. R. on relief problems.

The New York Times of July 3, 1944 reported that Edward C. Carter, President, Russian War Relief, was invited to speak at an annual convention of the International Workers Order, Carnegie Hall, New York City.

The International Workers Order has been cited as "one of the most effective and closely knitted organizations among the Communist-'front' movements". It has also been cited as "one of the strongest Communist organizations." (Special Committee on Un-American Activities in reports of January 3, 1939; January 3, 1940; June 25, 1942; and March 29, 1944; and a report of the Committee on Un-American Activities dated June 26, 1949, respectively.) The Attorney General cited the International Workers Order as subversive and Communist and as "one of the strongest Communist organizations" (press releases of December 4, 1947 and September 21, 1948; also included in consolidated list of April 1, 1954; and the Congressional Record of September 24, 1942, p. 7688, respectively).

Edward C. Carter contributed to Soviet Russia Today, as shown in the May 1938 issue (page 10); he was named in the September 1941

issue (p. 16), as Chairman, Medical Aid to Russia; he issued a statement, published in Soviet Russia Today (September 1941, p. 29), in support of the U. S. S. R. Soviet Russia Today has been cited as a Communist-front publication (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, reports of June 25, 1942 and March 29, 1944; and the Committee on Un-American Activities, report of October 23, 1949).

STUART CHASE

Stuart Chase signed a letter of the American Friends of Spanish Democracy to the President as shown in the "Daily Worker" of February 7, 1938 (p. 4).

"In 1937-38, the Communist Party threw itself wholeheartedly into the campaign for the support of the Spanish Loyalist cause, recruiting men and organizing multifarious so-called relief organizations * * * such as * * * American Friends of Spanish Democracy." (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 82.)

The Communist "Daily Worker" of January 21, 1938 (p. 2) named Stuart Chase as a member of the Advisory Board of the organization known as Descendants of the American Revolution; he was listed in the February 13, 1939 issue of that newspaper (p. 2) as a member of that organization; and a pamphlet entitled "Descendants of the American Revolution" named him as one of its sponsors.

The Descendants of the American Revolution has been cited as a "Communist front organization set up as a radical imitation of the Daughters of the American Revolution. The Descendants have uniformly adhered to the line of the Communist Party. * * * The educational director * * * is one Howard Selsam, an instructor at the Communist Party's Workers School in New York." (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report No. 2277, dated June 25, 1942, pp. 18 and 19.)

The Russian Reconstruction Farms, Inc., was cited by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities as "a Communist enterprise which was directed by Harold Ware, son of the well-known Communist, Ella Reeve Bloor. It received funds from the Garland Fund." (Report No. 1311, dated March 29, 1944, p. 76.) On a letterhead of the Russian Reconstruction Farms, Inc., dated March 20, 1926, Stuart Chase was listed as treasurer of the group.

He was a sponsor of two organizations which were cited by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities in its Report No. 1311 of March 29, 1944: The Consumers National Federation (from a pamphlet entitled, "The People vs. H. C. L.", dated December 11-12, 1937); and the Public Use of Arts Committee (as shown on an undated letterhead of the group).

Stuart Chase was a member of the Reception Committee for the four Soviet flyers who flew the "Land of Soviets" from Moscow to New York in 1929; the reception was arranged under the auspices of the Friends of the Soviet Union (see: pamphlet entitled, "Welcome, 'Land of Soviets'").

The "Daily Worker" of March 2, 1937 (p. 2) listed Stuart Chase as a member of the First American Delegation to the U. S. S. R. Stuart Chase's activities in Moscow as a member of the unofficial American labor delegation in 1927 are described in articles found in the "Daily

People's World," April 3, 1953 (p. 7M) and the March 22, 1953 issue of "The Worker" (p. 3). The March 8, 1937, issue of the "Daily Worker" listed Stuart Chase as one of those who signed a "Call" for the American Delegation to the U. S. S. R., sponsored by the Friends of the Soviet Union.

Friends of the Soviet Union has been cited as "one of the most open Communist fronts in the United States" whose purpose "is to propagandize for and defend Russia and its system of government. * * * (It) is a section of an international movement directed from Moscow." The Friends admit that they "Penetrate our industrial sections." (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, reports of January 3, 1939, January 3, 1940, June 25, 1942, and March 29, 1944.) Friends of the Soviet Union was cited as subversive by the Attorney General of the United States in letters to the Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947, June 1, and September 21, 1948. The organization was redesignated by the Attorney General, April 27, 1953, and included on the April 1, 1954 consolidated list of organizations previously designated pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450.

During testimony of Benjamin Gitlow, former general secretary of the Communist Party of the United States, before the Special Committee on Un-American Activities on September 11, 1939, the following reference was made to Stuart Chase:

Then the party, upon instructions of the Communist International, started the work of organizing what was to be known as an impartial delegation of American trade unionists, who were not Communists, who would visit Soviet Russia, travel over the country, investigate conditions, and submit an impartial, unbiased report to the American people on what were the actual conditions in Soviet Russia. And all this preliminary organization work and how to constitute the committee and how to organize it, was done by the Communist Party in the United States. And the money involved for expenses, that was first raised through the furriers' union by having them take \$500 out of their treasury, which was later supplied by Moscow, because the traveling expenses and all of the expenses involved in the organization of the delegation was paid by Moscow, and when its report was printed, the payment for printing the report also came from Moscow.

Following the above statement, the Honorable Joe Starnes requested Mr. Gitlow to supply names of the members who went on that trip. The name of Stuart Chase appeared on the list, identified as follows:

Director, Labor Bureau, Inc., and certified public accountant, Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Harvard University, author, *Tragedy of Waste*, etc. (See: Vol. 7, pp. 4699 and 4700, Public Hearings before the Special Committee on Un-American Activities.)

The name of Stuart Chase appears in a list of sponsors of a Dinner-Forum on "Europe Today," arranged under the auspices of the American Committee to Save Refugees, the Exiled Writers Committee of the League of American Writers, and the United American Spanish Aid Committee.

The American Committee to Save Refugees was cited as a Communist front organization by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities in its report of March 29, 1944.

The League of American Writers was cited as subversive and Communist by the Attorney General in letters released June 1, 1948, and September 21, 1948. The organization was redesignated April 27, 1953, and included on the April 1, 1954 consolidated list. The organization was cited previously by the Attorney General as "founded under Communist auspices in 1935" (Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, pp. 7685 and 7686). The Special Committee on Un-American

Activities, in its reports of January 3, 1940, June 25, 1942 and March 29, 1944 cited the League of American Writers as a Communist front organization.

The United American Spanish Aid Committee was cited as Communist by the Attorney General in a letter released July 25, 1949. The organization was redesignated April 27, 1953, and included on the April 1, 1954 consolidated list. The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944 (pp. 82 and 138), cited the United American Spanish Aid Committee as a Communist front organization.

According to an article which appeared in the "Daily Worker" of February 13, 1937 (p. 2), Stuart Chase was one of those who signed the cable which was sent to the President of Brazil by the Prestes Defense Committee, "defending Luiz Carlos Prestes, leading Brazilian Communist and former member of the executive committee of the Communist International." (Cited by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities in Report 1311 of March 29, 1944, p. 112.)

Mr. Chase was shown in the October 1927 issue of "New Masses" (p. 3) as Contributing Editor of that publication; in the January 1928 issue (p. 5) he was listed as a contributor.

"Probably no one who is acquainted even superficially with the New Masses Magazine would deny that it is the weekly publication of the Communist Party." (Report No. 2277 of June 25, 1942, by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities.) The publication was cited several times in the Special Committee's report No. 1311 (pages 127, 139, 166, 75). The Attorney General cited the publication as a "Communist periodical" (Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7688).

Another Communist magazine to which Stuart Chase contributed was "The Liberator," cited by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities in Report No. 2277 of June 25, 1942. (See: "The Liberator," June 1918, p. 24; July 1922, p. 11; and August 1922, p. 23.)

Stuart Chase was the subject of an article by Ted Tinsley in the March 14, 1952 issue of the "Daily People's World" (Magazine Section, p. 2). The following is quoted from that article: "For a time Stuart Chase was left of center. Now he chases from centerfield to right, patting his glove and waiting to catch the next theory on the fly."

EVANS CLARK

Organization and affiliation

Conference on Pan American Democracy (1) (2). Sponsor.

Consumers National Federation (1). Sponsor.

Russian Soviet Government Bureau. Member of Staff.

Source

Letterhead, Nov. 16, 1938; testimony of Walter S. Steele, public hearings, Committee on Un-American Activities, July 21, 1947, p. 136.

"The People vs. H. C. L." a pamphlet, p. 2, Dec. 11-12, 1937.

"Revolutionary Radicalism," Part 1, Vol. 1, p. 655 (Report of the Joint Legislative Committee of the State of New York Investigating Seditious Activities—1920).

HENRY STEELE COMMAGER*Organization and affiliation**Source*

Committee of Welcome for the Daily Worker, Sept. 22, 1948.

"Red" Dean of Canterbury,
Very Reverend Hewlett Johnson, D. D., 1948. Dean Johnson was originally invited to visit the U. S. by the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, for a country-wide tour under its auspices. (1) (2) (3). Member.

Wrote article "Who is Loyal to America" for Harpers, September 1947, which was praised by Samuel Sillen in the Daily Worker of September 4, 1947, who said:

Mr. Commager * * * writes in sharp warning and protest against the current "loyalty" agitation in which he sees the reversal of the American heritage. The article by this influential historian is one of the most important statements to appear in an American publication this year.

Wrote in New York Times Magazine, Sunday, November 1950, which was featured in an article in the Daily Worker of November 29, 1950, entitled "Leading Historian Warns: 'We Are Moving Away From Americanism.'" Following are excerpts:

In the nation's embarking on "imperialistic adventures" and its attack on freedom of expression and association we are moving from "Americanism toward un-Americanism," Henry Steele Commager, prominent Columbia University historian, declared Sunday in an article in the New York Times Magazine * * * "Not only the McCarran Act, but a hundred state and local laws and ordinances testify to our readiness to penalize dissent and nonconformity," he wrote, erroneously attributing to the people the actions of the pro-fascist minority. Taking a crack at the Attorney General's list and the McCarran Act, he said "we are no longer willing to take our chances with voluntary organizations—those organizations which from the days of the Mayflower Compact to the present have furnished the real machinery of our democracy—but require that they be vacuum-cleaned in advance * * *". He hit out at the persecution of progressive teachers and the idea that Communists not be allowed to teach by declaring that "we demand that they conform to a prearranged pattern." Closely connected with this attitude toward war and peace, he said, is the deeply ingrained tradition of supremacy of civil over military authority. That principle, he suggested, has gone by the boards, as witness support for MacArthur's "attempt to determine American policy toward Formosa and—by implication—toward China."

AARON COPLAND*Organization and affiliation**Source*

All Eisler Program, Town Hall, Release dated Feb. 28, 1948.
February 28, 1948. Sponsor.

Aaron Copland signed a petition to the Attorney General in behalf of Hans Eisler, a Communist, according to the Daily Worker, December 17, 1947.

Signed a protest against a ban on a Communist speech, according to Daily Worker, October 23, 1936.

Signed a statement to President Roosevelt, defending the Communist Party, according to the Daily Worker, March 5, 1941.

American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom
(2) (3). Signer of petition sponsored by organization. Attachment to letterhead of organization, dated Jan. 17, 1940.

<i>Organization and affiliation</i>	<i>Source</i>
American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born (1) (2) (3) "one of the oldest auxiliaries of Communist Party in the United States." Sponsor, 5th Nat'l. Conference, Atlantic City, N. J., March 1941.	Program.
N. Y. Committee for Protection of Foreign Born (1) (2) (3). Sponsor.	Letterhead, Jan. 2, 1941.
United Nations in America Dinner, sponsored by American Committee (1) (2) (3). Sponsor.	Invitation to dinner, Apr. 17, 1943.
American League Against War and Fascism (1) (2) (3) later again known as American League for Peace and Democracy (1) (2) (3). Judge of song contest under auspices of N. Y. City Division.	New Masses, Nov. 16, 1937.
Artists Front to Win the War (2) (3). Sponsor.	Program, Oct. 16, 1942, Daily Worker, Oct. 7, 1942.
Citizens Committee for Harry Bridges (1) (2) (3). Committee member and/or sponsor.	Letterhead, dated Sept. 11, 1941.
Committee of Professional Groups for Browder and Ford (1). Member.	Letterhead, dated Sept. 22, 1936, Daily Worker, Sept. 2, 1936.
Coordinating Committee to Lift the Embargo (1) (3). (Set up during the Spanish Civil War by the Communist Party.) Listed as representative Booklet individual in.	"These Americans Say!"
American Music Alliance of Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade (1) (3). Entertained by Copland.	Daily Worker, Mar. 26, 1938.
Frontier Films (1) (3). Member of Advisory Board.	Daily Worker, Apr. 6, 1937.
Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee (1) (2) (3). Sponsor of "The Century of the Common Man" dinner.	
National Committee for Peoples Rights (formerly known as the National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners) (1) (2) (3) "substantially equivalent to International Labor Defense, legal arm of the Communist Party." Member.	Leaflet "News You Don't Get" dated Nov. 15, 1938. Letterhead, Oct. 31, 1935.

<i>Organization and affiliation</i>	<i>Source</i>
National Council of American-Soviet Friendship. Sponsor.	Call to the Congress of American-Soviet Friendship, Nov. 6-8, 1943; letter dated Mar. 13, 1946; memorandum issued by organization Mar. 18, 1946.
Signer, statement calling for conference with Soviet Union, sponsored by NCA-SF.	Daily Worker, June 21, 1948.
Signer of statement in praise of Henry Wallace's open letter to Stalin, in May 1948.	Pamphlet "How to End the Cold War and Build the Peace," issued by National Council.
Signer, letter to Mayor of Stalingrad, released by National Council.	Soviet Russia Today, June 1943.
Musicians Committee of National Council. Vice Chairman.	Report to members of NCA-SF by Director, Mar. 7, 1945.
American-Soviet Cultural Conference, November 18, 1945 (1) (2) (3). Speaker.	Testimony, Walter S. Steele, Public Hearings, July 21, 1947.
National Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions (1). Signer, letter in support of Henry A. Wallace.	Daily Worker, Oct. 19, 1948.
Speaker-----	Daily Worker, Feb. 28, 1949.
Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace (1). Sponsor and speaker.	Conference program, Daily Worker Feb. 21, 1949, Mar. 13, 1949.
National Federation for Constitutional Liberties (1) (2) (3). Signer, appeal by NFCL for "immediate dismissal of charges against Sam Adams Darcy, Communist leader * * *."	Daily Worker, Dec. 19, 1940.
Signer, Open Letter to President of U. S., urging reconsideration of order deporting Harry Bridges, sponsored by NFCL.	Pamphlet, published by NFCL, "600 Prominent Americans Ask President to Rescind Biddle Decision"; Letter referred to fact it is equally essential that the Attorney General's ill-advised, arbitrary and unwarranted findings relative to the Communist Party be rescinded."
New Masses Benefit (1) (2) (3). Entertainer.	New Masses, Feb. 1, 1938.
Non-Partisan Committee for Re-Election of Congressman Vito Marcantonio (1) (3). Member.	Letterhead, dated Oct. 3, 1936.
Open Letter in Defense of Harry Bridges (1). Signer.	Daily Worker, July 19, 1942.

<i>Organization and affiliation</i>	<i>Source</i>
Reichstag Fire Trial Anniversary (1) (3). Signer of Declaration.	Advertisement appearing in N. Y. Times, Dec. 22, 1943.
Schappes Defense Committee (1) (2) (3). Sponsor.	Undated letterhead, and pamphlet "In the Case of Morris U. Schappes."
"The First of May". Composed and written By Copeland.	Testimony of Hans Eisler, Sept. 24, 25 and 26, 1947.

The dark epoch of fascism makes it clear to each honest artist that close cooperation with the working masses is the only way leading to creative art. Only in a revolutionary struggle will an artist find his own individuality. * * * Similar developments can be observed in America where the recognized composer, Aaron Copeland, has composed a mass song "The First of May". * * * Revolutionary music is now more powerful than ever. Its political and artistic importance is growing daily.

In an interview with Eisler appearing in the Evening Moscow June 27, 1935, he stated:

I am extremely pleased to report a considerable shift to the left among the American artistic intelligensia. I don't think it would be an exaggeration to state that the best people in the musical world of America (with very few exceptions) share at present extremely progressive ideas.

Their names? They are Aaron Copeland, * * *

American Council on Soviet Relations. Signer, Statement to the President of the U. S. urging declaration of war on Finland.

GEORGE S. COUNTS

George S. Counts was a sponsor of the National Congress for Unemployment and Social Insurance, as shown on a list of members of the New York City Sponsoring Committee dated December 12, 1934. The National Congress for Unemployment and Social Insurance held January 5-7, 1935, in Washington, D. C., and headed by Herbert Benjamin, a leading Communist, was cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities in Report 1311 of March 29, 1944 (pp. 94 and 116).

A letterhead of the American League Against War and Fascism dated August 22, 1935, listed George S. Counts as a member of the National Executive Committee. The same information was shown in the "Daily Worker" of August 17, 1934, and on the "Call to the Second U. S. Congress Against War and Fascism, September 28, 29, and 30, 1934, Chicago, Illinois" (p. 2). The U. S. Attorney General cited the American League Against War and Fascism as subversive and Communist in letters furnished the Loyalty Review Board and released to the press by the U. S. Civil Service Commission, December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948; it had been cited, previously, by the Attorney General as a Communist front (Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7683). The Special Committee on Un-American Activities cited the American League Against War and Fascism as "organized at the First United States Congress Against War which was held in New York City, September 29 to October 1, 1933. Four years later at Pittsburgh, November 26-28, 1937, the name of the organization was changed to the American League for

Peace and Democracy. * * * It remained as completely under the control of Communists when the name was changed as it had been before." (Report 1311, March 29, 1944, p. 53; also cited in Reports, January 3, 1939; January 3, 1940; and June 25, 1942.)

George S. Counts was a member of the National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners (letterhead, October 31, 1935) and a member of the National Committee for People's Rights (letterhead, July 13, 1938; "News You Don't Get," November 15, 1938).

The National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners, "substantially equivalent to International Labor Defense, legal arm of the Communist Party," changed its name "in January 1938 to National Committee for People's Rights * * * no substantial change was made in its set-up or functions." (U. S. Attorney General, Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7686.) The National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners was cited as subversive and Communist by the Attorney General in lists furnished the Loyalty Review Board (press releases of December 4, 1947 and September 21, 1948). Both the National Committee for the Defense * * * and the National Committee for People's Rights were cited as Communist fronts by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities in Reports of June 25, 1942 (pp. 20) and March 29, 1944 (p. 48 and 182). The National Committee for People's Rights was cited by the Committee on Un-American Activities as being among a "maze of organizations" which were "spawned for the alleged purpose of defending civil liberties in general but actually intended to protect Communist subversion from any penalties under the law" (Report 1115, September 2, 1947, p. 3).

In a pamphlet entitled "The People vs. H. C. L.," of December 11-12, 1937 (p. 2). George Counts was shown as a sponsor of the Consumers National Federation which was cited as a Communist-front organization by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities in Report 1311, March 29, 1944 (p. 155).

George S. Counts was one of those who signed a petition of the American Friends of Spanish Democracy to lift the arms embargo ("Daily Worker," April 8, 1938, p. 4); he was one of the sponsors of the Conference on Pan American Democracy, as shown on a letterhead of that organization dated November 16, 1938. He was a sponsor of a Citizens' Rally held under the auspices of the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom, April 13, 1940 in New York City (leaflet, "Citizens Rally").

The American Friends of Spanish Democracy was cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities in Report 1311 of March 29, 1944.

The Conference on Pan-American Democracy (known also as Council for Pan American Democracy) has been cited as a Communist front which defended Carlos Luiz Prestes, a Brazilian Communist leader and former member of the executive committee of the Communist International (Special Committee on Un-American Activities in Report 2277, June 25, 1942 and Report 1311, March 29, 1944). It has also been cited as subversive and Communist by the U. S. Attorney General (press releases of the U. S. Civil Service Commission dated June 1 and September 21, 1948).

The American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom was cited as a Communist front which defended Communist teachers

(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Reports of June 25, 1942 and March 29, 1944).

George S. Counts was a member of the Advisory Board of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, as shown on letterheads of the organization dated January 1940 and April 27, 1938 and on the "Call to the Third Annual Conference" of the group. He was a sponsor of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, according to a letterhead announcing the fourth Annual Conference which was held at the Hotel Annapolis, Washington, D. C., March 2-3, 1940.

The American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born was cited as "one of the oldest auxiliaries of the Communist Party in the United States" in Report 1311 of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities. It had previously been cited by the Special Committee in Report 2277 of June 25, 1942. The American Committee * * * has been cited as subversive and Communist by the U. S. Attorney General in lists furnished the Loyalty Review Board (press releases of June 1 and September 21, 1948).

A pamphlet entitled "Presenting the American Student Union" (back cover) shows that George S. Counts was a member of the Advisory Board of this organization, cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee * * * in Reports of January 3, 1940; June 25, 1942; and March 29, 1944.

He was a member of the National Committee of the Student Congress Against War, according to a pamphlet issued by the organization, "Fight War" (p. 4):

During the Christmas holidays of 1932, the Student Congress Against War was convened at the University of Chicago. This gathering was held at the direct instigation of the (Amsterdam) World Congress Against War. The Chicago Congress was completely controlled by the Communists of the National Student League. * * * The gathering ended its sessions by adopting the program of the (Amsterdam) World Congress Against War which, as has been pointed out, called for "the turning of imperialist war into civil war." For many years, the latter slogan represented one of the chief objectives of the Communist movement throughout the world. (Special Committee on Un-American activities, Report 1311, March 29, 1944, p. 119.)

George S. Counts was a sponsor of the New York Tom Mooney Committee, as shown on an undated letterhead of the Committee.

For many years, the Communist Party organized widespread agitation around the Mooney case, and drew its members and followers into the agitation (Report 1311, March 29, 1944, p. 154, Special Committee * * *).

A booklet entitled "These Americans Say:" (p. 8) listed George S. Counts as a representative individual who advocated lifting the embargo against Spain; the booklet was published by the Coordinating Committee to Lift the Embargo, cited as one of a number of front organizations set up during the Spanish Civil War by the Communist Party (Report 1311 of the Special Committee * * * pp. 137 and 138).

George S. Counts, identified as the editor of "Social Frontier," endorsed the Reorganization Plan of Commonwealth College, as shown in "Fortnightly," August 15, 1937 (p. 3). Commonwealth College at Mena, Arkansas, was cited as Communist by the U. S. Attorney General in a list furnished the Loyalty Review Board (press release of April 27, 1949). The Special Committee * * * cited it as a "Communist enterprise" (Report of March 29, 1944, p. 76 and 167).

In Public Hearings before the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Mr. Walter S. Steele testified that Dr. George Counts was one of those who headed the American Russian Institute, New York, New York (Vol. I, p. 344). The American Russian Institute (New York) was cited as Communist by the U. S. Attorney General in a list furnished the Loyalty Review Board (press release of April 27, 1949).

Dr. George S. Counts, identified as Associate Director of the International Institute of Teachers College, Columbia University, was the chief speaker at the first membership mass meeting of the New York branch of the Friends of the Soviet Union held in New York City, April 11, 1930, as shown in the "Daily Worker" of April 8, 1930 (p. 1). He spoke on "Educational and Social Planning in the Soviet Union." In the same article it was reported that "Dr. Counts has just returned from a 6,000 mile trip through the Soviet Union. He was a member of the technical staff of the American trade union delegation that visited the U. S. S. R. in 1927."

The Friends of the Soviet Union, predecessor of the American Council on Soviet Relations, was cited as Communist by the U. S. Attorney General in lists furnished the Loyalty Review Board (press releases of December 4, 1947, June 1, and September 21, 1948). The Special Committee * * * cited the Friends of the Soviet Union as "one of the most open Communist fronts in the United States," whose purpose "is to propagandize for and defend Russia and its system of government." It "is a section of an international movement directed from Moscow." The Friends admit "they penetrate our industrial sections" (Report, January 3, 1939; also cited in Reports, January 3, 1940; June 25, 1942; and March 29, 1944).

In Public Hearings before the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, September 11, 1939, Benjamin Gitlow, former General Secretary of the Communist Party of the United States, submitted the names of the members of the American Trade Union Delegation to the Soviet Union in 1927. (See reference in first paragraph of this page.) Mr. Gitlow gave the following testimony concerning the delegation and listed "George S. Counts, Ph. D., professor of education, Teachers' College; director of International Institute of Education" as a member of the Technical and Advisory Staff of the delegation:

Mr. GITLOW. * * * In order to win the trade unions' support of Soviet Russia, and particularly to mobilize them behind a campaign for recognition of Soviet Russia, the Communist International instructed the American party to organize a delegation of trade unionists who would be invited to visit the Soviet Union, travel, and see for themselves, and draw up a report. The report should be used for propaganda purposes among trade unionists, and the trade-union leaders, who would be brought to Moscow, an effort would be made to win them over for the campaign of recognition in support of the Soviet Union.

* * * * *

Then the party, upon instructions of the Communist International, started the work of organizing what was to be known as an impartial delegation of American trade unionists, who were not Communists, who would visit Soviet Russia, travel over the country, investigate conditions, and submit an impartial, unbiased report to the American people on what were the actual conditions in Soviet Russia.

And all this preliminary organization work and how to constitute the committee and how to organize it, was done by the Communist Party in the United States. And the money involved for expenses, that was first raised through the furriers' union by having them take \$500 out of their treasury, which was later supplied by Moscow, because the traveling expenses and all of the expenses involved in the organization of this delegation was paid by Moscow, and when its

report was printed, the payment for printing the report also came from Moscow. But Moscow paid about five times what it cost to print the report, and the rest of the money went into the party treasury.

* * * * *

Well, I can say that the delegation was split into three parts, and in 2 weeks' time they had to cover thousands of miles. Every place where they stopped they were met by a reception committee. They were given banquets. They were taken on sightseeing tours and they had no time to investigate actual conditions. They had what you call one wild party from the day they landed in Russia to the day they got out of Russia.

At the same time the technical staff surrounding the delegation, the staff of economists, so-called, and experts, who were supposed to advise the delegation on what they were seeing and to explain it to them—these people were all party people. And these were the people who actually wrote the report and when they wrote the report, their report first was O. K.'d by the Communist International and later on the American Communist Party again went over the report with a fine comb to see that nothing detrimental to Russia would slip into the report. * * * (Public Hearings, Volume 7, pp. 4699-4701.)

On August 19, 1949, the Committee on Un-American Activities issued the "Review of the Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace," in which the conference which was arranged by the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions was cited as a "gathering at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York City on March 25, 26 and 27, 1949," which "was actually a supermobilization of the inveterate wheelhorses and supporters of the Communist Party and its auxiliary organizations." The same Review (p. 13) contains the following reference to Professor Counts:

In an open letter to the Conference signed by Prof. George S. Counts, of Teachers' College, Columbia University, and Sidney Hook, well-known philosopher, they pointed out the plight of culture under Soviet system represented by Fadayev and his associates. We quote the letter in part:

"Over the last three decades the Soviet dictatorship has mercilessly imprisoned, exiled, or executed distinguished men of letters in that country. These were not just ordinary individuals of mediocre attainment. They were men of stature renowned throughout the civilized world to those who know literature and poetry.

"Not one of these men is to be found anywhere in the Soviet Union. They have disappeared without a trace. Some we know are dead. Some are perhaps dragging out their last days in a Siberian prison camp."

Addressing themselves to Dr. Harlow Shapley, the Conference chairmen, the writers asked:

"when the delegates from the Soviet Union appear at your Conference, to make inquiry of them as to what has happened to the purged artists, writers, and critics of the Soviet Union. What has happened to Kornilov, Kyrilov, Boris Pasternak, Babel, Ivan Katayev, Orlov and Pilnyak?"

The "Daily Worker" of January 6, 1953 (p. 5) published an editorial, "Dr. Counts is Afraid," which stated:

Dr. GEORGE S. COUNTS, many of whose associates in the Liberal Party and the labor movement are demanding clemency for Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, sought to dissipate the growing movement against the planned cold-war twin-murder with a redbaiting blast in yesterday's newspapers. Counts spoke for the American Committee for Cultural Freedom, a misnamed group sponsored by the U. S. State Department.

The Rosenbergs are guilty, announced Counts, because "the Daily Worker didn't even bother to inform its readers that the trial was taking place." Are we to believe that henceforth juries will adjudge guilt or innocence on the basis of the Daily Worker's news selection? However, the record will reveal that the Daily Worker did report the trial.

"This preeminent fact of guilt," Counts threatens, "must be openly acknowledged before any appeal for clemency can be regarded as having been made in good faith." Here Counts repeats the Justice Department's immoral invitation

to the Rosenbergs to become stool-pigeons. The Rosenbergs insist upon their right to proclaim their innocence. And those who have read the record of the case agree with them.

This gruesome effort of Counts to smother the Rosenberg clemency movement with a blanket of redbaiting indicates the extent and the power of that movement. * * *

MALCOLM COWLEY

<i>Organization and affiliation</i>	<i>Source</i>
Communist Party Mass Meeting (New York District). Speaker.	Daily Worker, Apr. 7, 1933.
Call for support of Communist Party National Elections and its candidates, Foster and Ford. Signer of Call and later statement.	Daily Worker, Sept. 14, 1932; Daily Worker, Nov. 6, 1933.
Protest Against Attack on Right of Communist Party to Use Ballot. Signer, Open Letter to President.	Daily Worker, July 23, 1940.
League of Professional Groups for Foster and Ford. Member.	Culture and Crisis, p. 32.
Mother Ella Reeve Bloor 45th Anniversary Banquet. Sponsor.	Program, Jan. 24, 1936.
Mother Bloor Celebration Committee, honoring 75th birthday in 1937. Ella Reeve Bloor was a well-known Communist leader. Sponsor.	Undated letterhead.
Committee for I. Amster's Candidacy. Amster was Communist Party candidate for president N. Y. City Board of Aldermen. Member.	Daily Worker, Oct. 21, 1936; New Masses, Nov. 1938; Daily Worker, Nov. 3, 1936.
Letter upholding Simon W. Gerson, avowed Communist, as confidential assistant to Borough president of Manhattan (forced to resign in 1940) (3). Signer.	Daily Worker, Feb. 10, 1938.
American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom (1) (3). Signer, petition attached to letterhead Jan. 17, 1940.	
American Committee for Struggle Against War (1) (3). Chairman.	"The Struggle Against War," June 1933.
American League Against War and Fascism (1) (2) (3). Member, national committee.	Call to the Second U. S. Congress against War and Fascism, Sept. 28, 29, and 30, 1934, Chicago.
Member, National executive committee.	Letterhead, Aug. 22, 1935.
Member, editorial committee of "Fight"—official publication of League.	"Fight", January 1934.
Contributor	December 1933, issue.

<i>Organization and affiliation</i>	<i>Source</i>
American League for Peace and Democracy (successor to American League Against War and Fascism) (1) (2) (3). Member of Advisory Board—N. Y. City Division.	Letterheads dated Sept. 22 and 26, 1938 and Mar. 21, 1939.
Endorsed 5th N. Y. City Conference.	Daily Worker, Mar. 4, 1939.
Writers and Artists Committee of American League (1) (2) (3). Member.	Letterhead of American League Apr. 6, 1939.
American Friends of Spanish Democracy (1) (3). Member of General Committee.	New Masses, Jan. 5, 1937.
Medical Bureau. Sponsor.	New Masses, Mar. 16, 1937.
Send-Off Dinner for Ambulance Corps (given by American Writers and Artists Committee). Sponsor.	
American Society for Technical Aid to Spanish Democracy (1). Member, Board of Directors.	New Masses, Jan. 26, Feb. 16, 1937.
North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy (1) (2) (3). Sponsor.	New Masses, Sept. 28, 1937.
American Relief Ship for Spain (1) (3). Sponsor.	Letterhead, Sept. 3, 1938.
Spanish Refugee Relief Campaign (1) (3). Sponsor.	Pamphlet "Children in Concentration Camps."
Conference on Pan American Democracy (1) (2) (3). Signer of "Call." Sponsor.	"News You Don't Get", Nov. 15, 1938. Letterhead dated Nov. 16, 1938.
Defended Carlos Luiz Prestes, Brazilian Communist Leader, and former member of the executive committee of the Communist International.	
Descendants of the American Revolution (1) (3). Member, Sponsor.	Daily Worker, Feb. 13, 1939. Pamphlet issued by organization.
Set up as a radical imitation of the Daughters of the American Revolution, which has uniformly adhered to the line of the Communist Party * * *	Special Committee Report, June 25, 1942.
Friends of the Soviet Union Predecessor of American Council on Soviet Relations (1) (2) (3). Endorsed National Committee.	Soviet Russia Today, December 1933.
Frontier Films (1) (3). Member of Advisory Board.	Daily Worker, Apr. 6, 1937.

<i>Organization and affiliation</i>	<i>Source</i>
Golden Book of American Friendship with the Soviet Union (1) (3). Signer.	Soviet Russia Today, November 1937.
Open Letter to American Liberals (1) (3). Signer.	Soviet Russia Today, March 1937.
International Labor Defense Prisoners' Relief Fund (1) (2) (3). Member.	"Labor Defender", publication of I. L. D., July 1931.
Signer of petition to Japanese Ambassador issued by ILD.	Daily Worker, Mar. 19, 1938.
Sponsor of Christmas Drive-----	"Equal Justice," publication of ILD, November 1938.
Sponsor of Summer Milk Drive---	"Equal Justice," publication of ILD, June 1939.
Cited as the "legal arm of the Communist Party" by Attorney General (Congressional Record, September 24, 1943, p. 7686); redesignated by Attorney General April 1, 1954.	
John Reed Clubs (1) (3). Member	Daily Worker, May 21, 1930.
National Committee for Defense of Political Prisoners (1) (2) (3). Member.	Letterhead, dated Oct. 31, 1935.
Predecessor of National Committee for Peoples Rights (1) (2) (3). Member.	Letterhead, dated July 13, 1938 "News You Don't Get", Nov. 15, 1938.
National Congress for Unemployment and Social Insurance (1) (3). Signer of "Call"; Sponsor.	Unemployment Insurance Review, Volume 1 (1935) p. 3; Leaflet, "Call to a National Congress for Unemployment and Social Insurance," headed by Herbert Benjamin, leading Communist.
National People's Committee Against Hearst (1) (3). (Subsidiary of American League for Peace and Democracy). Member.	Letterhead, Mar. 16, 1937.
National Student League (1) (2) (3). Signer of Call for Support.	Daily Worker, Sept. 28, 1932.
Congress of American Revolutionary Writers (1). Signer of Call.	Daily Worker, Jan. 18, 1935.
League of American Writers (1) (2) (3). Member; Member of Executive Committee; Vice President.	Bulletin of League; Daily Worker, Apr. 30, 1935; Letterheads, dated Dec. 29, 1938 and July 7, 1939.

<i>Organization and affiliation</i>	<i>Source</i>
American Writers' Congress Sponsored by League of American Writers (1) (2) (3). Addressed 1st Congress "What the Revolutionary Movement Can Give to The Writer."	Daily Worker, Apr. 29, 1935.
Elected delegate to International Congress of Writers in Madrid, June 20, 1937; speaker at American Writers' Congress, June 4-6, 1937; elected vice president.	Daily Worker, June 8, 1937.
Signed call of 3rd American Writers' Congress.	Direction, May-June 1939.
Chairman of arrangements 3rd American Writers' Congress.	Program.
Speaker at general delegates session of that congress.	Program, 3rd American Writers' Congress.
Earl Browder, general secretary of the Communist Party was a speaker at the second biennial American Writers Congress in 1937, sponsored by the League of American Writers	
Book Union (1) (3). Member, editorial Board.	Book Union Bulletin, August 1938.
International Publishers—Anniversary Reception of (1) (2) (3). Attended dinner:	Daily Worker, Dec. 18, 1934.
Daily Worker (1) (2) (3). Contributor.	Issues of Apr. 6, 1933; Sept. 30, 1933; Nov. 6, 1933; Dec. 21, 1935. Photograph in issue of Sept. 21, 1934. Reported as a witness for Alger Hiss issue of June 24, 1949.
Soviet Russia Today (1) (3). Member, editorial Board.	Issues of December 1938, January 1939.
Contributing editor	June 28, 1932.
Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade (1) (2) (3). Signer, protest to President and Attorney General against attacks against Abraham Lincoln Brigade.	Daily Worker, Feb. 21, 1940.
Defense of Hans Eisler. Communicated with State Department in behalf of Eisler.	Testimony of George S. Messersmith (Hearings Regarding Hans Eisler, pp. 127-129).

Reference to Malcolm Cowley in "International Literature," published by State Publishing House, Moscow, Russia, official organ of International Union of Revolutionary Writers:

Two gatherings held in one evening in New York City were a clear indication of the radicalization of the American Intellectuals as a whole. About 2,000 professionals, artists, writers, and scientists gathered as a public demonstration of the support of the American intellectuals to the Communist candidates in the recent election. * * *

Malcom Cowley, literary editor of the New Republic, explained his reasons for acceptance of a revolutionary position: "It wasn't the depression that got me," Cowley said. "It was the boom; I saw my friends writing tripe demanded by the present order, stultified and corrupted and unable to make real use of their talents. After that I had to discover the reason for this state of affairs which comes from the very nature of the ruling class that lives by exploiting everyone else."

Organization and affiliation

Source

New Republic. Editor-----	Report of House Un-American Activities Committee, No. 2277, June 25, 1942; No. 2748, Jan. 2, 1943.
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Our investigation has shown that a steady barrage against Congress comes * * * from the New Republic, one of whose editors, Malcolm Cowley, was recently forced out of an \$8,000 Government job by the exposure of his Communist activities * * *

Parenthetically, it may be said that Malcolm Cowley, one of the editors of the New Republic, published a volume of poetry in February of this year in which volume he described enthusiastically the capture of the Capitol in Washington by a revolutionary mob.

On January 15, 1942, the chairman of the committee, in a speech on the floor of the House, called attention to the presence in the Office of Facts and Figures, of one Malcolm Cowley, chief information analyst, at a salary of \$8,000 per annum. The chairman inserted in his speech the record of Malcolm Cowley which showed 72 affiliations with the Communist Party and its front organizations. Several weeks later, Mr. Cowley resigned his position with the Federal Government.

LAUCHLIN CURRIE

On August 13, 1948, Lauchlin Currie appeared before the Committee on Un-American Activities at his request to answer false statements and misleading suggestions which had been made concerning him in prior testimony before this committee. His name was first brought into the picture in testimony of Elizabeth Bentley, July 31, 1948 (p. 519), as follows:

Mr. STRIPLING. * * * Are there any other names, Miss Bentley, of the Silvermaster group that you have not mentioned?

Miss BENTLEY. Just one. The man was not a Communist but he did give information. Lauchlin Currie.

Mr. STRIPLING. What type of information did he give?

Miss BENTLEY. Well, being in the position he was in, he had inside information on Government policy.

Mr. STRIPLING. Was he a secretary to the President of the United States?

Miss BENTLEY. I believe that was his title. I am not sure. * * *

Mr. STRIPLING. He was employed in the White House, was he not?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. What information did he furnish? What type?

Miss BENTLEY. He furnished inside information on this Government's attitude toward China, toward other governments. He once relayed to us the information that the American Government was on the verge of breaking the Soviet code, various things.

Lauchlin Currie's testimony (mentioned above) is quoted, in part, as follows:

Mr. CURRIE. Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, my name is Lauchlin Currie; I reside at 165 Gaylor Road, Scarsdale, N. Y.

* * * * *

First, some facts concerning my background and history. I was born in 1902 in Nova Scotia, Canada. My father, a Canadian citizen, was of Scottish descent. My mother, nee Alice Eisenhauer, also a Canadian citizen, is of German descent. In 1911 and again in 1918 my family spent the year in the United States where I attended school. I took my undergraduate university work at London University and then came to Harvard in 1925 where I did my graduate work and received my Ph.D. and remained as a teacher of economics. Shortly after coming to Harvard I took out my first papers applying for United States citizenship. My naturalization was completed in 1934. While at Harvard I was offered a position in the Treasury Department. In 1934 I accepted it and came to Washington, where I worked under Mr. Marriner Eccles until he was made Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board later in that year. I went with him to the Board as assistant director of research.

In 1939 I was appointed by President Poosevelt as Administrative Assistant to the President with special duties in the field of economics. I retained that position until 1945, during which time I was sent twice to China to confer with Generalissimo Chiang-Kai-shek. During part of this period, in 1943-44, I concurrently held the office of Deputy Administrator of the Foreign Economic Administration. In early 1945, on behalf of the Secretary of State, I headed a war-time trade and financial mission to Switzerland.

In 1945 I resigned from Government service to enter private business and I am now president of Lauchlin Currie & Co., engaged in the export-import business, with offices at 565 Fifth Avenue, New York.

My name has been brought into the proceedings before this committee through the testimony of Miss Elizabeth Bentley and Mr. N. Gregory Silvermaster. Miss Bentley admitted to you that she had never met me and had never seen me and had never had any communication with me. The statements made by her about me were, as noted by Congressman Rankin, heresay three times removed. I, on my part, wish to assert unequivocally that I never met, saw, nor had any communication with Miss Bentley. The first time I ever heard her name was when I learned of the testimony which she gave the committee.

I understand that there is no accusation that I am or ever have been a Communist. Nevertheless, I welcome this opportunity to state again under oath, as I did before the Federal grand jury, convened in the Eastern District of New York to investigate the charges similar to those before this committee, that I am not and never have been a Communist, a member of the Communist Party, a believer in the tenets or doctrines of communism and that I have never been affiliated with any organization or group sympathetic with the doctrines of communism or engaged in furthering that cause. I have never had any reason to believe that any friends of mine or even acquaintances or associates were Communists. (Public Hearings, pages 852-853.)

ROBERT E. CUSHMAN

In the dissenting opinion of J. Edgerton in the "Decision of the U. S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia in re Edward Barsky et al., appellants v. United States of America, appellee" (March 18, 1948, p. 15), the following footnote appears:

Professor Cushman says: "The opprobrious epithet 'un-American' was applied to all those who indulged in any open criticism of our existing institutions, our so-called American way of life, or of Mr. Dies. * * * Good loyal American citizens who ought to know better were persuaded to give their support to the suppression of free speech and free press on the grotesque theory that they were thereby showing their loyalty to the basic principles of American democracy. Bigotry was made not merely respectable but noble. By the skillful use of labels, or slogans. American public opinion was inoculated with the dangerous idea that true Americanism consists in the stalwart defense of the status quo and the suppression of those dangerous and disloyal people who are unpatriotic enough to want to criticize it or suggest any change in it."

Organization and affiliation

League of Workers Theaters of the United States Workers' Theater was official, later name changed to The New Theatre (1) (3). Contributing Editor.

New Theatre League. Sponsor, Reunion Dance Apr. 18, 1941.

Moscow University Summer School. Advisory Committee.

Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace, New York City, Mar. 25-27, 1949, under auspices of National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions (1). Sponsor.

Daily Worker (1) (2) (3)-----

Source

Issues of January, 1934, May and October 1934 of "New Theatre."

Leaflet "Meet the People of the Progressive Theatre."

Testimony of Walter S. Steele, Public Hearings, Aug. 17, 1938. Conference "Call" and Program; Daily Worker Feb. 21, 1949.

Photograph appeared Dec. 23, 1940.

VERA MICHELES DEAN

Organization and affiliation

Golden Book of American Friendship with the Soviet Union (1). Signer.

National Council of American-Soviet Friendship (1) and (2). Books by Mrs. Dean listed as source material in the Bibliography on the Soviet Union issued by the Committee on Education of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship.

"The United States and Russia" by Vera Dean reviewed.

Named as author of a favorable survey on Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia and Poland.

Participated in International Assembly of Women held at Kortright, New York, October 21, 1948 " * * * apparently arranged at the initiative of a group of well-known American non-Communist women. The Russians were invited to send a delegation but gave no answer. * * * Fifty-six nations were represented by 150 foreign delegates and fifty Americans. Following the traditional 'boring from within' tactics, foreign Communist women delegates participated, as well as outstanding pro-Soviet Americans."

Source

"Soviet Russia Today," November 1937, p. 79.

Testimony of Walter S. Steele, Committee on Un-American Activities, July 21, 1947, p. 63.

"New Masses," Dec. 23, 1947, p. 19.

"Daily Worker," May 3, 1948, p. 8.

Committee on Un-American Activities, Report of the Congress of American Women, Oct. 23, 1949.

AGNES DEMILLE

(1) indicates that the organization and/or publication has been officially cited by the Special Committee and/or the Committee on Un-American Activities; (2) indicates that it has been cited by the Attorney General of the United States.

*Organization and affiliation**Source*

National Council of American-Soviet Friendship (1) and (2).
Chairman, Dance Committee.

Report of the Director to Members of National Council * * *
Also Walter S. Steele's testimony before this committee July 21, 1947, p. 66.

Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee (1) and (2). National Sponsor, Spanish Refugee Appeal of the JAFRC. Name shown in these four sources as Agnes George DeMille.

Letterhead of February 26, 1946; letterhead of Feb. 3, 1948; letterhead of Apr. 28, 1949; and letterhead of May 18, 1951.

Independent Citizens' Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions (1). Initiating sponsor.

Letterhead of Nov. 26, 1946.

Artists' Front to Win the War (1). Sponsor.

Program of the Artists' Front * * *, Oct. 16, 1942, p. 4.

RABBI DAVID DE SOLA POOL

(1) Cited by Special and/or Com. on Un-American Activities; (2) Cited by Attorney General of the United States.

*Organization and affiliation**Source*

American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born (1) and (2). Sponsor, National Conference in Cleveland, Ohio, October 25-26, 1947. Name shown in source as Rev. David de Sola Pool.

Program and call for the conference.

Sponsor-----

Letterhead of Dec. 11-12, 1948.

Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee (1) and (2). National Sponsor.

Letterhead of Apr. 28, 1949.

Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights (1). Panel speaker at conference February 12, 1940.

Program of the conference.

American Committee for Yugoslav Relief (1) and (2). Member, Sponsors Committee.

Photostat of letterhead dated Aug. 6, 1945.

Endorsed appeal-----

Signed statement against the Hobbs Bill.

Daily Worker, Apr. 26, 1947, p. 2.

Daily Worker, Jan. 30, 1950, p. 4.

Signed statement to President Truman against "police state bill" (McCarran Act). Economist.

Daily Worker, Sept. 21, 1950, pp. 1 and 9.

BERNARD DeVOTO

Joseph North wrote in the *Daily Worker* of December 29, 1949 (page 7), that "DeVoto has written some millions of words in his time, but few had more point than those of his in Harper's recently which drew instant fire from J. Edgar Hoover. As a nation, DeVoto said, 'we are dividing into the hunted and the hunters.' 'We know,' he continued, 'that the thing stinks to heaven and that it is an avalanching danger to our society.' " Mr. North further quoted Mr. DeVoto as having concluded the FBI "has invaded areas of thought and behavior which are entirely improper for it to enquire into" and "holds ideas about what constitutes dangerous or subversive activity that are unacceptable to our form of government."

DR. W. E. B. DuBois

The *Worker* (Sunday edition of the Communist publication, the *Daily Worker*) on April 27, 1947 reported that—

almost 100 Negro leaders, headed by W. E. B. DuBois, Paul Robeson and Poscoe Dunjee, last week called upon President Truman "to repudiate decisively" steps to "illegalize the Communist Party." * * * "As Negro Americans * * * we cannot be unmindful that this proposal to outlaw the Communist Party comes precisely when our Federal government professes grave concern over the democratic rights of peoples in far distant parts of the world." * * * (page 8 of *The Worker*).

Dr. DuBois sponsored a statement attacking the arrest of Communist Party leaders (*Daily Worker*, August 23, 1948, page 3); he sponsored a "Statement by Negro Americans" on behalf of the Communist leaders (*The Worker* of August 29, 1948, page 11); he filed a brief in the Supreme Court on behalf of the twelve Communist leaders (*Daily Worker*, January 9, 1949, page 3); he signed statements on behalf of Communist leaders, as shown in the following sources: *Daily Worker*, January 17, 1949 (page 3); February 28, 1949 (page 9); *Daily People's World*, May 12, 1950 (page 12); *Daily Worker* September 19, 1950 (page 2); and in 1952, he signed an appeal to President Truman, requesting amnesty for leaders of the Communist Party convicted under the Smith Act (*Daily Worker*, December 10, 1952, page 4). Dr. DuBois was one of the sponsors of the National Non-Partisan Committee to Defend the Rights of the Twelve Communist leaders, as shown on the back of their letterhead dated September 9, 1949.

A statement on behalf of Eugene Dennis, a Communist, contained the signature of Dr. DuBois, identified as an educator (*Daily Worker* of May 5, 1950, p. 2); he signed a telegram of the National Committee to Win Amnesty for Smith Act Victims, greeting Eugene Dennis on his 48th birthday (*Daily Worker*, August 11, 1952, p. 3); Eugene Dennis was formerly Secretary General of the Communist Party.

The *Daily Worker* of August 2, 1949 (p. 2), disclosed that Dr. DuBois endorsed Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., well-known Communist leader; he was Honorary Chairman of the Committee to Defend V. J. Jerome, Chairman, Cultural Commission of the Communist Party, U. S. A. (letterhead dated June 24, 1952). A leaflet of the Civil Rights Congress (dated March 20, 1947) named Dr. DuBois as having defended Gerhart Eisler, Communist. He was one of the sponsors of the Committee to Defend Alexander Tractenberg, former member of the National Committee of the Communist Party (*Daily*

People's World of April 17, 1952, p. 7; and the Daily Worker of April 18, 1952, p. 6).

The Daily Worker of February 16, 1948 (page 16), reported that some—

eighty leading New York civic leaders, trade unionists and professionals yesterday joined Dr. William Jay Schieffelin, president emeritus of the Citizens Union, to demand the prompt seating of Simon W. Gerson to the City Council seat made vacant by the death of Councilman Peter V. Cacchione, Brooklyn Communist * * * The civic leaders' statement is directed to Mayor O'Dwyer and City Council majority leader Joseph T. Sharkey. It is a reprint of a letter to the New York Times by Dr. Schieffelin in which he charges that the real reason for the refusal to seat Gorman (sic. Gerson) is "the current anti-Communist hysteria." * * *

Dr. DuBois was named as having signed the statement. (See also advertisement in New York Times of February 19, 1948, page 13.)

Dr. DuBois was a member of a committee formed to protest the arrest of Pablo Neruda, Communist Chilean Senator and world famous poet; he signed a statement of the organization in support of Neruda. (Daily Worker of April 7, 1948, p. 13, and April 10, 1950, p. 2, respectively.) He was sponsor of a reception and testimonial for Harry Sacher, defense attorney for the Communist leaders (Daily Worker of December 5, 1949, p. 2).

When Earl Browder (then general secretary, Communist Party) was in Atlanta Penitentiary serving a sentence involving his fraudulent passports, the Communist Party's front which agitated for his release was known as the Citizens' Committee to Free Earl Browder (Special Committee * * * in Report 1311 of March 29, 1944); the Attorney General of the United States had cited the Citizens' Committee as Communist (Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, page 7687, and press release of April 27, 1949). Dr. DuBois was a member of the Citizens' Committee * * * in 1942, as shown on their letterhead dated February 11, 1942; he sponsored a dinner of the group, according to the Daily Worker of February 5, 1942, and signed the call to the National Free Browder Congress, as shown in the Daily Worker of February 25, 1942, pages 1 and 4.

A 1950 letterhead of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born carries the name of Dr. W. E. B. DuBois in a list of sponsors of that organization; the same information appears on an undated letterhead of the group, distributing a speech of Abner Green at the Conference of December 2-3, 1950; a letterhead of the Midwest Committee for Protection of Foreign Born dated April 30, 1951, names him as a National Sponsor of the organization. He signed the group's statement opposing the Hobbs Bill (Daily Worker, July 25, 1950, page 4); he signed their statement opposing denaturalization (Daily Worker of August 10, 1950, p. 5); and signed a telegram prepared and dispatched by the organization to the Attorney General of the United States, protesting holding nine non-citizens without bail under the McCarran Act (Daily Worker of November 24, 1952, page 3).

The Special Committee cited the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born as "one of the oldest auxiliaries of the Communist Party in the United States" (report of March 29, 1944; also cited in report of June 25, 1942); the Attorney General cited the organization as subversive and Communist (press releases of June 1

and September 21, 1948, and it was redesignated on April 27, 1953, pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

For years, the Communists have put forth the greatest efforts to capture the entire American Labor Party throughout New York State. They succeeded in capturing the Manhattan and Brooklyn sections of the American Labor Party but outside of New York City, they have been unable to win control (Special Committee's Report 1311 of March 29, 1944).

Dr. DuBois spoke at a state conference of the American Labor Party (Daily Worker of December 12, 1950, page 5); he spoke at a dinner, April 18th, opening the presidential campaign in New York City (Daily Worker of April 14, 1952, page 8, an advertisement; and the Daily Worker of April 21, 1952, page 1); he spoke at an election rally in Madison Square Garden, May 13th, held under the auspices of the American Labor Party (Daily Worker of May 8, 1952, page 8, an advertisement; and May 14, 1952, page 1); and he spoke at an election rally in Madison Square Garden, October 27th (Daily Worker of October 22, 1952, page 8, an advertisement; and October 29, 1952, page 2).

The Daily Worker of March 29, 1948 (page 7), named Dr. DuBois as a member of the Executive Board and of the Policy Committee, Council on African Affairs; he signed the Council's petition to the United Nations as shown in the Daily Worker of June 5, 1950 (page 4); and drafted their statement against the policy of the United States in Korea (Daily Worker of July 25, 1950, page 3); the Attorney General cited the Council on African Affairs as subversive and Communist (press releases of December 4, 1947 and September 21, 1948) and redesignated it on April 27, 1953 pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

The Attorney General cited the Jefferson School of Social Science as an "adjunct of the Communist Party" (press release of December 4, 1947); the Special Committee reported that "at the beginning of the present year, the old Communist Party Workers School and the School for Democracy were merged into the Jefferson School of Social Science" (Report 1311 of March 29, 1944). Dr. DuBois was honored at the Jefferson School, as shown in the Daily Worker on February 1, 1951 (page 2); it was announced in the Daily Worker on January 2, 1952 (page 7), that Dr. DuBois was scheduled to conduct a seminar on "Background of African Liberation Struggles" at the Jefferson School; the January 26, 1952 issue of the same publication (page 7), named him as a faculty member of that school.

In a report of the Special Committee, dated March 29, 1944, the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship was cited as having been, in recent months, the Communist Party's principal front for all things Russian (report dated March 29, 1944); Dr. DuBois signed a statement of the National Council in 1947 (Daily Worker, October 17, 1947, page 4); he signed the organization's statement protesting the Iron Curtain, as reported in the Daily People's World on May 20, 1948 (page 5); he signed a statement of the Council, praising Henry Wallace's Open Letter to Stalin in May 1948 (from a pamphlet entitled "How to End the Cold War and Build the Peace," page 9); he signed their statement calling for a conference with the Soviet Union (Daily Worker, June 21, 1948, page 3); he signed their Roll Call for Peace (Daily Worker of August 31, 1948, page 5); he sent greetings through the National Council on the Thirty-First Anniversary of the

Russian Revolution (Daily Worker, November 10, 1948, page 11); he signed the Council's appeal to the United States Government to end the cold war and arrange a conference with the Soviet Union (leaflet entitled "End the Cold War—Get Together for Peace," dated December 1948); he spoke at the Congress on American-Soviet Relations, December 3–5, 1949, arranged by the National Council * * * and signed the Council's letter to the American people, urging that a unified democratic Germany be established (Daily People's World, August 13, 1952, pages 4 and 6).

A letterhead of the Conference on Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact, dated August 21, 1949, lists the name of Dr. W. E. B. DuBois as having signed an Open Letter of the organization, addressed to Senators and Congressmen, urging defeat of President Truman's arms program; he answered a questionnaire of the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy in favor of recognition of the Chinese Communist government, as shown in Far East Spotlight for December 1949–January 1950 (page 23).

The Conference for Peaceful Alternatives * * * was cited as a meeting called by the Daily Worker in July 1949, to be held in Washington, D. C., and as having been instigated by "Communists in the United States (who) did their part in the Moscow campaign" (Committee on Un-American Activities in Report 378 on the Communist "Peace" Offensive dated April 1, 1951). The Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy has been cited as Communist by the Attorney General (press release of April 27, 1949).

A page of signatures from the Golden Book of American Friendship with the Soviet Union, "sponsored by American Friends of the Soviet Union, and signed by hundreds of thousands of Americans", was published in the November 1937 issue of Soviet Russia Today (page 79); the Golden Book was to be presented to President Kalinin at the Twentieth Anniversary Celebration. The page carried the title: "I hereby inscribe my name in greeting to the people of the Soviet Union on the 20th Anniversary of the establishment of the Soviet Republic" and a facsimile of the name, W. E. B. DuBois, appeared on that page.

The Golden Book * * * was cited as a "Communist enterprise" signed by "hundreds of well-known Communists and fellow travelers" (Special Committee on Un-American Activities in Report 1311 of March 29, 1944).

A letterhead of the New York Committee to Win the Peace, dated June 1, 1946, contains the name of W. E. B. DuBois in a list of New York Committee Members. The National Committee to Win the Peace, with which the New York Committee is affiliated, was cited as subversive and Communist by the U. S. Attorney General (press releases of December 4, 1947 and September 21, 1948) and it was redesignated on April 27, 1953 pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

Dr. DuBois sponsored a petition of the American Council for a Democratic Greece, as disclosed by the Daily People's World of August 23, 1948 (page 2); he signed a statement of the same organization, condemning the Greek government, as reported in the Daily Worker of September 2, 1948 (page 7). The American Council for a Democratic Greece has been cited as subversive and Communist, an organization formerly known as the Greek-American Council (U. S. Attorney General in press releases of June 1 and September 21,

1948). The organization was redesignated by the Attorney General on April 27, 1953 pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

Dr. DuBois was a sponsor of a conference of the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions, October 9-10, 1948, as shown in a leaflet entitled "To Safeguard These Rights * * *," published by the Bureau of Academic Freedom of the National Council; a letterhead of the National Council (received for files January 1949) named him as a Member-at-Large of that organization; he was named as Vice Chairman of the group on the leaflet, "Policy and Program Adopted by the National Convention, 1950"; a letterhead of the same organization's Southern California Chapter, dated April 24, 1950, lists him as a Member-at-Large of the National Council; he was elected vice-Chairman of the group in 1950 (Daily Worker, May 1, 1950, page 12); a letterhead of the group dated July 28, 1950 named him as a vice-Chairman of the group; he endorsed a conference on equal rights for Negroes in the arts, sciences and professions, sponsored by the New York Council of the Arts, * * * (Daily Worker, November 9, 1951, page 7); the call to the conference contained the same information. A letterhead of the National Council, dated December 7, 1952, named him as Vice-Chairman.

The call to a Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace, issued by the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions for New York City, March 25-27, 1949, as well as the conference program (page 12), and the Daily Worker of February 21, 1949 (page 9), named Dr. DuBois as one of the sponsors of that conference; he was a member of the Program Committee of the Conference, Honorary Chairman of the panel at Cultural and Scientific Conference (program, page 7), and spoke on "The Nature of Intellectual Freedom" at that conference (page 78 of the edited report of the conference entitled "Speaking for Peace.")

The National Council of the Arts, * * * was cited as a Communist-front organization by the Committee on Un-American Activities in its Review of the Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace, released April 19, 1949; in the same review, the Scientific and Cultural Conference was cited as a Communist front which "was actually a supermobilization of the inveterate wheelhorses and supporters of the Communist Party and its auxiliary organizations."

The Daily People's World of October 28, 1947 (page 4), named Dr. DuBois as one of the sponsors of a National Conference of the Civil Rights Congress in Chicago, November 21-23, 1947; he sponsored their Freedom Crusade (Daily Worker, December 15, 1948, page 2); the Call to a Bill of Rights Conference, called by the Civil Rights Congress for July 16-17, 1949 in New York City, named him as one of the sponsors of that conference; the program of the National Civil Rights Legislative Conference, January 18-19, 1949, called by the Civil Rights Congress, lists him as one of the conference sponsors; he was chairman of a conference of the Congress, as reported in The Worker of January 2, 1949 (page 5); Dr. DuBois was defended by the Civil Rights Congress (Daily Worker, February 13, 1951, page 3); he signed the organization's Open Letter to J. Howard McGrath, U. S. Attorney General, on behalf of the four jailed trustees of the Bail Fund of the Civil Rights Congress of New York (advertisement "paid for by contributions of signers" which appeared in the Evening Star on October 30, 1951, page A-7); he participated in the organiza-

tion's Sixth Anniversary Dinner in New York City, March 26, 1952 (Daily Worker, March 28, 1952, page 4).

The Civil Rights Congress was formed in 1946 as a merger of two other Communist-front organizations, the International Labor Defense and the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties; it is "dedicated not to the broader issues of civil liberties, but specifically to the defense of individual Communists and the Communist Party" and "controlled by individuals who are either members of the Communist Party or openly loyal to it" (Report 1115 of the Committee on Un-American Activities dated September 2, 1947); the Attorney General cited the Congress as subversive and Communist (press releases of December 4, 1947 and September 21, 1948) and it was redesignated on April 27, 1953 pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

Dr. DuBois spoke in Washington, D. C., on May 9, 1947, under the auspices of the Washington Book Shop, as shown by a leaflet of the Book Shop, cited as subversive and Communist by the Attorney General; it had previously been cited by the Attorney General as follows: "Evidence of Communist penetration or control is reflected in the following: Among its stock the establishment has offered prominently for sale books and literature identified with the Communist Party and certain of its affiliates and front organizations * * *" (press releases of December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948; and the Congressional Record of September 24, 1942, page 7688, respectively). The Special Committee cited the Washington Book Shop as a Communist-front organization (report of March 29, 1944).

The Workers Book Shop catalogue for 1948 (page 5), advertised Dr. DuBois' "The World and Africa" for sale; the 1949-1950 catalogue (page 11) advertised his "Black Folk Then and Now"; The Worker for March 1, 1953 (page 16) carried an advertisement of Dr. DuBois' books, "The Battle for Peace" and "Black Reconstruction" on sale at the Workers Bookshop, New York City. The Workers Bookshops are a chain of Communist bookshops which are official outlets for Communist literature.

As shown on the following sources, Dr. DuBois was a member of the Advisory Council of Soviet Russia Today: Letterhead of the publication dated September 8, 1947; a letterhead of September 30, 1947; and an undated letterhead received April 1948. The Daily People's World of November 6, 1952 (page 7), reported that Dr. DuBois had written an article for the November issue of New World Review. Soviet Russia Today has been cited as a Communist-front publication by the Special Committee in reports of March 29, 1944, and June 25, 1942; the Committee on Un-American Activities also cited it as a Communist-front publication in a report dated October 23, 1949. Soviet Russia Today changed its name to New World Review, effective with the March 1951 issue.

The Daily Worker of July 6, 1951 (page 7), reported that Dr. DuBois was author of the pamphlet, "I Take My Stand for Peace," published by the New Century Publishers, "official Communist Party publishing house which has published the works of William Z. Foster and Eugene Dennis, Communist Party chairman and executive secretary, respectively * * *" (Committee on Un-American Activities in its report of May 11, 1948).

In 1947, 1948 and 1950, Dr. DuBois was Contributing Editor on the staff of New Masses magazine (New Masses, July 22, 1947,

page 2; *Masses & Mainstream*, March 1948, Vol. 1, No. 1; and issue of August 1950, page 1); he contributed articles to the following issues of *New Masses* and *Masses & Mainstream*: *New Masses* for September 10, 1946 (page 3) and June 10, 1947 (page 20); *Masses & Mainstream* for April 1951 (pages 10-16); and February 1952 (pages 8-14).

In 1940, Dr. DuBois signed *New Masses* Letter to President Roosevelt as shown in *New Masses* for April 2, 1940 (page 21); he was honored at a dinner in New York City, January 14, 1946, arranged by *New Masses* and at which awards were made for greater inter-racial understanding (*Daily Worker* of January 7, 1946, page 11, columns 1 and 2); he endorsed *New Masses*, as reported in the *Daily Worker* of April 7, 1947 (page 11); he sponsored a plea for financial support of *New Masses*, as disclosed in the issue of that publication for April 8, 1947 (page 9); he received the *New Masses* award for his contribution in promoting democracy and inter-racial unity at the publication's Second Annual Awards Dinner (*New Masses* of November 18, 1947, page 7); the February 1953 issue of *Masses & Mainstream* carried a chapter from Dr. DuBois' book, "The Soul of Black Folk," written fifty years ago (*Daily Worker*, February 23, 1953, page 7); he was author of "In Battle for Peace," described as the story of his 83d birthday, and which was published by *Masses & Mainstream* (*The Daily Worker* of June 18, 1952, page 7; *Daily People's World* of September 17, 1952, page 7; the *Daily Worker* of September 23, 1952, page 7; and *The Worker* of December 21, 1952, page 7).

The Attorney General of the United States cited *New Masses* as a "Communist periodical" (Congressional Record of September 24, 1942, page 7688); the Special Committee cited it as a "nationally circulated weekly journal of the Communist Party" (report of March 29, 1944; also cited in reports of January 3, 1939 and June 25, 1942). Beginning with the March 1948 issue, *New Masses* and *Mainstream* (Marxist quarterly) consolidated into what is now known as *Masses & Mainstream*, with the announcement that "here, proudly, in purpose even if not in identical form, is a magazine that combines and carries forward the thirty-seven-year-old tradition of *New Masses* and the more recent literary achievement of *Mainstream*. We have regrouped our energies, not to retire from the battle but to wage it with fresh resolution and confidence" (*Masses & Mainstream* for March 1948, page 3).

A letterhead of the Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case, dated March 15, 1952, carries the name of Dr. W. E. B. DuBois in a list of sponsors; he joined in a request of that Committee for a new trial for Ethel and Julius Rosenberg (*Daily Worker* of June 12, 1952, page 6); he participated in a rally October 23 in New York City, to demand clemency for the Rosenbergs (*Daily Worker*, October 27, 1952, page 8); he signed an amicus curiae brief presented to the Supreme Court in Washington, D. C., urging a new trial for the Rosenbergs (*Daily Worker* of November 10, 1952, page 3); and the *Daily People's World* of November 13, 1952, page 8). He wrote an article entitled "A Negro Leader's Plea to Save Rosenbergs" (*The Worker* of November 16, 1952, page 3M); and the *Daily Worker* of January 21, 1953 (page 7), reported that he had urged clemency for the Rosenbergs.

The Daily Worker of April 11, 1949 (page 5), reported that Dr. DuBois was a member of the Sponsoring Committee of the World Peace Congress in Paris; he was co-Chairman of the American Sponsoring Committee of the Congress, as disclosed on a leaflet entitled "World Congress for Peace, Paris," April 20-23, 1949; he was proposed as a candidate for the World Peace Prize, awarded by the World Peace Congress (Daily People's World of December 7, 1951, page 4); he was a member of the Executive Committee of the World Peace Congress (Daily Worker of September 14, 1950, page 5); he was one of the sponsors of the Second World Peace Congress in Sheffield, England (Daily Worker of October 19, 1950, page 3); he was elected to the Presiding Committee of the World Peace Congress (Daily Worker of November 17, 1950, page 1); he was a member of the World Peace Council of that Congress (Daily Worker of November 24, 1950, page 9); a mimeographed letter dated December 1, 1950, contains his name in a list of sponsors of the American Sponsoring Committee for Representation at the World Peace Congress.

Dr. DuBois was a member of the United States Sponsoring Committee of the American Intercontinental Peace Conference (Daily Worker of December 28, 1951, page 2, and February 6, 1952, page 2); the Peace Conference was called by the World Peace Council, formed at the conclusion of the Second World Peace Congress in Warsaw; he was awarded the International Peace Prize for "six world figures" by the World Peace Council (Daily People's World of January 29, 1953, page 7; and The Worker of February 8, 1953, page 5).

The Daily Worker of June 20, 1950 (page 2), reported that Dr. DuBois signed the World Peace Appeal; the same information appears on an undated leaflet of the enterprise, received by this Committee September 11, 1950. A mimeographed list of individuals who signed the Stockholm World Appeal to Outlaw Atomic Weapons, received for filing October 23, 1950, contains the name of Dr. DuBois. He was Chairman of the Peace Information Center where the Stockholm peace petition was made available (Daily Worker of May 25, 1950, page 2; and August 16, 1950, page 5).

The World Peace Congress which was held in Paris, France, April 20-23, 1949, was cited as a Communist front among the "peace" conferences which "have been organized under Communist initiative in various countries throughout the world as part of a campaign against the North Atlantic Defense Pact" (Committee on Un-American Activities in reports of April 19, 1949; July 13, 1950; and April 1, 1951). The World Peace Council was formed at the conclusion of the Second World Peace Congress in Warsaw and was "heralded by the Moscow radio as the expression of the determination of the peoples to take into their own hands the struggle for peace" (Committee on Un-American Activities in a report dated April 1, 1951).

The World Peace Appeal was cited as a petition campaign launched by the Permanent Committee of the World Peace Congress at its meeting in Stockholm, March 16-19, 1950; it "received the enthusiastic approval of every section of the international Communist hierarchy" and was "lauded in the Communist press, putting every individual Communist on notice that he 'has the duty to rise to this appeal' * * *" (Committee on Un-American Activities in its report of April 1, 1951).

The American Peace Crusade, organized in January 1951, was cited as an organization which "the Communists established as a new instrument for their 'peace' offensive in the United States" (Committee on Un-American Activities in its reports of February 19, 1951 and April 1, 1951); Dr. DuBois was one of the sponsors of the Crusade (Daily Worker of February 1, 1951, page 2); minutes of the Sponsors Meeting which was held in Washington, D. C., March 15, 1951 (page 4), named him as one of the initiators of the Crusade and also as having been proposed as Co-Chairman of that meeting; he was a sponsor of the American People's Congress and Exposition for Peace which was held in Chicago, June 29-July 1, 1951, called by the American Peace Crusade to advance the theme of world peace (Daily Worker, April 22, 1951, page 2; May 1, 1951, page 11; the American Peace Crusader, May 1951, pages 1 and 4; the Daily Worker of May 9, 1951, page 4; Daily Worker of June 11, 1951, page 2; a leaflet of the Congress; Daily Worker of July 1, 1951, page 3; a leaflet entitled "An Invitation to American Labor to Participate in a Peace Congress * * *"; the Call to the American People's Congress * * *"; the Daily Worker of July 3, 1951, page 2). He signed a petition of the Crusade, calling on President Truman and Congress to seek a big-power pact (Daily Worker, February 1, 1952, page 1); he attended a meeting of Delegates Assembly for Peace, called by the Crusade and held in Washington, D. C., April 1 (Daily Worker, April 3, 1952, page 3); he was one of the sponsors of a Peace Referendum jointly with the American Peace Crusade to make the end of the Korean war a major issue in the 1952 election campaign (Daily People's World of August 25, 1952, page 8).

Dr. DuBois issued a statement on the death of Stalin which read in part as follows: "Let all Negroes, Jews and foreign-born who have suffered in America from prejudice and intolerance, remember Joseph Stalin" (Daily Worker of March 9, 1953, page 3); the Daily Worker of January 18, 1952 (page 8), reported that he had renewed his fight for a passport in order to attend the American Intercontinental Peace Conference in Rio de Janeiro; it was reported in the Washington Evening Star on May 10, 1952 (page B-21), that Dr. DuBois was refused admission to Canada to attend the Canadian Peace Congress because he refused to undergo an examination by the Canadian Immigration service. On September 14, 1952, the Worker (page M6), reported that Dr. DuBois had experienced passport difficulties when leaving the United States.

IRWIN EDMAN

Irwin Edman, educator, was one of the sponsors of the Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace, arranged by the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions and held in New York City, March 25-27, 1949. (See: Conference "Call"; Conference Program, p. 12; and Daily Worker, February 21, 1949, p. 2.)

The Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities described the Scientific and Cultural Conference as "actually a supermobilization of the inveterate wheelhorses and supporters of the Communist Party and its auxiliary organizations". (Review of Scientific and Cultural Conference, dated April 19, 1949, p. 1.) The National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions was cited as a Communist-front organization in the Committee's report, page 2.

The "Daily Worker", January 18, 1939, page 7, named Irwin Edman as a Committee Sponsor of the League of American Writers. The U. S. Attorney General cited the League of American Writers as subversive and Communist in his letters to the Loyalty Review Board (released June 1, 1948 and September 21, 1948, also included in the Consolidated list of April 1, 1954). It was cited as a "Communist front" by the Special Committee * * * (Reports of Jan. 3, 1940, p. 9; June 25, 1942, p. 19; March 29, 1944, p. 48.) "The League of American Writers, founded under Communist auspices in 1935 * * * in 1939 * * * began openly to follow the Communist Party line as dictated by the foreign policy of the Soviet Union * * *. The overt activities of the League of American Writers in the last 2 years leave little doubt of its Communist control". (The U. S. Attorney General, Congressional Record, Sept. 24, 1942, pp. 7685 and 7686.)

The booklet, "These Americans Say:" (p. 8) named Irwin Edman as a representative individual of the Coordinating Committee to Lift the Embargo.

The Special Committee on Un-American Activities cited the Coordinating Committee to Lift the Spanish Embargo as "One of a number of front organizations, set up during the Spanish Civil War by the Communist Party in the United States and through which the party carried on a great deal of agitation". (Report, March 29, 1944, pp. 137 and 138).

Irwin Edman was a member of the Committee of 102 Writers and Artists which protested the arrest of Pablo Neruda, Communist Chilean Senator and World famous poet. (Daily Worker, April 7, 1948, page 13).

The "Daily Worker", February 16, 1948 (p. 16) reported that Professor Irwin Edman, Columbia University, signed a statement to the Mayor and City Council in behalf of the Communist, Simon Gerson. An advertisement in the New York "Times", February 19, 1948 (p. 13) named him as a supporter of the Citizens Committee to Defend Representative Government, supporting the seating of Gerson, Communist.

CLARK M. EICHELBERGER

Clark M. Eichelberger was named in the New York Times (December 3, 1938), as a member of the Committee for Concerted Peace Efforts; a letterhead of the same organization, dated September 21, 1938, contains the name of Clark M. Eichelberger as Acting Chairman of the group; on March 16, 1939, the New York Times (page 11), disclosed that he was Chairman of the organization's Executive Committee. He spoke at a meeting of the Massachusetts Committee for Concerted Peace Efforts in Boston, as reported by the Daily Worker on June 10, 1938 (page 2), and again on June 11, 1938 (page 2); he spoke at a public meeting in Carnegie Hall, February 13, 1939, to "Revise the Neutrality Act," as shown on a leaflet advertising the meeting which was held under the auspices of the Committee for Concerted Peace Efforts.

In a report by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, dated March 29, 1944, the Committee for Concerted Peace Efforts was cited as an organization with the same aims as the American Congress for Peace and Democracy, a Communist front advocating collective security prior to the signing of the Stalin-Hitler pact.

In the same report, the Special Committee cited the Committee for Peace Through World Cooperation as an organization with the same aims as the American League for Peace and Democracy, a Communist front which beat the drums for collective security against Fascist aggressors in accordance with current Communist Party line. Mr. Eichelberger was a member of the Committee for Peace * * *, as shown on page 2 of the Daily Worker for March 23, 1938; the same information appeared in New Masses for April 5, 1938 (page 27), in connection with a rally held by the Committee for Peace * * * in Madison Square Garden, April 4, 1938. He was named in the Daily Worker of March 29, 1938 (page 4), as having endorsed the Committee for Peace through World Cooperation.

Fight magazine for April 1938 (page 57), named Clark M. Eichelberger as one of the sponsors of a meeting of the American League for Peace and Democracy which was held in Madison Square Garden. The Attorney General of the United States cited the American League for Peace and Democracy as having been established "in an effort to create public sentiment on behalf of a foreign policy adapted to the interests of the Soviet Union"; and as being subversive and Communist. (Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, pages 7683 and 7684; and press releases of June 1 and September 21, 1948, respectively.) The Special Committee on Un-American Activities cited the American League for * * * as "the largest of the Communist 'front' movements in the United States" (reports of January 3, 1939 and March 29, 1944; also cited in reports of January 3, 1940; January 3, 1941; June 25, 1942; and January 2, 1943).

The Attorney General also cited the American Youth Congress as having "originated in 1934 and * * * controlled by Communists and manipulated by them to influence the thought of American youth"; he also cited it as subversive and Communist. (Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, page 7685; and press releases of December 4, 1947 and September 21, 1948, respectively.) The Special Committee cited the American Youth Congress as "one of the principal fronts of the Communist Party" and prominently identified with the "White House picket line" (reports of June 25, 1942; January 3, 1939; January 3, 1941; and March 29, 1944).

In a pamphlet entitled "Youngville, U. S. A.," published in 1937 by the American Youth Congress, it is noted that "the following men and women, prominent in the political, social, cultural, educational and religious life of the nation, are firm believers in the cardinal Youth Congress idea—youth organization for mutual youth interest along democratic lines. They subscribe to the Declaration of the Rights of Youth adopted by the Congress and have consented to give some of their valuable time and advice to the central organization of Young America. * * * They are serving in their purely personal capacities because they have a deep interest in American youth and have had long experience with its problems. * * *" Included in the list of members of the National Advisory Committee of the American Youth Congress is the name of Clark M. Eichelberger, identified as Director, League of Nations Association. (See page 63 of the pamphlet.) The same information appears on the organization's letterhead concerning their Fourth Annual Conference which was held in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, July 4, 1937.

Mr. Eichelberger was one of the sponsors of the World Youth Congress which was held in 1938 at Vassar College (Daily Worker March 28, 1938, page 3); the Special Committee cited the World Youth Congress as a "Communist conference" (reports of March 29, 1944 and January 3, 1939).

The American Student Union was cited as a Communist front—which was "the result of a united front gathering of young Socialists and Communists" in 1937. The Young Communist League took credit for creation of the organization. (Special Committee's reports of January 3, 1939; January 3, 1940; June 25, 1942; and March 29, 1944.) Dr. Eichelberger spoke at the Fourth National Convention of the American Student Union, December 26–30, 1938, as disclosed in the Student Almanac for 1939 (a publication of the organization).

The Daily Worker of June 2, 1938 (page 5), reported that Clark M. Eichelberger supported a meeting of the Medical Bureau and North American Committee To Aid Spanish Democracy, one of the groups organized during 1937 and 1938 when the Communist Party campaigned for support of the Spanish Loyalist cause. (From a report of the Special Committee dated March 29, 1944.)

On January 17, 1950, the New York Times (page 12), reported that Clark M. Eichelberger was the fifty-fourth defense witness for Alger Hiss, tried and convicted for perjury. The article stated that "Mr. Eichelberger is a director of the American Association for the United Nations and appeared for the defense without a subpoena. Mr. Eichelberger testified that the reputation of Mr. Hiss for loyalty, integrity and veracity was 'excellent'."

HENRY PRATT FAIRCHILD

The name of Henry Pratt Fairchild is found in this Committee's Report No. 1954, "Review of the Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace," April 19, 1949, in connection with officially-cited organizations, on pages 2, 7, 9, 11, 18, 21–29, 31, 32, 35, 37, 38, 40, 42, 43, 46–56, 58 and 60; a copy of the report is enclosed for your information. Further references to Prof. Fairchild are given below:

As shown by the "Daily People's World" of February 27, 1952 (page 2), Prof. Henry Pratt Fairchild was a sponsor of an emergency conference dedicated to the defense of Communists arrested under the Smith Act and scheduled to be held in New York on March 16; the same information appeared in the "Daily Worker" on February 25, 1952 (page 1) and March 6, 1952 (page 8). A photostatic copy of an undated letterhead of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, which was received for files September 21, 1951, was signed by Henry Pratt Fairchild; the letter announced the formation of the organization to oppose the Smith Act. Prof. Fairchild was reported to be a sponsor of a two-day conference and forum of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee on "The Bill of Rights-Sublime Risk of Free Men," in New York City, January 30–31 ("Daily Worker" of January 20, 1953, page 3 and "Daily People's World" of January 22, 1953, page 2). A letterhead of the National Committee to Win Amnesty for the Smith Act Victims dated May 22, 1953 carried Prof. Fairchild's name as a sponsor. He signed an appeal to President Truman requesting amnesty for leaders of the Communist Party convicted under the Smith Act, as shown by the "Daily Worker," December 10, 1952 (page 4).

Prof. Fairchild was a signer of a statement calling for the end of the war in Korea ("Daily Worker," May 21, 1951, page 1). He was a signer of a statement for world peace submitted to the State Department ("Daily Worker," November 19, 1951, page 1). According to the "Daily Worker" of March 10, 1952 (page 1), Prof. Fairchild signed an open letter to President Truman to halt the rearming of Germany. He signed a letter to President Truman asking that he act on germ warfare ("Daily People's World," June 9, 1952, page 6). He was reported in the "Daily Worker" of March 5, 1951 (page 4) to have signed a letter to President Truman to recognize the seating of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations.

The "Daily Worker" of February 1, 1951 (p. 2) listed Prof. Henry Pratt Fairchild, New York University, as a sponsor of the American Peace Crusade; he was listed as an initial sponsor on the Crusade's letterheads of February 1951 and February 25, 1953. He was a sponsor of the American People's Congress and Exposition for Peace of the American Peace Crusade, according to the leaflet, "American People's Congress * * * invites you to participate in a National Peace Competition"; "The Call to the American People's Congress * * *"; and the "Daily Worker," June 11, 1951 (p. 2). The American People's Congress and Exposition for Peace was held in Chicago, Ill., June 29, 30, and July 1, 1951. According to the "Daily Worker," May 1, 1951 (p. 11), Professor Fairchild was a sponsor of the American Peace Crusade's contest for songs, essays and paintings advancing the theme of world peace.

The American Peace Crusade was cited by the Committee on Un-American Activities as an organization which "the Communists established" as "a new instrument for their 'peace' offensive in the United States" (Report 378, on the Communist "Peace" Offensive, April 25, 1951, p. 51).

An advertisement ("Paid for by contributions of signers") in the Washington "Evening Star," October 30, 1951 (p. A-7), named Prof. Henry Pratt Fairchild as a signer of an "Open Letter to J. Howard McGrath" in behalf of the four jailed trustees of the Bail Fund of the Civil Rights Congress of New York.

The Civil Rights Congress was cited as subversive and Communist by the United States Attorney General in letters furnished the Loyalty Review Board and released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948; it was redesignated by the Attorney General pursuant to Executive Order 10450 of April 27, 1953. This Committee, on September 2, 1947, released a report on the Civil Rights Congress in which it was cited as having been "dedicated not to the broader issues of civil liberties, but specifically to the defense of individual Communists and the Communist Party" and "controlled by individuals who are either members of the Communist Party or openly loyal to it" (Report No. 1115, p. 19).

Professor Fairchild was shown as a national sponsor of the Spanish Refugee Appeal of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee on letterheads of that organization dated May 18, 1951 and January 5, 1953. He signed a petition sent to President Truman by the Spanish Refugee Appeal * * * "to bar military aid to or alliance with fascist Spain" (mimeographed petition attached to letterhead of May 18, 1951).

The Special Committee on Un-American Activities cited the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee as a Communist front in the report of March 29, 1944 (page 174). The Attorney General cited the organization as subversive and Communist (press releases of December 4, 1947 and September 21, 1948; redesignated pursuant to Executive Order 10450).

The "Daily Worker" of October 22, 1951 (page 8) reported that Prof. Henry Pratt Fairchild would speak at a conference of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship on October 27 in New York City. It was reported in the "Daily Worker" of November 5, 1951 (page 8) that he would speak at a USA-USSR world peace rally to be held on November 15 in New York City by the National Council * * *. He was shown as Secretary of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship in the July 28, 1952 issue of the "Daily Worker" (page 3).

The Special Committee * * *, in its report of March 29, 1944 (page 156), cited the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship as "the Communist Party's principal front for all things Russian." The Attorney General cited the National Council as subversive and Communist (press releases of December 4, 1947 and September 21, 1948; redesignated pursuant to Executive Order 10450, April 27, 1953).

"We Join Black's Dissent," a reprint of an article from the "St. Louis Post-Dispatch," June 20, 1951, by the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions, named Prof. Henry Pratt Fairchild as a supporter of a rehearing of the case of the Communist leaders before the Supreme Court. He was Chairman of the "Restore Free Speech" rally held by the National Council, New York City, July 25, 1951, as shown by the "Daily Worker," July 23, 1951 (page 3). He was listed as one who would speak at a meeting calling for the right to advocate peace which was to be held under auspices of the National Council, New York City, September 28, 1951, as shown by the September 26, 1951 issue of the "Daily Worker" (page 8). He signed the statement, "We Uphold the Right of All Citizens to Speak for Peace * * *," as shown by the handbill, "Halt the Defamers Who Call Peace Un-American!" which announced the September 28 meeting of the National Council referred to above.

Prof. Fairchild was listed as a sponsor of a conference on Equal Rights for Negroes in the Arts, Sciences and Professions which was to be held in New York City on November 10 by the New York Council of the National Council ("Daily Worker," November 1, 1951, page 7; November 9, 1951, page 7; and "A Call to a Conference on Equal Rights * * *"). He took part in "A Tribute to Jo Davidson" held under auspices of the National Council * * *, New York City, January 30, 1952 (handbill, "Memorial Meeting for Jo Davidson"). Identified as Secretary of the National Council * * *, Prof. Fairchild signed "An Appeal for Peace" to the President and Congress, according to the "Daily Worker," March 25, 1952 (page 2). He participated in a meeting for Academic Freedom Against the Entertainment Blacklist held in New York City, October 10, 1952 by the National Council, as advertised in the October 8, 1952 issue of the "Daily Worker" (page 6). A letterhead of the National Council (photostat dated December 7, 1952) carries the name of Prof. Henry Pratt Fairchild as Secretary of the group. The "Daily Worker" of March 30, 1953

(page 6) reported that he served as Chairman of a clemency meeting for the Rosenbergs held March 29, New York City, by the National Council.

The "Daily Worker" of May 1, 1953 (page 2) reported that Prof. Fairchild had been elected national chairman of the National Council at a national convention which concluded its sessions in New York City, April 26. A mimeographed handbill, "Free Cedric Belfrage," carried his name as a speaker at a "Guardians of Liberty Rally," June 5, New York City, sponsored by the National Council and the "National Guardian"; the same information was revealed in the "Daily Worker" on June 3, 1953 (page 8). Identified as Chairman of the National Council, Prof. Fairchild was named as a speaker at a Peace Rally of the organization held in New York City, September 27, 1953 ("Daily Worker," September 15, 1953, page 6; September 21, 1953, page 2; and September 29, 1953, page 3).

The Committee on Un-American Activities cited the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions as a Communist front in the enclosed report.

The "Daily Worker" of June 20, 1950 (page 2) reported that Henry Pratt Fairchild signed the World Peace Appeal; he was listed as an endorser of the World Peace Appeal on an undated leaflet entitled "Prominent Americans Call For * * *" (received September 11, 1950). He was shown as a sponsor of the World Congress for Peace, American Sponsoring Committee, on a leaflet, "World Congress for Peace, Paris," April 20-23, 1949. He was shown as a sponsor of the American Continental Congress for Peace in Mexico City, September 5-10, 1949, as shown on the "Call" to the Congress. He was a sponsor of the U. S. Sponsoring Committee for Representation at the Congress of the Peoples for Peace, Vienna, a meeting of the World Peace Council, as shown on a leaflet, "Let's Talk It Over!" and in the "Daily Worker" (October 31, 1952, page 2) and "Daily People's World" (November 5, 1952, page 2).

The World Peace Appeal was cited as a petition campaign launched by the Permanent Committee of the World Peace Congress at its meeting in Stockholm, March 16-19, 1950; as having "received the enthusiastic approval of every section of the international Communist hierarchy"; as having been lauded in the Communist press, putting "every individual Communist on notice that he has the duty to rise to this appeal"; and as having "received the official endorsement of the Supreme Soviet of the U. S. S. R., which has been echoed by the governing bodies of every Communist satellite country, and by all Communist Parties throughout the world." (Committee's Report 378, April 25, 1951, page 34.)

The Committee, in Report 378, April 25, 1951, cited the American Continental Congress for Peace in Mexico City as "another phase in the Communist 'peace' campaign, aimed at consolidating anti-American forces throughout the Western Hemisphere."

The World Peace Congress (Paris, April 20-23, 1949) was cited by this Committee as a Communist front among the "peace" conferences which "have been organized under Communist initiative in various countries throughout the world as part of a campaign against the North Atlantic Defense Pact." The World Peace Council was cited as having been formed at the conclusion of the Second World Peace Congress in Warsaw and which was heralded by the Moscow

radio as "the expression of the determination of the peoples to take into their own hands the struggle for peace." (Report 378, April 25, 1951, pages 16 and 38, respectively.)

The "Daily Worker" of July 9, 1952 (page 6) reported that Prof. Henry Pratt Fairchild signed an open letter of the National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act; the letter was made to the Platform Committees of the Republican and Democratic Parties and urged that they include in the 1952 platforms "a plank calling for repeal of the McCarran Act." The same organization also released an open letter to Members of the Eighty-Third Congress urging support of legislation to repeal the McCarran Act, as shown on an undated official letterhead (received January 1953) which listed Henry Pratt Fairchild as having signed the letter (page 2).

Prof. Fairchild was among the guests who were present and introduced at the 17th annual education conference of the Teachers Union of New York held March 28 at the Hotel Commodore ("Daily Worker," March 30, 1953, pages 3 and 8).

JAMES T. FARRELL

James T. Farrell contributed to the following issues of the Daily Worker: November 29, 1934, p. 5; May 3, 1935, p. 2; and December 21, 1935, p. 3. This publication was cited as the "Official Communist Party, U. S. A. organ" by the Committee on Un-American Activities in Report No. 1920, May 11, 1948, p. 44.

The "Call for Congress of American Revolutionary Writers on May 1" listed James T. Farrell as one of the signers of the "Call." The same information was reported in the Daily Worker of January 18, 1935 (p. 5) and was shown in material presented to the Special Committee on Un-American Activities by Mr. Walter S. Steele in connection with his public testimony before the Committee on August 17, 1938 (Public Hearings, Vol. 1, page 561). The Congress of American Revolutionary Writers was cited as subversive and Communist by the Attorney General in letters to the Loyalty Review Board released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948, and included in consolidated list released April 1, 1954.

The Daily Worker of April 29, 1935 (p. 1) reported that James T. Farrell participated in the First American Writers Congress at Mecca Temple, New York, N. Y., April 26-27, 1935. The Walter Steele material referred to above (p. 562) shows that James T. Farrell was elected at that congress to the national council of the League of American Writers. This information was also reported in the Daily Worker of April 30, 1935.

The League of American Writers was cited as subversive and Communist by the Attorney General in letters to the Loyalty Review Board released June 1 and Sept. 21, 1948, and included in consolidated list released April 1, 1954. The Attorney General (Cong. Record, September 24, 1942, pp. 7685-6) stated the League was "founded under Communist auspices in 1935 * * * in 1939 * * * began openly to follow the Communist Party line as dictated by the foreign policy of the Soviet Union. * * *" This organization was cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report of January 3, 1940, p. 9. According to the March 29, 1944, Report (p. 82) of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Earl Browder, general secretary of the Communist Party, was a speaker

at the second biennial American Writers Congress in 1937; the Congress was sponsored by the League of American Writers.

A letterhead of the National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners dated October 31, 1935, carried the name of James T. Farrell as a member of that organization. The National Committee for * * * was cited as subversive and Communist by the Attorney General in letters to the Loyalty Review Board released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948; also included in consolidated list released April 1, 1954, and as "Substantially equivalent to International Labor Defense, legal arm of the Communist Party * * * (it) caters to financially and socially prominent liberals * * *" (Cong. Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7686).

The December, 1930, issue of *New Masses* (which was cited by the Attorney General as a "Communist periodical" Cong. Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7688) shows James T. Farrell as a contributor (p. 18), and the June 19, 1934, issue contains his contribution to the *New Masses* Symposium (page 30).

James T. Farrell contributed to *Partisan Review*, publication of the John Reed Clubs, as shown by the February-March, 1934 (p. 16) and January-February, 1935 (p. 20) issues. The Special Committee on * * * Report of March 29, 1944, p. 175, indicates these clubs were "Named after the founder of the American Communist Party."

An undated letterhead of Book Union, Inc., lists James T. Farrell as a member of its advisory council. Writings by James T. Farrell were included in the anthology, "Proletarian Literature in the United States," Book Union's first book selection according to the undated circular, "Triple Combination Offer." This circular also showed that applications and payments were to be sent to *New Masses* and that the "triple offer" consisted of a copy of "Proletarian Literature," a membership in Book Union, and a 12-weeks' subscription to *New Masses*. The Special Committee on * * * in its March 29, 1944, Report (p. 96) found Book Union to be "Distributors of Communist literature."

The folder, "Mother Ella Reeve Bloor 45th Anniversary Banquet," January 24, 1936, lists James Farrell as a sponsor. "Mother Bloor" was one of the outstanding women leaders of the Communist Party in the United States.

Other references to James T. Farrell may be found in the following publications of this Committee, copies of which are enclosed for your use:

Hearings Regarding Communist Infiltration of Hollywood Motion-Picture Industry—Part 3, May and June 1951, p. 596

Hearings Regarding Communist Infiltration of the Hollywood Motion-Picture Industry—Part 8, May 1952, pp. 3482 and 3487

HOWARD FAST

The Committee's "Review of the Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace," dated April 19, 1949 (p. 2), named Howard Fast as one of the sponsors of the Conference which was arranged by the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions. The same Review showed that Mr. Fast participated in the World Congress of Intellectuals in Wroclaw (Breslau) Poland, August 25 to 28, 1948. He was an American Sponsor of the World Peace Congress held in Paris, April 20-23, 1949 (ibid.).

The Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace was cited as a Communist-front organization which was "actually a super-mobilization of the inveterate wheelhorses and supporters of the Communist Party and its auxiliary organizations" (Review of the Scientific and Cultural Conference, page 1); the National Council of the Arts, * * *, was also cited in the same Review as a Communist-front organization.

* * * bitter hatred for all western culture and the attempt to divorce writers, scientists, and artists from their own native land and win their allegiance for the Soviet Union is the underlying aim and theme of these scientific and cultural conferences for world peace.

The World Congress of Intellectuals was a forerunner of the Scientific and Cultural Conference. The World Peace Congress in Paris (April 20-23, 1949) was cited as a Communist front among the "peace" conferences which "have been organized under Communist initiative in various countries throughout the world as part of a campaign against the North Atlantic Defense Pact." (From the Committee's Review of the Scientific and Cultural Conference.) A copy of this report is enclosed; and your attention is called to pages 3, 9-11, 19, 20, 22, 24, 25, 27, 28, 31, 33-45, 47-51, 54-56, 58 and 60 which refer to Howard Fast.

In a report of this Committee, dated April 16, 1946, Howard Fast was named as a member of the Executive Board of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee; while an officer, he was cited for contempt of Congress for refusal to produce records of the organization as subpoenaed by the Committee. The Washington "Post" of April 1, 1947 (p. 1), reported that he was indicted April 1, 1947; and was convicted June 27, 1947 (Washington "Star" of June 28, 1947, pages 1 and 6). The District of Columbia Court sentenced Mr. Fast to three months in jail and a \$500 fine ("PM" of July 17, 1947, page 5). He appealed the decision but "on May 29, 1950, the Supreme Court refused to review the conviction for contempt of Congress of * * * members of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee and on June 7, 1950, they went to jail" (Annual Report of the Committee for the Year 1950, page 34).

The "Daily Worker" of September 1, 1950 (pages 2 and 9), reported that Howard Fast, novelist, was released from Federal prison at Mill Point, West Virginia, after completing three months sentence for contempt of the House of Representatives.

The Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee was cited as a Communist-front organization by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944 (page 174). On December 4, 1947 and September 21, 1948, lists of organizations cited by the Attorney General of the United States were released to the press by the U. S. Civil Service Commission; the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee was one of the organizations shown on the list as subversive and Communist and it was subsequently redesignated by the Attorney General on April 27, 1953 pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450.

Howard Fast signed a statement of the Civil Rights Congress, protesting the jailing of Communist leaders, as shown in the "Daily Worker" of June 6, 1949 (p. 2); he spoke at a meeting of the Civil Rights Congress in behalf of the Communist leaders, according to the "Daily Worker" of June 8, 1949 (p. 3); he spoke again before the same group, as reported in the "Daily Worker" on June 28, 1949 (p. 9).

The Civil Rights Congress published Mr. Fast's book, "Peekskill USA" as was shown in the "Daily Worker" on March 23, 1951 (p. 11) and April 30, 1951 (p. 11). The October 3, (1951) issue of the same publication reported that the Civil Rights Congress had published the second in a series of "Crisis Papers" by Mr. Fast (p. 7).

In a pilgrimage of the Civil Rights Congress, on behalf of the Martinsville Seven, Howard Fast led the New York Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions; the so-called "Martinsville seven" were "Negro youth and men * * * charged with the rape of a white woman in 1949, tried and convicted" ("Daily Worker" of January 29, 1951, p. 1).

The Civil Rights Congress was "an organization formed in April 1946 as a merger of two other Communist-front organizations (International Labor Defense and the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties); it was "dedicated not to the broader issues of civil liberties, but specifically to the defense of individual Communists and the Communist Party" and "controlled by individuals who are either members of the Communist Party or openly loyal to it" (Committee on Un-American Activities in Report 1115 of September 2, 1947). The U. S. Attorney General cited the Civil Rights Congress as subversive and Communist (letters to the Loyalty Review Board, released to the press December 4, 1947 and September 21, 1948). The organization was redesignated on April 27, 1953 pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

The "Daily Worker" of September 12, 1949 (p. 4), reported that Howard Fast spoke before the New York State Communist Party; the "Daily Worker" of January 18, 1950 (p. 11), reported that he was Chairman of a meeting on the Soviet Communist Party resolutions on the arts.

The following statement by Mr. Fast appeared in the "Daily Worker" on November 10, 1949 (p. 10):

In the Communist Party is enshrined the future and the hope of mankind * * * There is no nobler, no finer product of man's existence on this earth than the Communist Party.

Howard Fast signed the World Peace Appeal, as shown in the "Daily Worker" of June 20, 1950 (p. 2). An interim statement by the Committee on Un-American Activities, July 13, 1950, revealed that "though labeled as a 'peace petition,' the document (World Peace Appeal) is actually intended to be the entering wedge for a campaign of civil disobedience and defiance of our Government, in the interests of the war effort of a foreign nation" (p. 3). The Committee on Un-American Activities again cited the World Peace Appeal as a petition campaign launched by the Permanent Committee of the World Peace Congress in a meeting at Stockholm, March 16-19, 1950. (Report on the Communist "Peace" Offensive, April 25, 1951, p. 34); the report further stated that the Appeal "received the enthusiastic approval of every section of the international Communist hierarchy" and as having been lauded in the Communist press, putting "every individual Communist on notice that he 'has the duty to rise to this appeal'"; and as having "received the official endorsement of the Supreme Soviet of the U. S. S. R."

The "Daily Worker" of April 6, 1951 (p. 4), reported that the State Department had refused to grant Howard Fast a passport to Prague, Czechoslovakia, to attend the opening of his play, "Thirty Pieces of

Silver." The September 26, 1951 issue of the "Daily Worker" (p. 4), reported that the State Department had refused to grant him a passport to attend the second anniversary celebration of the Chinese People's Republic and that he claimed the Department of State was making "him a sort of house prisoner within the continental border of the United States."

The "Daily Worker" of February 25, 1953 (p. 7), reported that a Czech translation of "Haym Solomon" by Howard Fast was in publication, according to a recent announcement in Prague.

Howard Fast was a signer of an appeal to President Truman requesting amnesty for leaders of the Communist Party convicted under the Smith Act as shown by the December 10, 1952 issue of the "Daily Worker" (p. 4).

The "Daily Worker" of September 10, 1952 (p. 8), reported that Howard Fast was the American Labor Party Congressional candidate in the 23d Congressional District, New York. According to the September 15, 1952 issue of the "Daily Worker" (p. 3), Howard Fast, American Labor Party candidate for Congress from the 23d Congressional District in the Bronx, called on President Truman to order a cease-fire in Korea. The Special Committee * * *, in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 78), cited the American Labor Party as follows:

For years, the Communists have put forth the greatest efforts to capture the entire American Labor Party throughout New York State. They succeeded in capturing the Manhattan and Brooklyn sections of the American Labor Party but outside of New York City they have been unable to win control.

Howard Fast was a signer of an Open Letter of the American Peace Crusade to the President demanding an immediate cease-fire in Korea and that the prisoner issue be settled later ("Daily Worker," March 11, 1953, p. 8). The Congressional Committee * * *, in its statement issued on the March of Treason, February 19, 1951, and House Report No. 378, on the Communist "Peace" Offensive, April 25, 1951 (p. 51), cited the American Peace Crusade as an organization which "the Communists established" as "a new instrument for their 'peace' offensive in the United States" and which was heralded by the "Daily Worker" "with the usual bold headlines reserved for projects in line with the Communist objectives." On January 22, 1954, the United States Attorney General cited the American Peace Crusade as subversive and Communist, pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

The "Daily Worker" of November 10, 1952 (p. 3) reported that Howard Fast was a signer of an amicus curiae brief presented to the Supreme Court, Washington, D. C., urging a new trial for Ethel and Julius Rosenberg. He participated in a march to Sing Sing in a demonstration for the Rosenbergs ("Daily People's World," December 23, 1952, p. 1); and he wrote an article on his trip to Sing Sing in behalf of the Rosenbergs ("Daily People's World," December 31, 1952, p. 7). The "Daily Worker" of January 21, 1953 (p. 7) reported that Howard Fast was one of those who urged clemency for the Rosenbergs.

A letterhead of the Committee of Professional Groups for Browder and Ford, dated September 22, 1936, listed Kenneth Fearing as a member of that organization. The Committee of Professional Groups for Browder and Ford has been cited as a Communist-front organization which operated when those two candidates were running for President and Vice President, respectively, on the Communist Party ticket. (From Report 1311 of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities dated March 29, 1944, pages 48 and 181.)

The "Daily Worker" of May 21, 1930 reported that Kenneth Fearing was a member of the John Reed Club; the same information is found in the "New York Times" of May 19, 1930. He contributed to the November-December 1934 (p. 54) and January-February 1935 (p. 29) issues of the Partisan Review, a publication of the John Reed Club of New York.

The John Reed Clubs of the United States were named after the founder of the American Communist Party (report of the Special Committee * * * dated March 29, 1944, p. 175).

Kenneth Fearing contributed articles to the "Daily Worker" and to its Sunday edition, "The Worker", as shown in the following issues of that publication: August 27, 1934; July 23, 1935 (p. 5); December 24, 1931 (p. 3); December 21, 1935 (p. 3); and January 23, 1936 (p. 5). His photograph appeared in the issue of May 20, 1935 (p. 5).

The Daily Worker has been cited as the official organ of the Communist Party, U. S. A., by the Committee on Un-American Activities in Report No. 1920 of May 11, 1948 (page 44); also cited by the Special Committee * * * in report dated March 29, 1944 (pages 59 and 60; also cited in reports of January 3, 1939, page 30; January 3, 1940, page 7; January 3, 1941, page 14; and June 25, 1942, page 4).

New Masses magazine for September 1930 (page 3) named Kenneth Fearing as one of its Contributing Editors; he contributed to the following issues of the publication: September 1927 (pages 9 and 29); January 28 (page 5); June 1928 (page 22); September 1930 (page 11); September 6, 1938 (page 20); and November 8, 1938 (page 10). His book of poetry, Stranger at Coney Island, was reviewed by Eda Lou Walton in the January 1949 issue of Masses & Mainstream (pages 81-83).

The Special Committee * * * cited New Masses as a "nationally circulated weekly journal of the Communist Party * * * whose ownership was vested in the American Fund for Public Service" (report dated March 29, 1944, pages 48 and 75; also cited in reports of January 3, 1939, page 80; and June 25, 1942, pages 4 and 21). The Attorney General of the United States cited New Masses as a "Communist periodical" (Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, page 7688).

The Bulletin of the League of American Writers (issue for the Summer, 1938, page 4), named Kenneth Fearing as one of the members of the League; he signed the Call to the Third American Writers Congress of the League, as shown in Direction for May-June 1939 (page 1).

The Attorney General cited the League of American Writers as having been founded under Communist auspices in 1935 and "in 1939" it "began openly to follow the Communist Party line"; it was subsequently cited as subversive and Communist. (Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, pages 7680 and 7685; and press releases on June 1 and September 21, 1948, respectively; also included in consolidated list dated April 1, 1954.)

The Special Committee * * * cited the league as a Communist-front organization (report of January 3, 1940; also cited in reports of June 25, 1942, and March 29, 1944).

Soviet Russia Today published (in the issue of September 1939, page 25), the text of an Open Letter—

calling for greater unity of the anti-fascist forces and strengthening of the front against aggression through closer cooperation with the Soviet Union, released on August 14 by 400 leading Americans.

Kenneth Fearing, identified as a Poet, was one of the "400 leading Americans" who signed the letter which urged—

Americans of whatever political persuasion to stand firmly for close cooperation in this sphere between the United States and Soviet Russia, and to be on guard against any and all attempts to prevent such cooperation in this critical period in the affairs of mankind.

The Open Letter described above was known as the Open Letter for Closer Cooperation With the Soviet Union and was issued by "a group of Communist Party stooges" (from Report of the Special Committee * * * dated June 25, 1942, page 21).

HAROLD GLASSER

Summarized from the Committee on Un-American Activities report, "The Shameful Years", (House Report No. 1229, January 8, 1952, pp. 58-61), as follows:

THE SILVERMASTER-PERLO GROUPS

In order for their espionage apparatus to function as an over-all unit it was necessary for the Russians to establish contact within the various departments and bureaus of the United States Government. The success with which this was accomplished was attested to in testimony given the Committee by Elizabeth T. Bentley in July 1948.

Miss Bentley stated that for more than 11 years she had engaged in Communist Party activity as well as Soviet espionage. In 1938 she became acquainted with Jacob Golos, * * *

* * * She testified that under the direction of Golos, until his death in 1943, she acted as courier and in a liaison capacity between individuals engaged in Soviet espionage and Golos.

Even after Golos died in November 1943, she continued to act in the same capacity under the direction of Earl Browder, then head of the Communist Party U. S. A. This arrangement continued until late in 1944, * * *

* * * Miss Bentley has stated that all the individuals working in the apparatus were under the direction of the NKVD. These espionage groups with which she was working were composed primarily of individuals employed in the Government in Washington, D. C. The head of the most important and active group with which Miss Bentley had contact was Nathan Gregory Silvermaster. * * *

* * * The head of another important group contacted by Elizabeth Bentley was Victor Perlo, then an employee of the War Production Board. She first met the members of this group at the apartment of John Abt, then general counsel for the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America-CIO. Abt was later to figure in the testimony of Whittaker Chambers as will be shown later in this report.

Another person mentioned by Bentley, who was to figure in the Chambers testimony, was Alger Hiss. Bentley stated that members of the Perlo group had informed her that "Hiss" of the State Department had taken Harold Glasser of the Treasury Department and two or three others, and had turned them over to the direct control of Soviet representatives operating in this country.

The members of the Perlo group who were named by Miss Bentley were:

* * * Harold Glasser, Treasury Department; loaned to Government of Ecuador; loaned to War Production Board; adviser on North African Affairs Committee in Algiers, North Africa;

Certain of these individuals have denied the allegations concerning themselves either through a personal appearance before the committee or by communication with the committee.

* * * Norman Bursler, * * *, Harold Glasser, * * *, have not appeared before the committee to affirm or deny the charges made concerning them.

Other references to this matter may be found in the following publications of the Committee on Un-American Activities:

Hearings Regarding Communist Espionage in the United States Government, July–September 1948, pages: 515, 575, 592, 654, 686, 702, 821, 860, 885, 900, 902, 903, 910, 917, 921, 1273, 1350, 1351

Hearings Regarding Communism in the United States Government—Part 1, April–June, 1950, and July–August, 1948, pages: 1727, 1739, 1748, 1751, 2933, and 2943

Annual Report for the Year 1950, page 9

Methods of Communist Infiltration in the United States Government, May and June 1952, pages: 3406, 3407, 3412, and 3442

WALTER GELLHORN

<i>Organization and affiliation</i>	<i>Source</i>
National Lawyers Guild (1). Member of the Committee on Administrative Law and Agencies of the Guild; identified as from New York City.	July 1937 News-Letter, p. 2.
Member; identified with Columbia University, New York City.	1939 Membership List.
International Juridical Association (1). Member, National Committee.	Leaflet, "What is the I. J. A.?"
Signer of Statement-----	"Daily Worker," July 25, 1936, p. 2.
National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights (1). Member, Board of Sponsors.	Press release dated Feb. 23, 1940.
Non-Partisan Committee for the Reelection of Congressman Vito Marcantonio (1). Member.	Letterhead dated Oct. 3, 1936.
"Security, Loyalty, and Science" by Dr. Walter Gellhorn reviewed.	"Daily Worker," Nov. 23, 1950 (p. 8), "Daily People's World," Nov. 28, 1950, p. 7 and Feb. 6, 1951, p. 9.

MARTHA GRAHAM

<i>Organization and affiliation</i>	<i>Source</i>
American League for Peace and Democracy (1) and (2). Member, Theatre Arts Committee.	Letterhead, Apr. 6, 1939 (photostat).
National Council of American-Soviet Friendship (1) and (2). Vice Chairman, Dance Committee.	Report of the Director to the Members, NCASF, Mar. 7, 1945.

- | <i>Organization and affiliation</i> | <i>Source</i> |
|--|--|
| Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy (1). Sponsor. | Letterhead, Michigan Chapter, Feb. 2, 1939. |
| Member, Theatre Arts Committee. | Letterhead, July 6, 1938. |
| MORTIMER GRAVES | |
| <i>Organization and affiliation</i> | <i>Source</i> |
| Citizens' Committee to Free Earl Browder (1) and (2). Sponsor in Washington. | Advertisement in the Washington "Post," May 11, 1942, p. 9. |
| National Council of American-Soviet Friendship (1) and (2). Sponsor. | Letterhead dated March 13, 1946, a memorandum of the organization issued March 18, 1946, and the "Call" to the Congress of American-Soviet Friendship, Nov. 6-8, 1943, p. 4. |
| Member of Sponsoring Committee of the National Council's Committee on Education. | Bulletin of the Committee on Education, June 1945, p. 22, and the Proceedings of the Conference on Education About the Soviet Union, Oct. 14, 1944, New York City (inside back cover). |
| Open Letter for Closer Cooperation with the Soviet Union (1). Signer. | "Soviet Russia Today," September 1939, p. 25. |
| Washington Committee for Aid to China (1). Chairman. | Leaflet, "China Aid News," June 1940; mimeographed form letter dated Apr. 15, 1941. |
| Spoke at meeting of the group at the First Baptist Church, Washington, D. C., Feb. 11, 1941. | Leaflet, "Stop Shipments to Japan." |
| American Russian Institute (2). Member of Board of Directors and sponsor of dinner dedicated to American-Soviet Post-War Relations, New York, N. Y., Oct. 19, 1944. | Invitation to dinner. |
| HORACE GREGORY | |
| <i>Organization and Affiliation</i> | <i>Source</i> |
| Communist Party (1) and (2). Signed Call for support of the Communist Party National Elections and its candidates. | Daily Worker, Sept. 14, 1932, p. 1, c. 2. |
| Member, Committee of Professional Groups for (Earl) Browder and (Jas.) Ford, candidates for President and Vice President of the United States on the Communist Party ticket. | Daily Worker, Sept. 2, 1936, p. 2; letterhead of Sept. 22, 1936; pamphlet, Culture and the Crisis, p. 32. |

<i>Organization and affiliation</i>	<i>Source</i>
National Committee for People's Rights (1) and (2). Member.	Letterhead of July 13, 1938; and leaflet, "News You Don't Get," dated Nov. 15, 1938.
League of American Writers (1) and (2). Member, National Committee.	Daily Worker, Apr. 30, 1935.
Congress of American Revolutionary Writers (2). Signed Call to the congress.	Daily Worker, Jan. 18, 1935, p. 5.
New Masses (1) and (2). Contributing Editor.	New Masses, September 1930, p. 3; December 1930, p. 3; June 8, 1937, p. 13; Sept. 7, 1937, p. 9; Sept. 14, 1937, p. 9; Nov. 2, 1937, p. 13; Jan. 11, 1938, p. 25
Contributed to the following--	New Masses, February 1928, p. 13; September 1928, p. 6; Mar. 2, 1937, p. 23; Apr. 14, 1937, p. 8; Apr. 20, 1937, p. 25; Aug. 3, 1937, p. 26; Oct. 12, 1937, p. 17; and Dec. 7, 1937, p. 11.
Golden Book of American Friendship With the Soviet Union (1). Signed the Golden Book.	Soviet Russia Today, November 1937, p. 79.

ALBERT GUERARD

According to the following sources, *Prof. Albert L. Guerard* was a sponsor of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born: A letterhead of the organization dated December 11-12, 1948; an undated letterhead received by this committee July 11, 1950; an undated letterhead distributing a speech by Abner Green at a conference held December 2-3, 1950; a 1950 letterhead; the Daily Worker of April 4, 1951 (page 8); a letterhead of the Midwest Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, dated April 30, 1951, which named him as a National Sponsor of the organization; a photostatic copy of an undated letterhead of the Twentieth Anniversary National Conference which was held in Chicago, Illinois, December 8-9, 1951; the Daily Worker of April 29, 1953 (page 6), in which source he was identified with Brandeis University, Waltham, Mass., and which source also gave the name as Prof. Albert Guerard, without a middle initial; and Exhibit 52 of Matthew Cvetie, presented during his testimony before this committee.

The program and call to a National Conference of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born in Cleveland, Ohio, October 25-26, 1947, named Prof. Albert Guerard as one of the sponsors of that conference; According to the Daily Worker of April 8, 1953 (page 2), Prof. Albert L. Guerard, Waltham, Mass., signed an Open Letter of the American Committee * * *, addressed to the Congress of the United States, calling for repeal of the Walter-McCarran Law.

He was among the "one hundred and thirty" who "joined with the American Committee * * * in signing a scroll presented to the Rt. Rev. Arthur W. Moulton" (honorary chairman of the American Committee) on his 80th birthday (Daily Worker of May 5, 1953, page 8). He was a sponsor of the National Conference to Repeal the Walter-McCarran Law and Defend Its Victims, called by the American Committee * * * for Chicago, Illinois, December 12-13, 1953 (Daily Worker of October 1, 1953, page 2).

The Attorney General of the United States cited the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born as subversive and Communist (press releases of June 1 and September 21, 1948; consolidated list released April 1, 1954); the Special Committee on Un-American Activities cited it as "one of the oldest auxiliaries of the Communist Party in the United States" (report of March 29, 1944).

Prof. Albert L. Guerard, identified with Stanford University, Calif., signed an appeal addressed to the President of the United States, requesting amnesty for leaders of the Communist Party convicted under the Smith Act (Daily Worker, December 10, 1952, page 4).

An undated leaflet of the Citizens' Committee to Free Earl Browder named Prof. Albert Guerard of Stanford University as having appealed to the President of the United States "for justice in the Browder case." The Attorney General cited the Citizens' Committee * * * as Communist (Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, page 7687; press release of April 27, 1949; and consolidated list of April 1, 1954); the Special Committee * * * cited the organization as a Communist front (report of March 29, 1944).

Also cited in the report of the Special Committee * * * (dated March 29, 1944) was the National Free Browder Congress; Albert Guerard signed the call to that congress, as reported in the Daily Worker of February 25, 1942 (pages 1 and 4).

On September 11, 1942, the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties published in pamphlet form, an Open Letter which the organization had sponsored, signed by "600 Prominent Americans" who asked the President of the United States to reconsider the order of the Attorney General for deportation of Harry Bridges, Communist Party member. The Open Letter further stated that "It is equally essential that the Attorney General's ill-advised, arbitrary, and unwarranted findings relative to the Communist Party be rescinded."

Among the "600 Prominent Americans" who signed the letter, dated July 11, 1942, was Prof. Albert Guerard, Stanford University. The same information appeared in the Daily Worker on July 19, 1942 (page 4).

The Daily Worker of November 25, 1953 (page 2), reported that Prof. Albert L. Guerard, General Literature Emeritus, Stanford, California, was one of 134 professionals who signed a statement on behalf of the Jefferson School of Social Science, cited as "an adjunct of the Communist Party" by the Attorney General (press release of December 4, 1947; and consolidated list released on April 1, 1954). The Special Committee . . . also cited the School (report of March 29, 1944).

JOHN HOUSEMAN

*Organization and affiliation**Source*

Daily Worker (1). Writer of article on the theatre.

Daily Worker, Sept. 18, 1937, p. 7.

Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade (1). Sponsor.

Letterhead, Sept. 13, 1937; Information submitted by Walter S. Steele in connection with his testimony given in public hearings before Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Aug. 17, 1938, p. 569; testimony of Mr. Steele, Public Hearings, July 21, 1947, p. 29.

National Sponsor.....

Letterhead of Mar. 23, 1939, introduced into Public Hearings of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities during testimony of Mrs. Walter Owens Selby, Apr. 12, 1940, pp. 7728-7729.

Hollywood Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions (1). Member, Executive Council.

Letterhead, Oct. 2, 1945.

Hollywood Writers Mobilization (2). Third Vice-Chairman, Executive Council.

Letterhead, Oct. 10, 1945.

Member, Advisory Committee on Radio of the "Hollywood Quarterly" pub. by Hollywood Writers Mobilization.

Hollywood Quarterly, April 1947, No. 3, vol. II.

Contributed to Hollywood Quarterly.

Hollywood Quarterly, January 1947, p. 161.

Member of Panel on Propaganda Analysis at the Writers Congress held October 1-3, 1943, under auspices of H. W. M. and University of California.

Program of the Writers Congress, 1943.

New Theatre League (1). Sponsor of drive to raise funds for Artef Theatre. Artef Theatre was described in this article as "proudest and outstanding member" of New Theatre League.

Daily Worker, Jan. 21, 1938, p. 9.

Theatre Arts Committee (affiliated with Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy—cited by 1; and American League for Peace and Democracy, cited by 1 and 2. Member, Advisory Council.

Undated letterhead.

<i>Organization and affiliation</i>	<i>Source</i>
Was reported to film independently a film on the Centralia mine disaster of 1947.	Daily Worker, Sept. 26, 1950, p. 11.

LANGSTON HUGHES

The Daily Worker of September 14, 1932, named Langston Hughes as one of those who signed a "Call for support of the Communist Party National Elections and its Candidates." The same publication (in the issue of February 7, 1949, page 2), reported that "Langston Hughes, Negro people's poet, defends the Communist leaders on trial and warns the Negro people that they too are being tried, in his column in the current issue of the 'Chicago Defender'." The article further quoted Mr. Hughes as declaring that "If the 12 Communists are sent to jail, in a little while they will send Negroes to jail simply for being Negroes and to concentration camps just for being colored."

Langston Hughes contributed to the Communist Party Yearbook of 1937 (page 79), which is entitled "Ohio Marches Toward Peace and Progress." He contributed to the March, April and July (1925) issues of the Workers Monthly, official organ of the Workers Party (as the American section of the Communist International was known at the time).

In sworn testimony of Dr. Theodore Graebner, Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, Missouri, before the Special Committee on Un-American Activities on December 9, 1938 (Volume 4, page 3008), we find the following statement:

It is proper also that outside the state of Minnesota our people know that Langston Hughes, the Communist Poet, wrote:

"Good Morning, Revolution:

You're the very best friend

I ever had.

We gonna' pal around together from now on!"

and more directly the Workers' Song

"Put one more S in the U. S. A.

To make it Soviet.

The U. S. A. when we take control

Will be U. S. S. A. then."

The following poem which was written by Langston Hughes was quoted by Mr. Steve Gadler of St. Paul, Minn., during his sworn testimony before the Special Committee on Un-American Activities (Volume 2, page 1366):

Listen, Christ,
You did alright in your day, I reckon—
But that day's gone now.
They ghosted you up a swell story, too,
Called it Bible—
But it's dead now
The popes and the preachers've
Made too much money from it;
Kings, generals, robbers, and killers—
Even to the Tzar and the Cossacks.
Even to Rockefeller's church.
Even to the Saturday Evening Post.
You ain't no good no more;
They've pawned you
Till you've done wore out.
Goodbye,
Christ Jesus, Lord; God Jehovah,

Beat it on away from here now.
 Make way for a new guy with no religion at all—
 A real guy named
 Marx Communist, Lenin Peasant, Stalin Worker, ME—
 I said, Me!
 Go ahead on now,
 You're getting in the way of things, Lord.
 And please take Saint Ghandi with you when you go
 And Saint Pope Pius
 And Saint Aimee McPherson,
 And big black Saint Becton of the Consecrated Dime.
 And step on the gas, Christ!
 Move!
 Don't be so slow bout movin'!
 The world is mine from now on—
 And nobody's gonna sell ME
 To a king, or a general,
 Or a millionaire.

The Daily People's World of January 20, 1950 (page 2, Section 2), published Hughes' Ballad of Lenin, part of which is as follows:

Comrade Lenin of Russia
 High in a marble tomb,
 Move over, Comrade Lenin,
 And give me room.

I am Ivan, the peasant,
 Boots all muddy with soil
 I fought with you, Comrade Lenin,
 Now I have finished my toil.

* * *

I am Chico, the Negro,
 Cutting cane in the sun.
 I lived for you, Comrade Lenin,
 Now my work is done.

* * *

I am Chang from the foundries
 On strike in the streets of Shanghai
 For the sake of the Revolution
 I fight, I starve, I die.

Comrade Lenin of Russia
 Rises in the Marble tomb
 On guard with the fighters forever—
 The world is our room!

In 1937 and 1938, "the Communist Party threw itself wholeheartedly into a campaign in support of the Spanish Loyalist cause, recruiting men and organizing multifarious so-called relief organizations" such as Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, etc. (Report 1311 of the Special Committee * * * dated March 29, 1944.)

Langston Hughes endorsed the drive of Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade to bring the wounded boys back home, as shown in a circular entitled "and tell the folks that I'll be home if * * *" He is listed as a sponsor of the organization on letterheads dated September 10 and 22, 1938. He has contributed to various issues of "Volunteer for Liberty," official organ of Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade: September 6, 1937 (page 1); October 11, 1937 (page 16); November 15, 1937 (page 3); June 15, 1938 (page 15); January 17, 1949 (Introduction in Bound Volume); and his photograph appeared in the February 28, 1938 issue of the same publication. The Daily Worker of February 15, 1949 (page 13), also reported that Mr. Hughes had contributed to "Volunteer for Liberty."

On two occasions, Langston Hughes sent "greetings" to the International Labor Defense, as shown in an official program of a conference held in New York, and Equal Justice for June 1939 (page 3). The International Labor Defense has been cited as being "essentially the legal defense arm of the Communist Party of the United States." It is the American section of M. O. P. R., or Red International of Labor Defense, often referred to as the Red International Aid. Its international congresses meet in Moscow. (See reports of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities dated January 3, 1939; January 3, 1940; June 25, 1942; March 29, 1944.) It was again cited by the Committee on Un-American Activities on September 2, 1947 in Report 1115.) The Attorney General of the United States cited the group as the "legal arm of the Communist Party" (Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, page 7686; and as subversive and Communist (press releases of June 1 and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1952; also included in consolidated list of April 1, 1954).

Langston Hughes is reported to have spoken before and entertained an organization known as International Workers Order on several occasions. (See: Daily Worker for March 1, 1938, page 2; March 4, 1938, page 10; April 23, 1938, page 8; May 14, 1938, page 8). He contributed to the following issues of New Order, official publication of the English and youth sections of the International Workers Order: June 1936 (page 8), and January 1937 (page 2).

The International Workers Order was cited as "one of the most effective and closely knitted organizations among the Communist 'front' movements. It claims a membership of 150,000 bound together through an insurance and social plan * * * It has contributed large sums of money to Communist Party campaigns, and * * * regularly sponsors Communist Party endorsed candidates for public office." (Special Committee * * * in reports of January 3, 1939; January 3, 1940; June 25, 1942; and March 29, 1944.) The Attorney General of the United States has cited the group as Communist (Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, page 7688; and press releases of December 4, 1947 and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1943; also included in consolidated list of April 1, 1954).

The Bulletin of the League of American Writers named Langston Hughes as Vice President of the League; the same information is revealed by a letterhead of the organization dated December 29, 1938, and by another letterhead of July 7, 1939. The Daily Worker of April 30, 1935, lists him as a member of the National Committee of that organization. He signed the Call to the Fourth Congress of the organization which was held in New York City, June 6-8, 1941 (New Masses, April 22, 1941); in a pamphlet of the organization entitled "We Hold These Truths," he has contributed an article concerning anti-Semitism; he also signed a statement of the organization on behalf of the second front (Daily Worker, September 14, 1942).

The League of American Writers was "founded under Communist auspices in 1935 * * * The overt activities of the League in the last two years leave little doubt of its Communist control" (the Attorney General in Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, page 7686); it was cited as a "Communist-front organization" by the Special Committee * * * in three reports: January 3, 1940; June 25, 1942; and March 29, 1944. The League was cited as subversive and Communist by the Attorney General (press releases of June 1 and Septem-

ber 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953; also included in consolidated list of April 1, 1954).

A leaflet of March 2, 1944, lists Langston Hughes as a sponsor of the American Youth for Democracy; he was listed in Spotlight of April 1944 as a national Sponsor of that organization. American Youth for Democracy was cited as "the new name under which the Young Communist League operates and which also largely absorbed the American Youth Congress." (Report 1311 of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities dated March 29, 1944.) Attorney General of the United States cited the group as subversive and Communist (press releases of December 4, 1947 and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953; also included in consolidated list of April 1, 1954); the organization was the subject of a separate report by the Committee on Un-American Activities (April 17, 1947), and was called "a front formed in October 1943 to succeed the Young Communist League and for the purpose of exploiting to the advantage of a foreign power the idealism, inexperience, and craving to join which is characteristic of American college youth."

Letterheads dated February 26, 1946, and May 18, 1952, of the Spanish Refugee Appeal of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee list Langston Hughes as one of the national sponsors of that group. Another letterhead of the organization, dated April 28, 1949, lists him as one of the sponsors of the group. The Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Appeal was cited by the Special Committee * * * as a Communist-front organization (report of March 29, 1944); it was also cited by the Attorney General as subversive and Communist (press releases of December 4, 1947 and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953; also included in consolidated list of April 1, 1954).

Langston Hughes was one of the sponsors of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, as shown on a memorandum issued by the Council on March 18, 1946, and a Call to the Congress of American-Soviet Friendship, Nov. 6-8, 1943. The National Council * * * was cited as subversive and Communist by the Attorney General (press releases of June 1 and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953; also included in consolidated list of April 1, 1954); it was cited by the Special Committee * * * in a report dated March 29, 1944 as having been, "in recent months, the Communist Party's principal front for all things Russian."

The January 1943 Message of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, addressed to the House of Representatives of the United States, was signed by Langston Hughes (from a leaflet attached to an undated letterhead of the group). The National Federation was cited as "one of the Communist Party's fronts set up during the period of the Soviet-Nazi Pact" (report of the Special Committee dated June 25, 1942); the Attorney General cited it as "part of what Lenin called the solar system of organizations, ostensibly having no connection with the Communist Party, by which Communists attempt to create sympathizers and supporters of their program * * *" (Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, page 7687.) It was subsequently cited by the Attorney General as subversive and Communist (press release of December 4, 1947; redesignated April 27, 1953; included in consolidated list of April 1, 1954).

Langston Hughes has contributed to New Masses magazine over a period of years: February 1928 (page 13); December 1930 (page 23);

August 1931 (page 15); February 1932 (page 10); December 15, 1936 (page 34); January 11, 1938 (page 39); September 28, 1943 (page 14); February 15, 1944 (page 10). He sponsored a protest meeting on behalf of Howard Fast, held in New York City under the auspices of New Masses and Mainstream magazines, as shown in an advertisement in the publication "PM" for October 16, 1947 (page 5). He contributed to the Winter 1947 issue of Mainstream; and to the February 1949 issue of Masses & Mainstream (pages 53 and 78).

According to the Sunday Worker of January 25, 1948 (page 13), the first issue of Masses & Mainstream appeared in March 1948; this article announced that it was to be a "new monthly cultural magazine" and a merger of the two magazines formerly known as New Masses and Mainstream. New Masses was cited as a Communist periodical by the Attorney General (Congressional Record of September 24, 1942, page 7688); it was also cited by the Special Committee as the "nationally circulated weekly journal of the Communist Party * * * whose ownership was vested in the American Fund for Public Service" (Report 1311 of March 29, 1944); also cited in reports of January 3, 1939 and June 25, 1942 of the Special Committee.

Langston Hughes was one of the sponsors of the Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace, held in New York City, March 25-27, 1949, under the auspices of the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions (from the Conference Program, page 12; conference Call; and the Daily Worker of February 21, 1949, page 9). The Scientific and Cultural Conference * * * was cited as a Communist front which "was actually a supermobilization of the inveterate wheelhorses and supporters of the Communist Party and its auxiliary organizations" (report of April 1, 1951 of the Committee on Un-American Activities).

Identified as a poet, Langston Hughes of New York City signed a statement calling for international agreement to ban the use of atomic weapons, as shown by a statement attached to a press release of December 14, 1949 (page 12). The statement was released by the Committee for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact which the Committee on Un-American Activities cited as having been set up to further the cause of "Communists in the United States doing their part in the Moscow campaign" (report dated April 25, 1951).

The works of Langston Hughes have been favorably reviewed by and/or advertised in the Communist publication, the Daily Worker, as follows; June 6, 1949 (page 11); The Worker (Sunday edition of the Daily Worker, December 4, 1942, page 8; February 13, 1949 (page 13); September 4, 1949 (page 12); the Daily Worker, April 22, 1951 (page 7, section 2); and January 8, 1951, page 11.

The following books by Langston Hughes have also been advertised by the Workers Book Shop in the 1949-1950 Catalogue: "Shakespeare in Harlem"; "The Weary Blues"; "Fields of Wonder"; "The Big Sea"; "Not Without Laughter"; and "The Poetry of the Negro." The Workers Book Shop "carry all books and pamphlets recommended in 'The Guide to Reading on Communism'" (back cover of the Guide). From the same source it is noted that—

What we have attempted to do here is list the minimum required readings for an understanding of the fundamental theoretical and practical questions facing the international as well as the American revolutionary movement.

The Honorable Albert W. Hawkes (Senator, New Jersey), included in a speech delivered on the floor of the Senate, April 1, 1948, a record of Langston Hughes' Communist and Communist-front activities (Congressional Record, April 1, 1948, pages 4011-4012).

The West Coast Communist publication, the Daily People's World for April 16, 1948 (page 5), reported that—

intimidation and hysteria which caused cancellation of scheduled appearances in six American cities within the past two months is no coincidence of reaction as far as Langston Hughes is concerned.

In the same article, Hughes is quoted as having claimed:

I'm no radical on the platform. I read some of my poems, and answer a few questions. And I happen to believe in a democracy where persons are treated equally regardless of race or religion.

The article relates that—

Hughes has been speaking and writing for the last 15 years but finds the pattern of reaction is stronger this year than ever before.

In the Annual Report of the Committee on Un-American Activities for the Year 1951 (dated February 17, 1952), a chapter was devoted to the Complicity of American Communists in the Destruction of Freedom in the Far East; it was brought out that—

Even more interesting was the identification of American citizens who had contributed greatly to the cause of world communism and until this time had gone undisclosed. This list of traitors to the United States and the rest of the free world reads as follows: Agnes Smedley, Miyagi Yotoku, Willie Lehman, Albert Edward Stewart, * * * Langston Hughes * * *. The list set forth above is not by any means complete * * * (See page 23 of the Annual Report of 1951.)

During testimony of Manning Johnson before the Committee, regarding Communist Activities in the New York Area, July 8, 1953, a photostatic copy of Fight magazine for December 1935 (page 2), was received in evidence as Manning Johnson Exhibit No. 11; the page referred to contained names of the members of the National Executive Committee, American League Against War and Fascism and included Langston Hughes. (See Committee's Investigation of Communist Activities in the * * * Part 7, page 2173.) At this point, Mr. Johnson was asked by Committee Counsel "how many of these names he recognizes as people whom he knew to be members of the Communist Party," whereupon Mr. Johnson answered:

Dr. Harry F. Ward, Earl Browder, Israel Amter, Max Bedacht, Fred Biedenkapp, Ella Reeve Bloor, Harry Bridges, Winifred Chappell, H. W. L. Dana, Margaret Forsyth, Gilbert Green, Clarence Hathaway, A. A. Heller, Donald Henderson, Roy Hudson, Langston Hughes * * * (Ibid., page 2174.)

The American League Against War and Fascism, referred to above, has been officially cited by the Attorney General of the United States as a Communist organization (Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, page 7683); and as subversive and Communist (press releases of December 4, 1947 and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953; also included in consolidated list of April 1, 1954); it was also cited by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities as being "completely under the control of Communists" (report of March 29, 1944; also cited in reports of January 3, 1939; January 3, 1940, and June 25, 1942).

ROBERT M. HUTCHINS

Dr. Robert M. Hutchins, Chancellor, University of Chicago, was named as a member of the Commission for Academic Freedom of the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions in the September 13, 1948 issue (page 6) of the Communist newspaper, *Daily Worker*. He was listed as a sponsor of a conference held by the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions, October 9-10, 1948, in the leaflet, "To Safeguard These Rights * * *", which was published by the Bureau on Academic Freedom of the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions.

The National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions was cited as a Communist-front organization by the Committee on Un-American Activities in House Report No. 1954, April 26, 1950, page 2.

Dr. Robert Maynard Hutchins testified before the Seditious Activities Investigation Commission, State of Illinois, 1949 (Volume II, p. 17, of the Commission's report).

The *Daily Worker* of April 28, 1949, p. 9, featured an article by Gunnar Leander entitled: "Chancellor Hutchins in the Witchhunter's Den," parts of which read as follows:

Sen. Paul Broyles suddenly found himself in the defendant's box during his own inquisition into subversive activities in Chicago colleges this week. Chancellor Robert M. Hutchins of the University of Chicago, leading an entourage of distinguished witnesses, turned prosecutor in telling off Broyles that his task as a legislator "is to eliminate those social and economic evils and those political injustices which are the sources of discontent and disaffection."

Hutchins turned the tide of the entire state witchhunt as he declared before the Illinois Subversive Activities Commission:

"As is well known, there is a Communist Club among the students of the University (of Chicago). Eleven students belong to it. The Club has not sought to subvert the government of the state. Its members claim that they are interested in studying Communism, and some of them, perhaps all of them, may be sympathetic toward Communism. But the study of Communism is not a subversive activity."

Dr. Hutchins' photograph accompanied the article.

The *Daily People's World*, west coast organ of the Communist Party, in its issue of April 17, 1950, page 2, reported the following:

Chancellor Robert Hutchins, head of the University of Chicago, has informed the National Committee to Defeat the Mundt Bill he has filed a statement with the House Committee on Un-American Activities denouncing the Mundt-Nixon bill as foolish, stupid and dangerous.

The Hutchins statement follows:

"I should like to be recorded as among the numerous citizens of all political parties and all points of view who are united in believing that the Mundt-Nixon bill is foolish, stupid and dangerous. I hope that Congress will display its intelligence, and its faith in freedom and democracy by overwhelmingly defeating the measure."

The *Daily Worker*, June 25, 1951, p. 2, reported that Professor Robert M. Hutchins, former chancellor of the University of Chicago and now associate director of the Ford Foundation, opposed the Supreme Court decision upholding the conviction of the 11 Communist leaders.

The Annual Report of the Committee on Un-American Activities for the Year 1949 (House Report 1950, April 26, 1950) contained the following comment on these Communist leaders (p. 16):

On July 20, 1948, 12 leaders of the Communist Party of the United States were indicted by a Federal grand jury in New York on charges of conspiring to "teach and advocate the overthrow or destruction of the Government of the

United States by force and violence." Eleven of them were convicted on those charges in Federal court on October 14, 1949.

On November 25, 1952, Dr. Hutchins appeared before the Select Committee to Investigate Tax-Exempt Foundations and Comparable Organizations (House of Representatives). The following is quoted from his testimony (pp. 263-298 of the printed hearings):

The CHAIRMAN. * * * I had put in my hand some days ago a document which consisted of evidence taken by a select committee set up by the Legislature of Illinois investigating communism in certain schools, and in the body of that report I find testimony that you gave * * *

I quote from what purports to have been your testimony given in that investigation, and here you are quoted to have said * * *

"The fact that some Communists belong to, believe in, or even dominate some of the organizations to which some of our professors belong does not show that these professors are engaged in subversive activities. All that such facts would show would be that these professors believe in some of the objects of the organization, and so forth."

* * * I am wondering if since 1949 your thinking has undergone any sort of a change as regards what we should do in an endeavor to combat the spread of this Communist ideology in our own country? * * *

Mr. HUTCHINS. * * * My testimony in this case was directed to the proposition that members of the faculty whom we knew, who had worked loyally for the university and for the country, many of whom had been cleared by Government agencies, were not disqualified to be members of the faculty by reason of membership in this organization * * *

My view is, and has been, that it is necessary to resist the threat of Communist aggression by military means, that without this we may be overwhelmed by the tremendous masses of the Red Army.

It is also my impression that along with this effort, which is now consuming the greater part of the resources of this country, that are dedicated to governmental purposes, along with this effort we must maintain and develop the basic sources of our strength, and the basic sources of our strength are the western tradition of freedom, freedom of thought, freedom of discussion, and freedom of association.

We have then, as we have had for the last several years, the very delicate problem of balancing security and freedom. ,

The CHAIRMAN. Doctor, you were asked this question in this investigation:

"Do you consider that the Communist Party in the United States comes within the scope of a clear and present danger?"

You are charged with having answered:

"I don't think so."

Do you still adhere to that view?

Mr. HUTCHINS. The Supreme Court has decided that question.

The CHAIRMAN. I know, but I am not talking about the Supreme Court; I am talking about your views now. The Supreme Court is not running the (Ford) foundation; you are, so far as the educational work of the Ford people are concerned.

Mr. HUTCHINS. Well, you were asking me what my attitude toward the Communist Party would be as an officer of the foundation?

The CHAIRMAN. That is right.

Mr. HUTCHINS. Well, as an officer of the foundation, I would not support the Communist Party. What the definition of "clear and present danger" is, I am not at all sure. * * *

As far as I am concerned, the Communist Party is a clear danger. Whether it is in this country an immediate danger so that every day we should think that here is something really dangerous that is going to overwhelm us, I do not know. It certainly is dangerous. * * *

An article in the New York Times (April 20, 1950, p. 4) reported the following:

A movement to set up at colleges throughout the country a fund to assist any University of California faculty members discharged in the current loyalty oath controversy was disclosed today by Dr. Robert M. Hutchins, chancellor of the University of Chicago.

* * * Dr. Hutchins reported that the council of the University Senate, faculty representative body at his institution, had voted yesterday approval in principle of voluntary contributions by faculty members of 2 per cent of their salaries for a year to such fund. * * *

The money would be used for assistance of University of California faculty members whose income might be cut off and thus would, Dr. Hutchins said, "remove financial considerations from the decision to be made by the faculty members" on subscribing or refusing to subscribe to a declaration disavowing Communist affiliations.

Such a declaration was tentatively prescribed by the University of California Regents as a condition of employment a year ago. * * *

(Dr. Hutchins) said he considered the proposed oath discriminatory, unnecessary and a result of failure to understand that "a university should be a center of independent thought and criticism."

He did not, he added, consider Communist affiliations in themselves grounds for exclusion from teaching. * * *

ALVIN JOHNSON

Organization and affiliation

American Friends of Spanish Democracy (1). Signer of letter to the President; identified as Director of the New School for Social Research.

Spanish Refugee Relief Campaign (1). Sponsor.

Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee (1) and (2). Name appeared on invitation to dinner on "The Century of the Common Man," Hotel Astor, New York City, Oct. 27, 1943.

American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom (1). Sponsor of Citizens' Rally, Carnegie Hall, New York City, Apr. 13, 1940.

Consumers Union (1). Sponsor.

Non-Partisan Committee for the Reelection of Congressman Vito Marcantonio (1). Member.

Public Use of the Arts Committee (1). Sponsor.

Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights (1). Sponsor.

Wrote letter to Hanns Eisler on June 20, 1938 in which he stated that "I personally have no prejudice against Communists * * *"

Source

"Daily Worker," Feb. 16, 1938, p. 2.

Booklet, "Children in Concentration Camps".
Invitation to dinner.

Leaflet announcing rally.

Undated circular; "New Masses," Mar. 2, 1937, p. 28.

Letterhead, Oct. 3, 1936.

Undated letterhead.

Printed program of conference held Feb. 12, 1940.

Testimony of Investigator Donald Appell of the Committee on Un-American Activities, Sept. 25, 1947, pp. 81 and 82.

RUFUS M. JONES

A letterhead of Russian Reconstruction Farms, dated March 20, 1926, lists one Rufus Jones (with no middle initial shown), as one of the members of the Advisory Board of that organization, cited by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities as a "Communist enterprise directed by Harold Ware (son of the well-known Communist Ella Reeve Bloor)" (Report 1311 of March 29, 1944, p. 76).

Dr. Rufus M. Jones, Chairman, Friends Service Committee, Philadelphia, is listed as a member of the Editorial Board of the Protestant Digest on a letterhead of that publication dated December 27, 1939; he was one of the sponsors of the "Protestantism Answers Hate" dinner-forum which was held under the auspices of the Protestant Digest Association in New York City, February 25, 1941 (leaflet announcing the forum). The "Protestant Digest" was cited by the Special Committee on * * *, as a "magazine which has faithfully propagated the Communist Party line under the guise of being a religious journal."

The Daily Worker of March 28, 1938 (p. 3), revealed that Rufus M. Jones was one of the sponsors of the World Youth Congress; as shown in the Special Committee's Report 1311, dated March 29, 1944, the World Youth Congress was cited as a Communist conference held in the summer of 1938 at Vassar College (also cited in report of January 3, 1939).

The "Call" to the Congress of Youth, fifth national gathering of the American Youth Congress in New York City, July 1-5, 1939, contained the signature of Rufus M. Jones, as was shown on page 3 of the "Proceedings" of the Congress.

The American Youth Congress "originated in 1934 and * * * has been controlled by Communists and manipulated by them to influence the thought of American youth" (The Attorney General of the United States, Congressional Record, Sept. 24, 1942, p. 7685). The organization was cited as subversive and Communist by the Attorney General of the United States (press releases of December 4, 1947 and September 21, 1948; also included in consolidated list released April 1, 1954); it was cited as a Communist-front organization in reports of the Special Committee * * *, dated January 3, 1939; January 3, 1941; June 25, 1942; and March 29, 1944.

Dr. Rufus M. Jones of the American Friends Service Committee was among those who signed a statement of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, protesting the "Iron Curtain" (Daily People's World of May 20, 1948, p. 5); the National Council * * * was cited as having been, "in recent months, the Communist Party's principal front for all things Russian." (See Report 1311 of the Special Committee * * * dated March 29, 1944). The Attorney General of the United States cited the National Council * * * as subversive and Communist (press releases of December 4, 1947 and September 21, 1948; also included in consolidated list released April 1, 1954).

Dr. Jones, of Haverford, Pennsylvania, was one of the sponsors of a Congress on Civil Rights, founding meeting of the Civil Rights Congress, which was held in Detroit, Michigan, April 27-28, 1946 (from the "Summons to a Congress on Civil Rights"). The Civil Rights Congress was the subject of a special report by the Committee

on Un-American Activities, issued September 2, 1947, in which the organization was cited as being "dedicated not to the broader issues of civil liberties, but specifically to the defense of individual Communists and the Communist Party" and controlled by "individuals who are either members of the Communist Party or openly loyal to it." The Attorney General of the United States cited the Civil Rights Congress and its various affiliates as subversive and Communist (letters to the Loyalty Review Board, released to the press December 4, 1947 and September 21, 1948; also included in consolidated list released April 1, 1954).

The Call to a National Conference on American Policy in China and the Far East, which was held in New York City, January 23-25, 1948, contained the name of Dr. Rufus M. Jones, Haverford College, in the list of sponsors of that conference; he was named as a sponsor of the same conference in the "Daily Worker" of January 1, 1948 (page 3), being identified in this source as leader of American Religious Society of Friends. The National Conference on American Policy * * * (a conference called by the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy), was cited as Communist by Attorney General of the United States in a list released to the press July 25, 1949.

MATTHEW JOSEPHSON

<i>Organization and affiliation</i>	<i>Source</i>
Communist Party (1) and (2). Signed call for support of the Communist Party National Elections and its candidates.	Daily Worker, Sept. 14, 1932, p. 1, c. 2.
Communist Party (1) and (2). Signed statement defending Communist Party; i. d. as Historian.	Daily Worker, Apr. 16, 1947, p. 2.
Communist Party (1) and (2). Signed statement condemning "punitive measures directed against the Communist Party"; i. d. as; historian.	The Sunday Worker, Apr. 20, 1947, p. 8.
League of Professional Groups for Foster and Ford (1) cited as Committee of * * *. Member.	Leaflet, "Culture and the Crisis," p. 32.
National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners (1) and (2). Member.	Letterhead, Oct. 31, 1935.
National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights (1). Signed Open Letter of organization.	Daily Worker, May 13, 1940, pp. 1 and 5.
National Committee for People's Rights (1) and (2). Member.	Leaflet, "News You Don't Get," Nov. 15, 1938. Also letterhead dated July 13, 1938.
Non-Partisan Committee for the Re-election of Congressman Vito Marcantonio. (1). Member.	Letterhead, Oct. 3, 1936.

<i>Organization and affiliation</i>	<i>Source</i>
Civil Rights Congress (1) and (2). Signed statement defending Communist Party; i. d. as historian.	Daily Worker, Apr. 16, 1947, p. 2.
National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions (1). Signed statement in support of Henry A. Wallace. i. d. as a writer.	Daily Worker, Oct. 19, 1948, p. 7.
Sponsor of Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace, New York City, March 25-27, 1949. i. d. as a writer.	Conference "Call." Also Daily Worker, Feb. 21, 1949, p. 9. Also conference program, p. 12.
To speak at Writing & Publishing Forum of New York Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions, March 1, 1953, at ASP Center.	Calendar of Events, February-March 1953.
American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom (1). Signed petition of organization.	Mimeographed sheet attached to letterhead dated Jan. 17, 1940.
New Masses (1) & (2). Illustrator-Contributor-----	New Masses, May 1932, p. 6. New Masses, Apr. 20, 1937, p. 16; June 8, 1937, p. 22; Nov. 25, 1947, p. 15.
Medical Bureau, American Friends of Spanish Democracy (1). Member, General Committee.	Letterhead, Nov. 18, 1936; New Masses, Jan. 5, 1937, p. 31.
Golden Book of American Friendship with the Soviet Union (1). Signed Golden Book.	Soviet Russia Today, November 1937, p. 79.
Open Letter for Closer Cooperation with the Soviet Union (1). Signed Open Letter.	Soviet Russia Today, September 1939, p. 25.
American Friends of Spanish Democracy (1). Member of Committee.	Letterhead, Feb. 21, 1938.
League of American Writers (1) and (2). Member, Executive Committee; Signed statement of League.	Daily Worker, Apr. 30, 1935. Daily Worker, Sept. 14, 1942, p. 7; and Daily People's World, Sept. 23, 1942, p. 5.
Daily Worker (1). Contributor---	Daily Worker, Dec. 24, 1931, p. 3; Dec. 21, 1935, p. 3.

PROF. HORACE M. KALLEN

The "Daily Worker" of February 16, 1938 (page 2) listed the name of Prof. Horace M. Kallen, New School for Social Research, among those who signed a letter to the President and the Foreign Affairs Committee of both Houses of Congress "urging that the Neutrality Act be amended so as to render it inapplicable to Spain";

the letter was sponsored by the American Friends of Spanish Democracy.

The Program of a Dinner-Forum on "Europe Today," held in New York City, October 9, 1941, under auspices of the American Committee to Save Refugees, the Exiled Writers Committee of the League of American Writers, and the United American Spanish Aid Committee, contains the name of Horace M. Kallen on the list of the committee of sponsors.

As reported in the "Daily Worker" on February 21, 1940, Prof. Horace M. Kallen signed a letter to President Roosevelt and Attorney General Jackson protesting the attacks upon the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade.

"In 1937-38, the Communist Party threw itself wholeheartedly into the campaign for the support of the Spanish Loyalist cause, recruiting men and organizing multifarious so-called relief organizations * * * such as * * * the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, United American Spanish Aid Committee, * * * American Friends of Spanish Democracy * * *" (Report 1311 of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, March 29, 1944, page 82). The Attorney General of the United States cited the United American Spanish Aid Committee as Communist in a list furnished the Loyalty Review Board (press release of the U. S. Civil Service Commission dated July 25, 1949; redesignated pursuant to Executive Order 10450 of April 27, 1953). The Attorney General also cited the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade as subversive and Communist in lists to the Loyalty Review Board (press releases of December 4, 1947 and September 21, 1948; redesignated pursuant to Executive Order 10450).

The American Committee to Save Refugees and the League of American Writers were cited as Communist fronts by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities in the Report released March 29, 1944.

The League of American Writers, founded under Communist auspices in 1935 * * * in 1939 * * * began openly to follow the Communist Party line as dictated by the foreign policy of the Soviet Union. * * * The overt activities of the League of American Writers in the last 2 years leave little doubt of its Communist control (United States Attorney General, Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, pages 7685 and 7686).

The League was subsequently cited by the Attorney General as subversive and Communist (press releases of June 1 and September 21, 1948; redesignated pursuant to Executive Order 10450).

In a booklet, "These Americans Say:" (page 9), prepared and published by the Coordinating Committee to Lift the Embargo, Horace Kallen was listed among the Representative Individuals who advocated lifting the Spanish embargo. The Coordinating Committee * * * was cited by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities as one of a number of front organizations, set up during the Spanish Civil War by the Communist Party in the United States and through which the party carried on a great deal of agitation (Report of March 29, 1944).

Horace M. Kallen was a member of the Advisory Board of Film Audiences for Democracy, as shown in "Film Survey" for June 1939 (page 4); he was also shown to be a member of the Advisory Board of Films for Democracy ("Films for Democracy," April 1939, page 2).

Film Audiences for Democracy and Films for Democracy were cited as Communist fronts by the Special Committee * * * in the Report of March 29, 1944.

A pamphlet, "The People vs. H. C. L.," dated December 11-12, 1937 (page 2), carried the name of Horace M. Kallen as a sponsor of the Consumers National Federation which the Special Committee * * * cited as a Communist front in the Report of March 29, 1944 (page 155).

Horace Kallen, Harvard, was shown to be a member of the Sponsoring Committee for an "Alumni Homecoming" Dinner, under auspices of the American Student Union, March 21, 1937, New York City ("The Student Advocate, February 1937, page 2, and a leaflet, "The American Student Union Invites You * * *").

The Special Committee cited the American Student Union as a Communist front which was "the result of a united front gathering of young Socialists and Communists" in 1937. The Young Communist League took credit for creation of the American Student Union, and the Union offered free trips to Russia. It claims to have led as many as 500,000 students out in annual April 22 strikes in the United States (Report of January 3, 1939, page 80).

The Program of the Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights, dated February 12, 1940, listed Dr. Horace V. Kallen as a sponsor of the Conference. The Special Committee cited the Greater New York Emergency Conference * * * as a Communist front which was succeeded by the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties (Report of March 29, 1944); in a later report, this Committee cited the Conference as among a "maze of organizations" which were—

spawned for the alleged purpose of defending civil liberties in general but actually intended to protect Communist subversion from any penalties under the law (Report 1115, September 2, 1947, page 3).

An undated form letter of the New York Tom Mooney Committee listed the name of H. M. Kallen as a sponsor. The New York Tom Mooney Committee was cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee * * *

For many years, the Communist Party organized widespread agitation around the Mooney case, and drew its members and followers into the agitation (Report of March 29, 1944).

GEORGE F. KENNAN

Organization and affiliation

Source

- | | |
|---|--|
| New World Review (1). Author of book, "American Diplomacy—1900–1950," reviewed by Jessica Smith in July issue. | Daily People's World, June 23, 1952, p. 7. |
| Author of "American Diplomacy, 1900–1950, and the Challenge of Soviet Power" reviewed by Jessica Smith in New World Review. | New World Review, June 1952, p. 59. |
| Attacked witchhunting of communists. | New York Times, May 28, 1950, p. 17. |
| Spoke on Communist China. Name shown in this source as George Frost Kennan. | New York Times, May 9, 1950, p. 16. |

DR. WILLIAM KILPATRICK

Professor William H. Kilpatrick was one of the sponsors of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, as shown on a letterhead of that organization, dated May 15, 1940; a letterhead of its Fourth Annual Conference which was held in Washington, D. C., March 2-3, 1940; and a booklet published by the organization under the title, "The Registration of Aliens." Prof. William H. Kilpatrick of Columbia University was also a sponsor of the organization's Fifth National Conference, as revealed by the program of the conference which was held in Atlantic City, N. J., March 29, 1941.

The Attorney General of the United States cited the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born as subversive and Communist in letters furnished the Loyalty Review Board and released to the press by the U. S. Civil Service Commission, June 1, 1948, and September 21, 1948. The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report dated March 29, 1944 (p. 155), cited the American Committee as "one of the oldest auxiliaries of the Communist Party in the United States."

As shown on a program of the Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights, February 12, 1940, Professor William Kilpatrick was a member of the General Committee of that conference. He signed the "Call for a National Emergency Conference, May 13-14, 1939, Hotel Raleigh, Washington, D. C." Both the "Legislative Letter" of the National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights (Volume 1, No. 4), dated February 15, 1940, and a press release of the conference, dated February 23, 1940, show Professor William H. Kilpatrick as a member of its Board of Sponsors.

The Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights, the National Emergency Conference and the National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights were cited as Communist fronts by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities in Report 1311 of March 29, 1944. The Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights was cited by the Committee on Un-American Activities as among a "maze of organizations" which were—spawned for the alleged purpose of defending civil liberties in general but actually intended to protect Communist subversion from any penalties under the law (Report No. 1115, September 2, 1947, page 3).

It will be remembered that during the days of the infamous Soviet-Nazi pact, the Communists built protective organizations known as the National Emergency Conference, the National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights, which culminated in the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties.

(Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, Report 115, September 2, 1947, page 12.)

FREDA KIRCHWEY

<i>Organization and Affiliation</i>	<i>Source</i>
All-American Anti-Imperialist League (1) and (2). Member, National Committee.	Letterhead, Apr. 11, 1928.
American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom (1). Signer of petition.	Mimeographed sheet attached to letterhead of Jan. 17, 1940.

<i>Organization and affiliation</i>	<i>Source</i>
American Committee for Yugoslav Relief (1) and (2). Member, Sponsors Committee. Endorsed appeal-----	Photostat of letterhead, Aug. 6, 1945. Daily Worker, Apr. 26, 1947, p. 2.
American Friends of the Chinese People (1). Member, National Advisory Board.	Letterhead, May 16, 1940.
American Friends of Spanish Democracy (1). Member of Committee.	Letterhead, Feb. 21, 1938; letterhead, Nov. 18, 1936; "New Masses," Jan. 5, 1937, p. 31.
American Fund for Public Service (1). Member, Board of Directors.	Photostat of letterhead dated Sept. 8, 1930.
American Student Union (1). Member, Advisory Board.	Pamphlet, "Presenting the American Student Union," back cover.
Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy (2). Member, Board of Directors.	"Far East Spotlight," June 1948, and a letterhead dated May 28, 1948; letterheads dated 1946 and 1947.
Coordinating Committee to Lift the Embargo (1). Named as a "representative individual" who advocated lifting the embargo on the sale of arms to Spain.	Booklet, "These Americans Say: 'Lift the Embargo Against Republican Spain'."
Descendants of the American Revolution (1). Member, Advisory Board.	"Daily Worker," Jan. 21, 1938, p. 2; a pamphlet, "Descendants of the American Revolution," back cover.
Films for Democracy (1). Member, Advisory Board.	April 1939 issue of "Films for Democracy," p. 2.
Film Audiences for Democracy (1). Member, Advisory Board.	"Film Survey," June 1939, p. 4.
Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights (1). Sponsor.	Program of the Conference, Feb. 12, 1940.
League of Women Shoppers (1).—Sponsor.	Letterhead, Apr. 19, 1940, letterhead, Oct. 7, 1935.
Sponsor, New Jersey League.	Letterhead, July 7, 1941.
Sponsor, New York League.	Letterhead, Jan. 25, 1940 (photostat).
National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights (1). Member, Board of Sponsors. Signer of Open Letter-----	Press Release, Feb. 23, 1940.
National People's Committee Against Hearst (1). Member.	"Daily Worker," May 13, 1940, pp. 1, 5.
National Federation for Constitutional Liberties (1) and (2). Signer of message.	Letterhead, Mar. 16, 1937. Leaflet, attached to undated letterhead.

<i>Organization and affiliation</i>	<i>Source</i>
"New Masses" (1) and (2). Owner	"New Masses," June 1928, p. 23.
Executive Board member	"New Masses," Oct. 1927, p. 3.
Contributing Editor	"New Masses," June 1928, p. 3.
Contributor	"New Masses," June 6, 1944, p. 21.
North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy (1) and (2). Sponsor.	"New Masses," Oct. 5, 1937, p. 26.
Schappes Defense Committee (1) and (2). Signer of Open Letter of the group to Governor Dewey asking pardon for Morris U. Schappes.	New York "Times," Oct. 9, 1944, p. 12.
Union of Concerted Peace Efforts (1). Signer of manifesto.	"Daily Worker," Jan. 11, 1938, p. 2.
"Woman Today" (1). Member, Advisory Board.	"Woman Today," October 1936.
Southern Conference for Human Welfare (1). Member of a committee.	Letterhead, Dec. 5, 1946.
Spanish Refugee Relief Campaign (1). Sponsor.	Back cover of folder entitled "Children in Concentration Camps."
World Congress of Intellectuals (1). American delegate.	"Daily Worker," Aug. 23, 1948, p. 7; Aug. 27, 1948, p. 4.
Intervened for Hanns Eisler	"Daily Worker," Sept. 26, 1947, p. 12.
Sponsor of banquet for Mother Bloor, prominent Communist.	Program, Jan. 24, 1936, p. 9.
Urged clemency for Rosenbergs	"Daily Worker," Jan. 21, 1953, p. 7.
References	Congressional Record, June 23, 1942; June 10, 1946.

PHILIP KLEIN

A statement urging the President and Congress to defend the rights of the Communist Party was signed by Philip Klein, New York, New York, as shown in the "Daily Worker" of March 5, 1941 (p. 2).

A public statement sponsored by the American Committee to Save Refugees was signed by Philip L. Klein, as shown in "For the Rescue of Refugees" by Lloyd Frankenberg, published by the organization. Mr. Klein was listed among signers in the field of "Science and Education." The American Committee to Save Refugees was cited as a Communist front in Report 1311 of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities dated March 29, 1944.

Professor Philip Klein was named as a sponsor of the Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights in the program of the conference which was held February 12, 1940. He signed the "Call" for the National Emergency Conference held at the Hotel Raleigh, Washington, D. C., May 13 and 14, 1939. An Open Letter issued by the National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights was signed by Philip Klein, as shown in the "Daily Worker" of May 13, 1940 (pp. 1 and 5).

The Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights, the National Emergency Conference, and the National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights were cited as Communist fronts in Report 1311 of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities dated March 29, 1944 and Report 1115 of the Committee on Un-American Activities dated September 2, 1947.

Dr. Philip Klein, New York School for Social Work, New York, signed an appeal of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties for the dismissal of the charges against Sam Adams Darcy, a Communist leader, as shown in the "Daily Worker" of December 19, 1940 (p. 5). An Open Letter of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties urging "reconsideration of the order of Attorney General Biddle for Mr. Bridges' deportation" and that the "ill-advised, arbitrary, and unwarranted findings relative to the Communist Party be rescinded" was published in the "Daily Worker" on July 19, 1942 (p. 4); the letter was later published in pamphlet form by the National Federation * * * under the title "600 Prominent Americans Ask President to Rescind Biddle Decision" (first printing, September 11, 1942). Philip Klein, New York School of Social Work, was shown as a signer of the open letter in each source.

The National Federation for Constitutional Liberties was cited as subversive and Communist by the U. S. Attorney General in lists furnished the Loyalty Review Board and released to the press by the U. S. Civil Service Commission, December 4, 1947 and September 21, 1948. The organization was redesignated by the Attorney General, April 27, 1953, pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450, and included on the April 1, 1954 consolidated list of organizations previously designated pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450. It was "part of what Lenin called the solar system of organizations, ostensibly having no connection with the Communist Party, by which Communists attempt to create sympathizers and supporters of their program" (Attorney General, Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7687). The Special Committee on Un-American Activities cited the National Federation * * * as "one of the viciously subversive organizations of the Communist Party" (Report of March 29, 1944, p. 50); it was cited by the Committee on Un-American Activities as "actually intended to protect Communist subversion from any penalties under the law" (Report 1115, September 2, 1947, p. 3).

Dr. Philip Klein was listed as a sponsor of "Social Work Today" in the December 1937 issue of the publication (p. 2); in the same issue (p. 5), a portion of a chapter of a "forthcoming book" by Philip Klein, New York School of Social Work, was published. Also in the same issue (p. 16), he was named as one of the delegates who attended a New York State Conference held by "Social Work Today"; a caricature of him appeared in this connection. Philip Klein was listed as a member of the Editorial Board and as a Cooperator-Sponsor in the June-July 1940 issue of "Social Work Today" (p. 2); he was listed as a "Social Work Today" Cooperator for 1940 in the January 1941 issue of the publication (pp. 16-18). Philip Klein, instructor, New York School of Social Work, was one of the signers of "Meeting Social Need: A Program for Peace" of the "Social Work Today" National Conference of Social Work, according to the June-July 1940 (p. 17) issue of the publication.

In Report 1311 of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities dated March 29, 1944, "Social Work Today" was cited as "a Communist magazine."

Professor Philip Klein was a sponsor of the Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace held in New York City, March 25-27, 1949, under the auspices of the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions, as shown in the Conference "Call" and Conference Program (p. 12). He signed a protest against the dismissal of Communist teachers, issued by the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions, as shown in an advertisement which appeared in "The Nation," February 19, 1949 (p. 215).

The Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace was the subject of a Review prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, April 19, 1949, in which the conference was cited as a "supermobilization of the inveterate wheelhorses and supporters of the Communist Party and its auxiliary organizations." In the same Review, the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions was cited as a Communist front.

OTTO KLINEBERG

On March 5, 1941 (page 2), the Daily Worker featured in a full-page spread, the names of several hundred persons who signed a statement addressed to the President and Congress of the United States, defending the Communist Party against alleged persecution. The statement called attention to "a matter of vital significance to the future of our nation. It is the attitude of our government toward the Communist Party" and further urged all members of Congress "to oppose any legislation, direct or indirect, that would take away from Communists those constitutional guarantees which must be kept open for all if in the future they are to be available for any." The name of Prof. Otto Klineberg, New York City, appeared in the list of persons who signed the statement.

Prof. Klineberg was one of the sponsors of a Citizens Rally April 13, 1940, arranged by the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom in Carnegie Hall, New York City, as shown in a leaflet announcing the rally. The American Committee for * * * has been cited as a Communist-front group which defended Communist teachers (reports of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities dated June 25, 1942 and March 29, 1944).

A letterhead of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, a booklet entitled "The Registration of Aliens," and a letterhead of their Fourth Annual Conference which was held March 2-3, 1940, contain the name of Otto Klineberg in lists of sponsors of that organization. The program of the Fifth National Conference of the group which was held in Atlantic City, N. J., March 29-30, 1941, named Prof. Klineberg as a panel speaker and as a sponsor of the conference; he was identified in that source as a professor at Columbia University.

The Attorney General of the United States cited the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born as subversive and Communist (press releases of June 1 and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953). The Special Committee * * * cited the organization as "one of the oldest auxiliaries of the Communist Party in the United States" (report of March 29, 1944; also cited in report dated June 25, 1942).

Prof. Klineberg was identified as a "representative individual" who advocated lifting the embargo against Spain in a booklet entitled "These Americans Say: * * *" (page 9), prepared and published by the Coordinating Committee to Lift the Embargo, cited as one of a number of front organizations which was set up during the Spanish Civil War by the Communist Party and through which the party carried on a great deal of agitation. (From a report of the Special Committee * * * dated March 19, 1944.)

It was reported in New Masses of December 3, 1940 (page 28), that Otto Klineberg had signed an Open Letter to save Luiz Carlos Prestes which was sent by the Council for Pan American Democracy to the President of Brazil. The Council (also known as Conference) for Pan American Democracy was cited as a Communist-front organization which defended Carlos Luiz Prestes, a Brazilian Communist leader and former member of the executive committee of the Communist International. (From the Special Committee's report of March 29, 1944; also cited in their report of June 25, 1942.) The Attorney General cited the organization as subversive and Communist (press releases of June 1 and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953).

The Daily Worker of May 13, 1940 (pages 1 and 5), reported that Otto Klineberg had signed an Open Letter of the National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights, cited as a Communist-front group by the Special Committee * * * (report of March 29, 1944); in a report of the Committee on Un-American Activities, released September 1, 1947, it was noted that—

during the days of the infamous Soviet-Nazi pact, the Communists built protective organizations known as the National Emergency Conference, the National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights, which culminated in the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties.

"Characteristics of the American Negro" and "Race Differences," written by Otto Klineberg, were advertised for sale by the Communist Workers Book Shop in 1948 (pages 10 and 12 of the 1948 Catalogue, respectively); both books were also advertised in their 1949-1950 Catalogue (pages 11 and 13).

HARRY LAIDLER

<i>Organization and affiliation</i>	<i>Source</i>
American Student Union (1). Member of sponsoring committee of Alumni Homecoming dinner.	Announcement in "The Student Advocate," February 1937.
U. S. Congress Against War (1) and (2). Member, Arrangements Committee; identified as Director, League for Industrial Democracy.	"The Struggle Against War," August 1933, p. 2; "Call to the U. S. Congress Against War," Sept. 1-4, 1933, New York City, p. 3.
Consumers National Federation (1). Sponsor.	Pamphlet, "The People vs. H. C. L., Dec. 11-12, 1937, p. 3.
Golden Book of American Friendship with the Soviet Union (1). Signer.	"Soviet Russia Today," November 1937, p. 79.

- | <i>Organization and affiliation</i> | <i>Source</i> |
|---|--|
| Sent greetings to Mother Ella Reeve Bloor, well-known Communist Party member, on the occasion of her seventy-fifth birthday. | Souvenir book containing greetings, p. 24. |
| Open Road, Inc. Leader of The Intelligent Student's Tour of Socialism; identified as Executive Director, League for Industrial Democracy, and author of numerous economic and social studies. | Folder, "The Land of the Soviets" which reveals that The Open Road has "the technical assistance in the U. S. S. R. of Intourist (The Soviet State Tourist Company) and with the cultural assistance of the U. S. S. R. Society for Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries (Voks)." |
| Included in a list of "A Few of the One Hundred and Eighty-One Who Have Led Groups Served by The Open Road." | Booklet, published in February 1937. |

CORLISS LAMONT

On March 5, 1941 (page 2), the Daily Worker featured in a full-page spread the names of several hundred persons who defended the Communist Party against alleged persecution; the statement was addressed to the President and the Congress of the United States and called attention to "a matter of vital significance to the future of our nation * * * the attitude of our government toward the Communist Party * * *" Corliss Lamont was named as one of those who signed the statement.

The Daily Worker of February 28, 1949 (page 9), reported that Corliss Lamont had signed a statement in defense of the twelve leaders of the Communist Party, eleven of whom were convicted October 14, 1949, of conspiracy to teach and advocate the violent overthrow of the United States Government (New York Times, October 15, 1949, page 5). An advertisement which appeared in the Washington Post on May 24, 1950 (page 14), listed Mr. Lamont as having signed a petition to the Supreme Court for a reconsideration of its refusal to hear the appeal of the "Hollywood Ten".

On May 8, 1936, the Daily Worker (page 5), reported that Corliss Lamont was chairman of a Symposium on John Reed; he was chairman of a meeting held in New York City, October 20, 1940, to commemorate the death of John Reed in Moscow, according to New Masses of October 8, 1940 (page 2); reference to his being a speaker at this meeting appeared in the Daily Worker of October 14, 1940 (page 7). John Reed was founder of the American Communist Party.

According to the program of the banquet January 24, 1936 (page 9), Mr. Lamont was a sponsor of the Mother Bloor Banquet held in honor of Ella Reeve Bloor, prominent Communist leader.

It was reported in the Daily Worker of April 28, 1938 (page 4), that Mr. Lamont was one of the signers of the Statement by American Progressives on the Moscow Trials.

The Daily Worker of October 30, 1944 (page 8), reported that Corliss Lamont spoke at the celebration of the Twenty-Seventh Anniversary of the Soviet Union.

Soviet Russia Today for March 1937 (pages 14-15) and the Daily Worker of February 9, 1937 (page 2), showed Mr. Lamont to be one of those who signed an Open Letter to American Liberals, published in March 1937 "by a group of well-known Communists and Communist collaborators. * * * The letter was a defense of the Moscow purge trials" (Special Committee on Un-American Activities in report dated June 25, 1942, page 21).

According to Soviet Russia Today for September 1939 (page 25), Corliss Lamont signed the Open Letter for Closer Cooperation with the Soviet Union, cited by the Special Committee * * * as having been issued by a group of "Communist Party stooges" (Report of June 25, 1942, page 21).

Corliss Lamont signed an Open Letter in Defense of Harry Bridges, according to the Daily Worker of July 19, 1942 (page 4). This Open Letter was cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee * * * in its report of March 29, 1944 (pages 87, 112, 129, and 166).

The Call to a National Congress for Unemployment and Social Insurance (page 3), listed Mr. Lamont as a sponsor of that congress which was held January 5-7, 1935, in Washington, D. C., and cited as a Communist front, headed by Herbert Benjamin, a leading Communist (Special Committee * * * in report of March 29, 1944, pages 94 and 116).

A letterhead of the National People's Committee Against Hearst, dated March 16, 1937, listed Corliss Lamont as a member of the National People's Committee. * * * In its report of June 25, 1942 (page 16), the Special Committee cited the National People's Committee as a "subsidiary" organization of the American League for Peace and Democracy, which it described as the largest of the Communist "front" movements in the United States.

According to the Daily Worker of July 23, 1934 (page 2), Corliss Lamont was a guarantor of loans to the Herndon Bail Fund of the International Labor Defense. The Daily Worker of April 30, 1937 (page 3), named him as a trustee for Herndon bail under auspices of the ILD. "The International Labor Defense * * * was part of an international network of organizations for the defense of Communist lawbreakers" (Committee on Un-American Activities in Report 1115 of September 2, 1947, pages 1 and 2). The Special Committee cited the ILD as "the legal defense arm of the Communist Party of the United States" (Reports of January 3, 1939; January 3, 1940; June 25, 1942; and March 29, 1944); it was cited by the Attorney General of the United States as subversive and Communist (press releases of June 1 and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953; previously cited as the "legal arm of the Communist Party", Congressional Record, September 21, 1942, page 7686).

Corliss Lamont was a member of the Committee of the League of American Writers, as reported in the Daily Worker of January 18, 1939 (page 7); he signed a statement of the League in behalf of a second front, according to the Daily Worker of September 14, 1942, page 7, and the Daily People's World of September 23, 1942, page 5. He signed the Call to the Fourth Congress of the League of American

Writers, held June 6-8, 1941, in New York City (New Masses of April 22, 1941, page 25, and a leaflet, "In Defense of Culture"). The League was cited as subversive and Communist by the Attorney General and as having been founded under Communist auspices in 1935, and in 1939 "began openly to follow the Communist Party line as dictated by the foreign policy of the Soviet Union" (press releases of June 1 and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953; and Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, pages 7684 and 7686). The League was also cited by the Special Committee in reports of January 3, 1940; June 25, 1942; and March 29, 1944.

Mr. Lamont was listed as a member of the Editorial Board of the Book Union on an undated letterhead and in Book Union Bulletin for August 1936 (page 1), and August 1938 (page 1). Book Union was cited by the Special Committee in a report dated March 29, 1944 (page 96).

Pamphlets entitled On Understanding Soviet Russia and Socialist Planning in the Soviet Union, written by Corliss Lamont, were listed in the Guide to Readings on Communism, issued by the Workers Book Shops (pages 14 and 15).

In an advertisement of the Workers Library Publishers which appeared in The Communist International of April 1936 (inside back cover), Religion in Soviet Russia by Corliss Lamont was advertised. A review of Soviet Russia and Religion by Corliss Lamont appeared in The Communist International for August 1936 (page 1093).

The Workers Library Publishers was cited as an "official Communist Party publishing house" by the Special Committee in Report 1311 of March 29, 1944; also cited in report dated June 25, 1942; the Committee on Un-American Activities cited the group in Report 1920 of May 11, 1948.

Soviet Russia and Religion, written by Mr. Lamont, was listed in an undated catalogue of the International Publishers (page 61); Mr. Lamont attended the tenth anniversary reception of International Publishers, according to the Daily Worker of December 18, 1934 (page 5).

The Special Committee * * * reported that the International Publishers was an "official publishing house of the Communist Party in the United States," and a medium through which "extensive Soviet propaganda is subsidized in the United States" (reports of January 3, 1940; June 25, 1942; and March 29, 1944). It was cited as "the Communist Party's publishing house" by the Attorney General (Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, page 7686; and the Committee on Un-American Activities, Report 1920 of May 11, 1948).

A pamphlet entitled Soviet Russia and the Postwar World, written by Mr. Lamont, was listed in New Century Publishers Catalog for 1946 (page 14). The Committee on Un-American Activities cited New Century Publishers as—

an official Communist Party publishing house which has published the works of William Z. Foster and Eugene Dennis, Communist Party chairman and executive secretary, respectively, as well as the theoretical magazine of the party known as Political Affairs and the Constitution of the Communist Party, U. S. A. (Report of May 11, 1948, pages 7 and 35).

The following issues of Soviet Russia Today contain contributions from Corliss Lamont: May 1935 (page 6); June 1935 (page 26); February 1936 (page 32); January 1938 (page 14); February 1939

(page 29); June 1939 (page 30); October 1939 (page 18); November 1939 (page 19); February 1940 (page 33); May 1940 (page 11); August 1940 (page 8); October 1940 (page 30), November 1940 (page 8); December 1940 (page 12); February 1941 (page 8); April 1941 (page 7); June 1941 (page 8); July 1941 (page 7); October 1941 (page 8); November 1941 (page 7); January 1942 (page 29); February 1942 (page 9); May 1942 (page 6); July 1942 (page 20); January 1943 (page 28); March 1943 (page 31); March 1947 (page 13); June 1947 (page 3); September 1947 (page 22); November 1947 (page 8); and December 1947 (page 23). According to the Daily People's World of November 6, 1952 (page 7), he contributed to the November issue of New World Review, successor to Soviet Russia Today.

Soviet Russia Today was cited as a Communist-front publication by the Special Committee in report dated March 29, 1944; also cited in report of June 25, 1942. It was also cited by the Committee on Un-American Activities in a report dated April 26, 1950 (page 108).

Corliss Lamont was listed as a member of the Editorial Council of Soviet Russia Today in issues of January 1939 (page 3); January 1940 (page 3); and March 1942 (page 3). He was also shown as a member of the Advisory Council of the same publication, on letterheads of September 8, 1947; September 30, 1947; and an undated letterhead (received in April 1948). In New Masses of February 27, 1934 (page 31), Corliss Lamont was named as chairman of a dinner-dance to be held March 2, 1934 under the auspices of Soviet Russia Today. As shown in Soviet Russia Today for September 1936 (page 3), he was a lecturer of the Soviet Russia Today Lecture Bureau; he was one of the sponsors of Soviet Russia Today Dinner celebrating the Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of the Red Army, according to Soviet Russia Today, April 1943 (page 31). It was reported in the Daily Worker of November 13, 1949 (page 4) that he was a contributor to the issue of November 1949 of Soviet Russia Today. Mr. Lamont's Peoples of the Soviet Union was approved by the Soviet Russia Today Book Club, according to The Worker for February 8, 1948 (p. 7, Southern Edition).

According to the Daily Worker of July 5, 1934 (page 5), Mr. Lamont endorsed that newspaper; he protested an attack on the publication, as shown in the issue of January 25, 1936 (page 2); he contributed to the following issues of the paper: August 24, 1937 (page 7); December 24, 1931 (page 3); and December 21, 1935 (page 3). The Daily Worker has been cited as the official organ of the Communist Party, U. S. A. (Report 1920 of the Committee on Un-American Activities dated May 11, 1948.)

Mr. Lamont contributed to the following issues of New Masses: February 1932 (page 26); April 1932 (page 18); August 20, 1935 (page 15); May 11, 1937 (page 25); November 2, 1937 (page 23); November 30, 1937 (page 19); July 26, 1938 (page 21); September 20, 1938 (page 19); November 14, 1939 (page 6); May 7, 1940 (page 4); May 28, 1940 (page 12); July 9, 1940 (page 10); July 16, 1940 (page 10); July 23, 1940 (page 13); October 8, 1940 (page 17); April 1, 1941 (page 26); June 17, 1941 (page 19); July 15, 1941 (page 12); November 11, 1941 (page 3); March 10, 1942 (page 21); June 22, 1943 (page 9); February 1, 1944 (page 29); March 7, 1944 (page 23); April 11, 1944 (page 24); May 2, 1944 (page 22). The book, USSR; a Concise Handbook, to which Mr. Lamont contributed, was favorably reviewed in New Masses of June 24, 1947 (page 22).

The Special Committee on Un-American Activities cited New Masses as the "nationally circulated weekly journal of the Communist Party" (Report of March 29, 1944, pages 48 and 75; reports of January 3, 1939, page 80; June 25, 1942, pages 4 and 21). The United States Attorney General cited it as a "Communist periodical" (Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, page 7688).

According to the Daily Worker of February 26, 1940 (page 4), he attended the defense rally held by New Masses. It was shown in New Masses of April 2, 1940 (page 21), that he was a member of the initiating committee of New Masses Letter to the President, protesting the questioning of its editors and employees by a Special Grand Jury convened in Washington, D. C., to investigate "alleged military espionage" and requesting that the President exert his influence to "end this attack on freedom of the press"; New Masses of April 14, 1942 (page 25) named him as a sponsor of the "New Masses Anti-Cliveden Rally" and a sponsor of the same rally; he sponsored a plea for financial support of New Masses, according to the issue of April 8, 1947 (page 9).

Corliss Lamont was speaker at a meeting held under the auspices of Friends of the Soviet Union, as shown in International Press Correspondence, Volume 14, No. 11, February 23, 1934 (page 305). He was shown to be a signer of a Manifesto issued by the organization in International Press Correspondence, Volume 15, No. 50, November 2, 1935 (page 1443). Friends of the Soviet Union was later known as American Friends of the Soviet Union. Corliss Lamont was reported to be chairman of a meeting held by American Friends of the Soviet Union (Daily Worker of January 29, 1938, page 8). The following issues of the Daily Worker named him as chairman of the organization: February 2, 1938 (page 3); March 7, 1938 (page 1); and May 14, 1938 (page 2). He was listed as chairman of the organization in New Masses, December 21, 1937 (page 8). It was reported in Soviet Russia Today for June 1935 (page 30), that Corliss Lamont, national chairman of Friends of the Soviet Union, was speaker at a protest meeting held in Scranton, Pennsylvania, under auspices of the group. A report of the Special Committee * * * dated January 3, 1939 said:

The Friends of the Soviet Union is possibly one of the most open Communist "fronts" in the United States. It is headed by the former Columbia University professor, Corliss Lamont, son of the Wall Street banker, J. P. Morgan's partner. Young Lamont has long been a close friend of the Communist regime and a supporter of the system of government existing in Russia.

The Daily Worker of February 16, 1938 (page 2), listed Mr. Lamont as a signer of a letter to the President, issued by American Friends of Spanish Democracy. He was a member of the Executive Committee of this organization, as shown by a letterhead dated February 21, 1938. New Masses of January 5, 1937 named him as a member of the General Committee, American Friends of Spanish Democracy, Medical Bureau (page 31); a letterhead dated November 18, 1936, listed him as a member of the Executive Committee of the Medical Bureau.

American Friends of Spanish Democracy was cited by the Special Committee in its report of March 29, 1944 (page 82), as follows:

In 1937-1938, the Communist Party threw itself wholeheartedly into the campaign for the support of the Spanish Loyalist cause, recruiting men and organizing

multifarious so-called relief organizations * * * such as * * * American Friends of Spanish Democracy.

Corliss Lamont was a participant in a Roundtable Conference, held May 24-25, 1940, under auspices of the American Council on Soviet Relations, as shown in the Summary of Proceedings, dated July 15, 1940. He was chairman at a rally held by the American Council on Soviet Relations as shown in the Daily Worker of July 2, 1941 (pages 1 and 2); and was speaker under the auspices of the organization (New Masses, November 11, 1941, page 31).

The American Council on Soviet Relations was cited as a Communist-front organization by the Special Committee (report of March 29, 1944, page 174) and by the Attorney General (Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, page 7688; letters to the Loyalty Review Board, released June 1, 1948 and September 21, 1948).

A letterhead dated August 22, 1935, showed Corliss Lamont to be a member of the National Executive Committee of the American League Against War and Fascism. He contributed to the December 1933 issue (page 5) of Fight magazine, official organ of the American League Against War and Facism.

The American League Against War and Fascism was organized at the First United States Congress Against War which was held in New York City, September 29 to October 1, 1933. Four years later, the name of the organization was changed to the American League for Peace and Democracy * * * "It remained as completely under the control of Communists when the name was changed as it had been before." (Special Committee * * * in report dated March 29, 1944; also cited in reports of January 3, 1939; January 3, 1940; June 25, 1942). The league was cited as Communist by the Attorney General (in re Harry Bridges, May 28, 1942, page 10; Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, page 7683; letters to the Loyalty Review Board in 1947 and 1948).

Mr. Lamont was a member of the National Committee of the Student Congress Against War, as shown in the pamphlet entitled "Fight War" (page 4).

During the Christmas holidays of 1932, the Student Congress Against War convened at the University of Chicago. This gathering was held at the direct instigation of the (Amsterdam) World Congress Against War. The Chicago Congress was completely controlled by the Communists of the National Student League (Special Committee * * * in report of March 29, 1944).

According to "The Struggle Against War" for June 1933 (page 2), Mr. Lamont was a member of the American Committee for Struggle Against War which was cited as a Communist-front organization by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities (report of March 29, 1944).

Corliss Lamont was a member of the Committee of Sponsors for a Dinner-Forum on "Europe Today" held October 9, 1941, under auspices of the American Committee to Save Refugees, the Exiled Writers Committee of the League of American Writers and the United American Spanish Aid Committee, as shown by the invitation to the dinner-forum.

The American Committee to Save Refugees was cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee * * * (report of March 29, 1944; citation of the League of American Writers appears on page 2 of this report). Citation of American Friends of Spanish Democracy

(shown above) also applies to the United American Spanish Aid Committee. The Attorney General cited this organization as Communist (press release of July 25, 1949).

According to the Catalogue and Program (January 1942), Mr. Lamont was a guest lecturer at the School for Democracy.

In 1941, the Communists established a school in New York City which was known as the School for Democracy (now merged with the Workers School into the Jefferson School of Social Science).

It was "established by Communist teachers ousted from the public school system of New York City" (Special Committee * * * in report of March 29, 1944).

It was reported in the Daily Worker of July 19, 1942 (page 4) that Corliss Lamont signed an Open Letter of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, denouncing the Attorney General's charges against Harry Bridges and the Communist Party. A leaflet attached to an undated letterhead showed him to be a signer of the organization's January 1943 Message to the House of Representatives.

The Special Committee * * * cited the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties as "one of the viciously subversive organizations of the Communist Party" (report of March 29, 1944; also cited in reports of June 25, 1942; January 2, 1943). Report 1115 of the Committee on Un-American Activities dated September 2, 1947 stated that the National Federation was "spawned for the alleged purpose of defending civil liberties in general but actually intended to protect Communist subversion from any penalties under the law." It was cited by the Attorney General (Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, page 7687; and press releases of December 4, 1947 and September 21, 1948).

It was shown in the Certificate of Incorporation of the People's Radio Foundation, November 27, 1944 (page 6) that Corliss Lamont, 450 Riverside Drive, New York, was a director. In a photostatic copy of an application made by this same organization for a broadcasting station construction permit, July 27, 1945, Corliss Lamont was named as a stockholder and director until the first annual meeting of stockholders (pages 13 and 26).

People's Radio Foundation, Inc., was cited by the Attorney General as subversive and Communist (press releases of December 4, 1947 and September 21, 1948).

According to the Daily Worker of April 22, 1947 (page 4), Corliss Lamont signed a statement condemning the revocation of the charter of the Queens College Chapter of the American Youth for Democracy. In a letter to the Loyalty Review Board, Attorney General McGrath stated that this was an organization for young Communists (letter released August 30, 1950). The organization had been cited previously in 1947 and 1948, in letters from a former Attorney General to the Loyalty Review Board. The Special Committee on Un-American Activities cited the organization in its report of March 29, 1944 and a citation also appeared in Report No. 271 of April 17, 1947 of the Committee on Un-American Activities.

It was shown in a photostatic copy of the Certificate of Incorporation filed in New York State February 15, 1943, that Mr. Lamont was a subscriber to this certificate, and director until the first annual meeting of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Inc. He was shown to be chairman of the National Council of American-

Soviet Friendship in the Daily Worker, October 25, 1943 (page 3) and was so listed on letterheads of the group dated February 8, 1946 and March 13, 1946. He was shown as a member of the Board of Directors of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship on letterheads dated January 23, 1948; April 30, 1949; January 10, 1950; and February 21, 1950. It was reported in the Daily Worker of November 3, 1947 (page 5) that he spoke at a rally held at St. Nicholas Arena, November 9, 1947, under the auspices of the National Council. The Daily Worker of January 31, 1949 (page 5), also named him as speaker at a meeting held under the auspices of that organization. He delivered an address at a rally held in Madison Square Garden, New York City, May 29, 1946, under the auspices of that organization, according to a pamphlet entitled "We have seen America." He was chairman at the Assembly on American-Soviet Relations held June 17, 1947, by the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, as reported in The Worker of June 15, 1947 (page 10). He spoke at the Congress on American-Soviet Relations held by this same group December 3-5, 1949, as shown in the program.

Mr. Lamont was a member of the Sponsoring Committee of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship's Committee on Education, according to the Bulletin of the committee issued June 1945 (page 22). He was one of the signers of a statement in praise of Wallace's Open Letter to Stalin, which was circulated by the Council in May 1948, according to a pamphlet entitled "How to End the Cold War and Build the Peace" (page 9). He signed a statement of this organization, as reported in the Daily Worker of February 17, 1949 (page 4). The Daily Worker of April 14, 1952 (page 8, an advertisement), announced that Dr. Lamont was to speak at a symposium of the Council on The Future of Germany and World Peace, April 23, at the Yugoslav-American Home, New York City. The Daily Worker of November 6, 1952 (page 8, an advertisement) and of November 17, 1952 (page 8), named him as a speaker at a rally of the Council November 13th in New York City, on USA-USSR Cooperation for Peace.

The Special Committee on Un-American Activities reported that the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship was the Communist Party's principal front for all things Russian (report of March 29, 1944); the Attorney General cited it as subversive and Communist (press releases of December 4, 1947 and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953).

Mr. Lamont was named as Chairman of the Congress of American-Soviet Friendship on a letterhead dated October 27, 1942. The Congress was cited as a Communist-front organization by the Special Committee in its report of March 29, 1944.

According to the Daily People's World of May 15, 1952 (page 7) and May 27, 1952 (page 3), Corliss Lamont was named speaker for the American Russian Institute at its Sixth Annual Banquet, May 23, in Los Angeles. It was reported in the Daily People's World of May 26, 1952 (page 7), that he was to discuss the recent economic conference in Moscow, May 27, for the American-Russian Institute. The Attorney General cited this organization as Communist (press release of April 27, 1949; redesignated April 27, 1953).

Under auspices of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, Corliss Lamont was a member of the National Reception Committee for Madame Irene Joliot-Curie, according to an invitation to a dinner held in New York City, March 31, 1948; he signed an Open Letter to the President on Franco Spain, which letter was released by the Spanish Refugee Appeal of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, as shown on a mimeographed letter attached to a letterhead of April 28, 1949.

The Special Committee cited the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee as a "Communist-front organization headed by Edward K. Barsky" (report of March 29, 1944, page 174). It was cited as subversive and Communist by the Attorney General (press releases of December 4, 1947 and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953).

As shown in the Conference call and the printed program (page 13), Mr. Lamont was a sponsor of the Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace which was held in New York City, March 25-27, 1949, under the sponsorship of the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions; he was listed as having signed a statement of the Council (Congressional Record, July 14, 1949, page 9620), and he signed a Resolution Against Atomic Weapons, prepared and released by the Council, according to a mimeographed list of signers of the resolution attached to a letterhead of July 28, 1950. The following issues of the Daily Worker named him as speaker at a mass meeting of the Council in Carnegie Hall, March 10th: March 4, 1952 (page 3); March 7, 1952 (page 8); March 10, 1952 (page 7); and March 12, 1952 (page 3).

The National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions was cited as a Communist-front organization by the Committee on Un-American Activities (Report No. 1954 of April 26, 1950, originally released April 19, 1949, page 2).

According to the Daily Worker of July 25, 1950 (page 4), Corliss Lamont of New York signed a statement against the Hobbs Bill (statement prepared and released by the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born). The Special Committee on Un-American Activities cited the American Committee as "one of the oldest auxiliaries of the Communist Party in the United States" (Report dated March 29, 1944; also cited in a report dated June 25, 1942). The Attorney General cited the organization in letters to the Loyalty Review Board as subversive and Communist (press release of September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953).

Mr. Lamont was one of the sponsors of the American Continental Congress for World Peace which was held September 5-10, 1949, as shown in the call to that congress and the printed program which is in Spanish (page 7). This congress was cited as "another phase in the Communist 'peace' campaign, aimed at consolidating anti-American forces throughout the Western Hemisphere" (report on the Communist "Peace" Offensive, April 1, 1951, page 21, by the Committee on Un-American Activities).

Encouraged by its success in drawing dupes into its campaign, the Committee for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact launched a more ambitious project under the high-sounding title of the Mid-Century Conference for Peace. This was held at the St. James Methodist Church in Chicago on May 29 and 30, 1950. * * * In plain terms, the conference was aimed at assembling as many gullible

persons as possible under Communist direction and turning them into a vast sounding board for Communist propaganda. * * * The sponsors of the Mid-Century Conference included a number of the usual supporters of Communist fronts such as * * * Corliss Lamont * * * (Report on the Communist "Peace" Offensive, pages 58 and 59).

In June 26, 1946, Corliss Lamont was cited for contempt of Congress in the House of Representatives for refusal to supply information and records of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship requested by this committee. (See: Washington Star, June 27, 1946.) The Grand Jury did not indict him. However, Richard Morford, executive director of the National Council * * *, who had custody of the records, was cited at the same time for contempt of Congress because of his refusal to produce records of the organization, as subpoenaed by the Committee on Un-American Activities. He was indicted and later convicted (Daily Worker, June 29, 1950, page 2), and it was reported in the Daily Worker of August 30, 1950 (p. 3), that he had begun his jail sentence.

The Daily Worker of June 10, 1952 (page 2), said:

Former Representative Vito Marcantonio, State Chairman of the American Labor Party, announced today that at a meeting of the American Labor Party State Executive Committee, held on June 3, the nomination of Corliss Lamont as the ALP candidate for United States Senator from the State of New York was unanimously recommended to all ALP clubs and to the ALP State convention, which will take place August 28, 1952.

For years, the Communists have put forth the greatest efforts to capture the entire American Labor Party throughout New York State. They succeeded in capturing the Manhattan and Brooklyn sections of the American Labor Party but outside of New York City they have been unable to win control (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report dated March 29, 1944, page 78).

A pamphlet entitled "Are We Being Talked Into War?" which was written by Dr. Corliss Lamont, was reviewed in the Daily People's World of April 4, 1952 (page 6, magazine section), and it was described therein as a pamphlet "that traces the development of the propaganda drive for war against the Soviet Union." The review said that—

Dr. Lamont's well-documented little pamphlet shows just how the war makers and war propagandists have tried to incite the people for war through the years * * * In contrast, Lamont cited the "fundamental attitude" of the Soviet Union as represented by the law passed by the Supreme Soviet in 1951 "outlawing war propaganda through the USSR."

An article by Barbara Schaeffer in the Daily Worker of September 14, 1952 (pages 3 and 6), said, in part:

The very term Iron Curtain was fashioned by that right hand man of Hitler, Goebbels. The United States passport division has given meaning to the term * * * Among those harassed when trying to leave the United States: * * * Corliss Lamont, writer.

In speaking of Mr. Lamont's difficulties, the article stated that he—

Reported this spring to a meeting of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee that he had been asked for a "complete reorientation of his views" in order to get a passport.

"Soviet Civilization" by Mr. Lamont was reviewed by Robert Friedman in the Daily Worker of November 28, 1952 (page 7). The article said:

A survey of the basic concepts of Soviet socialist society and an account of the specific Soviet achievements in every field of endeavor, Dr. Lamont's book is the work of an American patriot because it calmly, logically, factually destroys many of the anti-Soviet misconceptions on which the whole fight-Russia propaganda is

predicated. Lamont concludes his book with the predication that "the objective verdict of coming generations will be that the Soviet Russians, during their first 35 years, laid the foundations of a great new civilization of enduring achievement and high promise, ranking in world historical significance with the outstanding civilizations of the past."

Mr. Friedman's review also appeared in the Daily People's World December 15, 1952 (page 7).

OSCAR LANGE

Organization and affiliation

American Slav Congress (1) and (2). Delegate to Third American Slav Congress, Manhattan Center, New York City, September 20, 21, 22, 1946; speaker; identified as Polish Ambassador and later U. N. representative. Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee (1) and (2). Speaker.

National Council of American-Soviet Friendship (1) and (2). Speaker at the George Washington's Birthday and Red Army Day Celebration Dinner, February 21, 1946, New York City. Sponsor of Chicago Council...

Reference-----

Reference-----

Source

Committee on Un-American Activities, Report on American Slav Congress, June 26, 1949, pp. 24, 95.

"Daily Worker," Apr. 1, 1949, p. 5; "The Worker," Mar. 20, 1949, p. 10; and a Postal Card, "Caucus for Peace." Press release dated Feb. 22, 1946.

Undated leaflet entitled "Speakers on Russia," issued by the Chicago Council in 1945 (p. 12). Testimony of Dr. Robert Maynard Hutchins before the Seditious Activities Investigation Commission, State of Illinois, 1949 (vol. II, p. 25). Washington "Star" of Nov. 29, 1949, p. B1.

OWEN LATTIMORE

A pamphlet entitled a Conference on Democratic Rights named Owen Lattimore as one of the sponsors of that conference which was called by the Maryland Association for Democratic Rights (affiliated with the National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights) for June 14-15, 1940. The Special Committee on Un-American Activities cited the National Emergency Conference * * * as a Communist-front organization in a report dated March 29, 1944.

Owen J. Lattimore was one of the speakers at a discussion meeting in Washington, D. C., February 11, 1941, held under the auspices of the Washington Committee for Aid to China, as shown on a leaflet entitled Stop Shipments to Japan; he was identified in this connection as author of Inner Asian Frontiers of China and Director of the School of International Affairs, Johns Hopkins Institute. The Washington Committee for * * * was also cited by the Special Committee * * * as a Communist-controlled organization (report dated March 29, 1944).

The program of the Writers Congress which was held in 1943 under the joint auspices of the University of California and the Hollywood Writers' Mobilization from October 1 to 3, named Owen Lattimore as one of the speakers. The Attorney General of the United States cited the Hollywood Writers Mobilization as subversive and Communist (press releases of December 4, 1947 and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953).

Mr. Lattimore spoke at a meeting of the Washington Book Shop, April 6, 1945, as shown on a mimeographed circular of the organization, first cited by the Attorney General in 1942 as follows: "Evidence of Communist penetration or control is reflected in the following: Among its stock the establishment has offered prominently for sale books and literature identified with the Communist Party * * * " (Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, page 7688; subsequently cited as subversive and Communist in press releases of December 4, 1947 and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953); the Special Committee * * * cited the Washington Book Shop as a Communist-front organization in its report of March 29, 1944; redesignated pursuant to Executive Order 10450 by the Attorney General, April 1, 1954.

The New York Times, in reviewing Mr. Lattimore's book, *The Situation in Asia*, stated that "often he seems to feel that Russian policy is sounder, more astute and/or more progressive than that adopted by the U. S." (New York Times Book Review, April 10, 1949, page 5.)

Mr. Lattimore's *Solution in Asia* (Little, Brown), was recommended by *Spotlight on the Far East* for March 1947 (page 7), official publication of the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy; it was favorably reviewed by Harriet Moore for *Soviet Russia Today* in the July 1945 issue (page 27).

The Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy was cited by the Attorney General as Communist (press release of April 27, 1949; redesignated April 27, 1953; redesignated pursuant to Executive Order 10450, April 1, 1954. *Soviet Russia Today* has been cited as a Communist-front publication (Special Committee * * * in reports of June 25, 1942 and March 29, 1944); subsequently cited by the Committee on Un-American Activities as a Communist front publication (report of October 23, 1949, page 108).

Rob F. Hall, writer for the *Communist Daily Worker*, defended Mr. Lattimore in an article which appeared in that publication on April 3, 1950 (page 7); Mr. Hall quoted Mr. Lattimore with approval in an article which appeared in the *Daily Worker* June 28, 1950 (page 7); Joseph Starobin reviewed Mr. Lattimore's book, *The Situation in Asia*, for the *Daily Worker* of May 24, 1949 (page 8). Mr. Lattimore was interviewed by the *Daily Worker*, as shown in the issue of September 5, 1945 (page 8).

On May 3, 1950 (page 2), the *Daily People's World* defended Mr. Lattimore; on May 4, 1950, the following editorial comment appeared in the same publication (pages 7 and 12): "The latest example of the encroachment upon the rights of all is the hounding of Owen Lattimore * * * this man, along with the Communists and just about everybody else in the world except a small gang of fanatics in Washington, believes that Chiang Kai-shek is washed up." The *Daily People's World* has been cited as "the official organ of the

Communist Party on the West coast" by the Special Committee * * * (report of March 29, 1944; also cited in report of January 3, 1941).

Owen Lattimore was a witness in the State Department Employee Loyalty Investigation by a subcommittee of the Committee on Foreign Relations in the United States Senate, March-June 1950 (pages 417-486, 799-871, 873-921 of the hearings). A review of charges made against Mr. Lattimore, a review of his testimony, and conclusions of the subcommittee concerning the charges are shown in Report No. 2108 of the Committee on Foreign Relations (pages 48-71, 160, and 161).

On December 17, 1952, the Washington Star reported (page A-3) that "Owen Lattimore, long center of stormy charges of Communist influence in the Government, will appear in court Friday to answer a Federal grand jury indictment accusing him of perjury. The seven-count indictment, handed down yesterday, charges the 52-year-old specialist on Far Eastern affairs with lying under oath while testifying before the Senate Internal Security subcommittee * * *". The same information was reported by the Times-Herald and Washington Post on December 17th (pages 1 of both publications). His photograph appeared in the Star and the Post in this connection.

The Worker (Sunday edition of the Daily Worker) reported on September 14, 1952 (page M6) that Owen Lattimore, a Far East expert, had experienced difficulties when trying to leave the United States.

MAX LERNER

On June 2, 1949, the Daily Worker (p. 2) reported that Max Lerner, identified as columnist for the New York Post, had asserted that the trial against the leaders of the Communist Party "has no business being in court. I don't see how anyone with a rudimentary knowledge of the history of Communist movements can doubt the basic rightness of William Z. Foster's plea, in his long manifesto, that violence cannot be pinned on the American Communists and that under American conditions the attempt to use it would be fantastic."

A "Statement of 450 leading figures in America, urging the President and Congress to uphold the Constitutional rights of the Communist Party of the United States," was published in the Communist "Daily Worker" on March 5, 1941 (p. 2, col. 4); the statement called "attention (to) a matter of vital significance to the future of our nation. It is the attitude of our government toward the Communist Party * * *" and urged "all members of Congress to oppose any legislation, direct or indirect, that would take away from Communists those constitutional guarantees which must be kept open for all if in the future they are to be available for any." Max Lerner of Massachusetts was one of those who signed the statement.

Mr. Lerner was named in the "Daily Worker" of June 17, 1937 (p. 2) as having signed a statement, demanding pardon for German Communists; on July 23, 1940 (p. 1) the "Daily Worker" reported in an article datelined Washington, D. C., July 22, that "a strongly-worded protest against the nation-wide attack on the right of the Communist Party to use the ballot was made here yesterday by 65 leading educators, writers, churchmen, lawyers, trade unionists and civic leaders. The 65 liberals demanded that President Roosevelt and Attorney General Robert Jackson take immediate action to

safeguard the constitutional liberties of Communists." The open letter was made public by the National Chairman of the National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights, and was signed by Max Lerner, identified with "The Nation."

The American League for Peace and Democracy, established in 1937, issued a statement on the international situation which appeared in "New Masses" on March 15, 1938 (p.19), together with a list of persons who signed the statement, including the name of Max Lerner.

The American League for Peace and Democracy was established in the United States in 1937 as successor to the American League against War and Fascism

in an effort to create public sentiment on behalf of a foreign policy adapted to the interests of the Soviet Union. It was designed to conceal Communist control, in accordance with the new tactics of the Communist International. (From the Attorney General's citation which appeared in the Congressional Record of September 24, 1942, pages 7683 and 7684.)

The Attorney General cited the American League * * * as subversive and Communist (letters to the Loyalty Review Board, released to the press June 1 and September 21, 1948; also included in consolidated list released April 1, 1954); the Special Committee cited the American League as "the largest of the Communist 'front' movements in the United States * * * (and) nothing more nor less than a bold advocate of treason" (reports of January 3, 1939, and March 29, 1944; also cited in reports of January 3, 1940; January 3, 1941; and June 25, 1942; and January 2, 1943).

Mr. Lerner was one of the sponsors of the American Congress for Peace and Democracy which was held in Washington, D. C., January 6-8, 1939 ("Call") and at which time the American League for Peace and Democracy was formed. The American Congress was cited as "a Communist front advocating collective security against the Fascist aggressors prior to the signing of the Stalin Hitler pact" (Special Committee * * * in Report 1311 of March 29, 1944).

The American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born is "one of the oldest auxiliaries of the Communist Party in the United States" (reports of the Special Committee dated June 25, 1942, and March 29, 1944); it was cited as subversive and Communist by Attorney General (press releases of June 1 and September 21, 1948; also included in consolidated list released April 1, 1954. Max Lerner was one of the sponsors of the Fourth Annual Conference of the organization, held in Washington, D. C., March 2-3, 1940, as shown on a letterhead of that conference; a letterhead of the group dated September 11, 1941, named him as one of the sponsors of the American Committee; he was a sponsor of the organization's national "American All" week which was celebrated October 21-28, 1941 (undated letterhead announcing "American All" week); he was a guest of honor at a United Nations in America Dinner, arranged by the organization in New York City, April 17, 1943 (from the invitation to dinner).

Professor Max Lerner of Williams College was named in "The Student Almanac," official publication of the American Student Union, as a speaker at the Fourth National Convention of that organization ("The Student Almanac" for 1939, page 32). The American Student Union was cited as a Communist-front organization by the Special Committee * * * (reports of January 3, 1940, June 25, 1942; and March 29, 1944).

A letterhead of the Conference on Pan American Democracy, dated November 16, 1938, lists Max Lerner as one of the sponsors of that organization, known also as the Council for Pan-American Democracy and cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee (reports of June 25, 1942, and March 29, 1944). It was cited as subversive and Communist by the Attorney General (press releases of June 1 and September 21, 1948; also included in consolidated list released April 1, 1954).

Max Lerner was a committee member of the Medical Bureau, American Friends of Spanish Democracy, as shown on a letterhead of that organization dated November 18, 1936; he was a member of the general committee of American Friends of Spanish Democracy, as shown in "New Masses" for January 5, 1937 (p. 31), and a letterhead of the group dated February 21, 1938; he was identified in a booklet entitled "These Americans Say: * * *" as a representative individual who advocated lifting the arms embargo against Loyalist Spain; the booklet was prepared and published by the Coordinating Committee to Lift the (Spanish) Embargo.

American Friends of Spanish Democracy and the Coordinating Committee to Lift the (Spanish) Embargo were cited as among a number of so-called relief groups set up by the Communist Party when it was campaigning for the support of the Spanish Loyalist cause in 1937 and 1938 (Report 1311 of the Special Committee dated March 29, 1944).

The "Daily Worker" of April 6, 1937 (p. 9) reported that Max Lerner was a member of the Advisory Board of Frontier Films, an organization cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee in its report of March 29, 1944. He was among those who signed a petition in support of Simon W. Gerson, a Communist, according to the petition and list of persons who signed it, which was released by the League of American Writers as it appeared in the "Daily Worker" of March 10, 1938 (p. 1). The League of American Writers was cited as a Communist front in three reports of the Special Committee * * * (January 3, 1940, June 25, 1942; and March 29, 1944). The Attorney General stated that the League was founded under Communist auspices in 1935 and in 1939 began openly to "follow the Communist Party line as dictated by the foreign policy of the Soviet Union" (Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, pages 7685 and 7686). The organization was cited by the Attorney General as subversive and Communist in lists furnished the Loyalty Review Board (press releases of June 1 and September 21, 1948; also included in consolidated list released April 1, 1954).

A leaflet attached to a letterhead of the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom, dated January 17, 1940, contains the name of Max Lerner, identified as Professor, Williams College, in a list of individuals who signed a petition of the group. The American Committee * * * has been cited as a Communist front which defended Communist teachers (reports of the Special Committee * * * dated June 25, 1942 and March 29, 1944).

The Communist-front enterprises, cited as such by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities (report of March 29, 1944), were the Golden Book of American Friendship with the Soviet Union (reprinted in "Soviet Russia Today" for November 1937, page 79), and the Open Letter for Closer Cooperation with the Soviet Union

which was printed in "Soviet Russia Today" for September 1939 (pages 24-26); in both instances, Max Lerner was named as having signed.

The Special Committee on Un-American Activities cited both the Non-Partisan Committee for the Reelection of Congressman Vito Marcantonio and the Prestes Defense Committee as Communist-front organizations; the latter group was further described as "defending Luiz Carlos Prestes, leading Brazilian Communist and former member of the executive committee of the Communist International" (Report 1311 of March 29, 1944); Max Lerner signed a cable which was sent by the Prestes Defense Committee, as shown in the "Daily Worker" of February 13, 1937 (p. 2); he was a member of the Non-Partisan Committee for * * * as disclosed by an official letterhead of the group dated October 3, 1936.

The National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights was another of the Communist fronts cited in Report 1311 of the Special Committee * * * Professor Lerner was listed as a member of the Board of Sponsors, National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights, according to a press release of February 23, 1940. He was named by the "Daily Worker" of May 13, 1940 (pp. 1 and 5), as having signed an Open Letter of the organization.

The pamphlet, "The People vs. H. C. L.," published by the Consumers National Federation, December 11-12, 1937 (page 3), reveals that Max Lerner was a sponsor of that organization; on March 29, 1944, the Special Committee on Un-American Activities reported that "the Consumers National Federation was a Communist Party front which included a large number of party members and fellow travelers as its sponsors."

Mr. Lerner signed an Open Letter to New Masses, concerning the American Committee for the Defense of Leon Trotsky, according to the February 16, 1937, issue of "New Masses" (p. 2); his photograph appeared in connection with his contribution to the July 13, 1943, issue of "New Masses" (pp. 3 and 9). The Attorney General cited "New Masses" as a "Communist periodical" (Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7688); the Special Committee on Un-American Activities cited "New Masses" as a "nationally circulated weekly journal of the Communist Party * * * whose ownership was vested in the American Fund for Public Service." (See Report 1311 of March 29, 1944, pages 48 and 75).

"Soviet Russia Today" for March 1937 (pp. 14-15) and the "Daily Worker" of February 9, 1937 (p. 2) both named Max Lerner as having signed an Open Letter to American Liberals, cited as a Communist-front enterprise by the Special Committee in its report of June 25, 1942.

Mr. Lerner was a member of the Sponsors Committee of the United Office and Professional Workers of America, Local 16, for the Fifth Annual Stenographers' Ball, as shown on a letterhead of that organization dated February 1, 1940; the "Daily Worker" of March 9, 1938 (p. 5) named Max Lerner as a sponsor of the conference of the Book and Magazine Guild, Local 18, United Office and Professional Workers of America.

The Special Committee on Un-American Activities cited the United Office and Professional Workers of America "as strongly entrenched with Communist leadership" (reports of January 3, 1940 and March 29, 1944).

ALFRED BAKER LEWIS

Organization and affiliation

National Federation for Constitutional Liberties (1) and (2).

Signer of Open Letter sponsored by the organization denouncing U. S. Attorney General Biddle's charges against Harry Bridges and the Communist Party.

Source

"Daily Worker," July 19, 1942, p. 4.

See also: Vol. 17, public hearings, Special Committee on Un-American Activities, September-October 1944, pp. 10299, 10301, 10306, 10340, 10347, 10348; Report No. 2277, Special Committee * * *, Subversive Activities Aimed at Destroying Our Representative Form of Government, June 25, 1942, pp. 11, 21.

See also: Congressional Record, June 23, 1942 and October 13, 1942.

A. A. LIVERIGHT

A. A. Liveright, identified as executive director of the American Council on Race Relations, was one of the sponsors of a congress on Civil Rights, as shown on the "Urgent Summons to a Congress on Civil Rights, Detroit, April 27-28, 1946," for the purpose of organizing "an offensive against the rising Fascist aggression in the United States." The Civil Rights Congress has been cited as subversive and Communist by the United States Attorney General (letters to the Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953, pursuant to Executive Order 10450; included in consolidated list of cited organizations April 1, 1954). In Report No. 1115, September 2, 1947, pp. 2 and 19, the Committee on Un-American Activities stated that the Civil Rights Congress was "dedicated not to the broader issues of civil liberties, but specifically to the defense of individual Communists and the Communist Party" and "controlled by individuals who are either members of the Communist Party or openly loyal to it."

The Communist Daily Worker of April 3, 1950, p. 4, named Alex. A. Liveright, American Council on Race Relations, Chicago, as one of those who signed a statement of the National Committee to Defeat the Mundt Bill, cited as "a registered lobbying organization which has carried out the objectives of the Communist Party in its fight against anti-subversive legislation" (report of the Committee on Un-American Activities released December 7, 1950).

In its issue of January 1941 (pp. 16-18), Social Work Today listed A. A. Liveright, Illinois, among the "cooperators" for 1940, with a contribution of \$5. The issue of February 1942 (pp. 51-54) named him as a "cooperator" for 1941. Social Work Today was cited by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities as a Communist magazine (report of March 29, 1944, p. 129).

DR. ISADORE LUBIN

<i>Organization and affiliation</i>	<i>Source</i>
Friends of the Soviet Union (1) and (2). Speaker, Washington, D. C.	"Daily Worker," Mar. 19, 1930, p. 2.
Quotation: "One more depression in the United States, with its equivalent of low production output and mass unemployment, will be enough evidence to starving Europeans that the free enterprise system cannot meet their needs for improved standards of living."	"Washington Post", June 25, 1947, p. 2.

See also: Public Hearings, Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Vol. 3, October-November 1938, pp. 2369, 2374.

ROBERT S. LYND

On December 14, 1939, "the day before the 148th Anniversary of the Bill of Rights," a statement signed by "65 prominent citizens was sent to the American press." The release stated that "we recognize particularly that serious efforts are being made to silence and suppress the Communist Party. We regard as significant the fact that precisely now Earl Browder, its General Secretary, has been indicted on data which the government has evidently had for years. We observe that a charge four years old has just now been revived against another official of the Communist Party, Sam Adams Darcy. Similarly, a minor technicality was invoked in order to rule all Communist candidates off the New York City ballot. * * *" The statement related that "we feel compelled to speak out sharply and boldly at this moment * * * When forces exist, as we believe they do now exist, whose objectives effect * * * is the destruction of civil liberties blindness to facts becomes dangerous, pious protestation of liberalism, becomes mockery, and failure to speak out courageously becomes criminal * * *" The statement was signed by Robert S. Lynd, identified as a professor at Columbia University.

Professor Lynd was one of the sixteen "distinguished Americans" who "denounced the trend toward disciplinary action against lawyers who defend 'political minorities, racial minorities and labor organizations.'" The statement pointed out that such actions "may destroy the right to fair trial and adequate legal counsel as guaranteed by the Sixth Amendment to the American Constitution." The statement was a defense of the five lawyers who defended the eleven leaders of the Communist Party; the lawyers were cited for contempt by Judge Medina. (From the Daily Worker of February 1, 1950, page 3.)

An invitation issued by the American Russian Institute to a dinner dedicated to American-Soviet Post-War Relations, New York City, October 19, 1944, named Professor Lynd as a member of that organization's Board of Directors. On December 12, 1947, the Daily Worker reported that the Board of Superintendents were planning to eliminate a course for teachers on culture in the Soviet Union which was sponsored by the American Russian Institute; the same article revealed

that Prof. Robert S. Lynd of Columbia University was a member of the Board of Directors of the Institute.

The Call of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Inc., to a Congress to be held November 6-8, 1943, a letterhead of the National Council dated March 13, 1946, and a Memorandum issued by the Council March 18, 1946, named Prof. Lynd as one of the sponsors of the organization; he was a member of the Sponsoring Committee of the organizations' Committee on Education, as shown on the proceedings of a conference on Education About the Soviet Union, October 14, 1944, in New York City; a bulletin issued by the Committee on Education, June 1945 (page 22), also named him as a member of the Sponsoring Committee * * *. The New York Times of May 19, 1943 (page 17-C), reported that he had signed the National Council's Open Letter to the American People; he signed the organization's Open Letter to the Mayor of Stalingrad, as revealed by Soviet Russia Today for June 1943 (page 21); he signed the organization's appeal to the United States Government to end the cold war and arrange for a conference with the Soviet Union (leaflet entitled "End the Cold War—Get Together for Peace," p. 9); on February 17, 1949, the Daily Worker named Prof. Lynd as having signed a statement of the Council urging President Truman to have an interview with Premier Stalin.

As shown in the November 1937 issue of Soviet Russia Today (page 79), Robert S. Lynd was one of those who signed the Golden Book of American Friendship with the Soviet Union, cited as a "Communist enterprise" signed by "hundreds of well-known Communists and fellow travelers" (Special Committee on Un-American Activities in report of March 29, 1944).

The program of the Fifth National Conference of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born which was held in Atlantic City, New Jersey, March 29-30, 1941, named Prof. Lynd as one of the sponsors of that organization; he was identified with Columbia University. Prof. Lynd signed a statement of the Committee for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact, calling for International Agreement to Ban Use of Atomic Weapons (statement attached to a press release dated December 14, 1949, page 13).

A letterhead of the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom dated December 1, 1939 named Robert S. Lynd as a member of the New York Committee of that organization; he signed a petition of the group, as shown in a mimeographed sheet attached to a letterhead dated January 17, 1940; he was one of the sponsors of a Citizens' Rally in New York City, April 13, 1940, held under the auspices of the American Committee * * *, as shown on a leaflet announcing the rally; he signed an appeal of the same organization which was sent to Secretary Hull on behalf of anti-fascist refugees trapped in France (Daily Worker of July 22, 1940, page 1, column 5); he also signed the organization's Open Letter to Nicholas Murray Butler, president of Columbia University, denouncing his "pro-war" stand (Daily Worker of October 7, 1940, page 3; October 12, 1940, page 4; and New Masses October 15, 1940, page 17).

Robert S. Lynd signed the letter of the American Friends of Spanish Democracy which was addressed to the President of the United States (Daily Worker of February 7, 1938, page 4); and he also signed their

petition to lift the arms embargo against Spain (Daily Worker of April 8, 1938, page 4).

A letter of the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, addressed to the President and Attorney General of the United States was signed by Prof. Lynd. The letter protested "attacks upon the Veterans of the * * * and condemning the war hysteria now being whipped up by the Roosevelt administration" (Daily Worker of February 21, 1940).

According to a mimeographed letter, attached to a letterhead of the Spanish Refugee Appeal of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, dated April 28, 1949, Robert S. Lynd signed an Open Letter of the group which was addressed to the President of the United States; he signed the organization's petition to the President "to bar military aid to or alliance with fascist Spain" (mimeographed petition attached to a letterhead dated May 18, 1951).

New Masses for December 3, 1940 (page 28), revealed that Robert S. Lynd signed an Open Letter of the Council for Pan American Democracy (also known as the Conference for * * *), addressed to the President of Brazil, urging him to save Luis Carlos Prestes.

Robert Lynd was a member of the Provisional Sponsoring Committee of the National Emergency Conference, as shown on a letterhead of the organization dated May 19, 1939; he was a member of the Board of Sponsors of the National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights, as shown on the organization's Legislative Letter of February 15, 1940 and a press release of February 23, 1940; he signed the Group's Open Letter, as shown in the Daily Worker of May 13, 1940 (pages 1 and 5).

The Call to a Conference on Constitutional Liberties in America, June 7, 1940, named Robert S. Lynd as one of the sponsors of that conference. The National Federation for Constitutional Liberties was formed at this conference and later merged with the International Labor Defense to form the Civil Rights Congress. The Daily Worker of December 29, 1948 (page 2), revealed that Prof. Lynd was one of the sponsors of the Civil Rights Congress of New York State; he was identified with Columbia University.

Prof. Lynd was one of the sponsors of a conference of the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions, October 9-10, 1948, as shown in a pamphlet, "To Safeguard These Rights * * * " published by the Bureau of Academic Freedom of the National Council * * * ; he signed the organization's statement for negotiations with the U. S. S. R., as reported in the Daily Worker of August 7, 1950 (page 8); he was a sponsor of the Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace, called by the National Council * * * in New York City, March 25-27, 1949 (conference call and the program, page 13; also the Daily Worker of February 21, 1949, page 2); he supported a rehearing of the case of the Communist leaders before the United States Supreme Court, as shown in "We Join Black's Dissent," a reprint of an article from the St. Louis Post-Dispatch of June 20, 1951, by the National Council * * * .

An undated letterhead of Frontier Films named Robert Lynd as a member of the Advisory Board of the organization. He signed an Open Letter of the League of American Writers, addressed to Secretary Cordell Hull and the Pan-American Conference (Daily Worker, July 31, 1940, page 7).

"In March 1937, a group of well-known Communists and Communist collaborators published an Open Letter bearing the title, Open Letter to American Liberals. The letter was a defense of the Moscow purge trials" (Special Committee on Un-American Activities in report of June 25, 1942). The Daily Worker of February 9, 1937 (page 2) and Soviet Russia Today for March 1937 (pages 14-15), revealed that Robert S. Lynd of Columbia University signed the Open Letter to American Liberals.

On May 11, 1937, the Daily Worker reported that Robert Lynd has signed a statement of the American League Against War and Fascism, protesting Franco spies (page one of the Daily Worker); he opposed an amendment barring American Youth for Democracy and declared "I'm glad the (Schultz) amendment was stopped and that I went on record against it" (Daily Worker, November 21, 1947, p. 5); the amendment "could have empowered college faculties to outlaw so-called 'subversive' student groups."

The Daily Worker of March 5, 1941 (page 4) reported that Prof. Lynd had signed a letter to the President of the United States, urging him to recognize seating the People's Republic China in the United Nations; he was a member of the Planning Committee of the National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act (letterhead of May 25, 1951); a member of the National Committee (Daily Worker, May 14, 1951, page 8); a sponsor of same group (Daily Worker of December 27, 1950, page 9); and he signed the National Committee's Open Letter to the President, urging him to "call a halt to building of concentration camps in the United States" (Daily Worker, January 28, 1952, page 3).

The organizations, unions and publications referred to in this memorandum have been cited by (1) the Special Committee on Un-American Activities and/or the Committee on Un-American Activities; and (2) the Attorney General of the United States, as follows:

American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom (1)
 American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born (1) and (2)
 American Friends of Spanish Democracy (1)
 American League Against War and Fascism (1) and (2)
 American Russian Institute (2)
 Civil Rights Congress (1) and (2)
 Committee for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact (1)
 Council for (or Conference on) Pan American Democracy (1) and (2)
 Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace (1)
 Daily Worker (1)
 Frontier Films (1)
 Golden Book of American Friendship with the Soviet Union (1)
 International Labor Defense (1) and (2)
 League of American Writers (1) and (2)
 National Council of American Soviet Friendship (1) and (2)
 National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions (1)
 National Federation for Constitutional Liberties (1) and (2)
 Soviet Russia Today (1)
 Spanish Refugee Appeal of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee (1) and (2)
 Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade (1) and (2)

KENNETH MACGOWAN

A letterhead of the Hollywood Writers Mobilization dated October 10, 1945 listed Kenneth Macgowan among the members of the organization's Executive Council. He was listed as Editor of the "Hollywood Quarterly," publication of the Hollywood Writers Mobilization, in the issue of April 1947.

On October 1-3, 1943, the Hollywood Writers Mobilization and the University of California held a Writers Congress, the program of which listed Kenneth Macgowan as a member of the Advisory Committee; a member of the Seminar on The Documentary Film; and a member of the Committee of the Panel on Pan-American Affairs.

The Attorney General of the United States cited the Hollywood Writers Mobilization as subversive and Communist in letters to the Loyalty Review Board and released by the U. S. Civil Service Commission, December 4, 1947 and September 21, 1948. The organization was redesignated by the Attorney General, April 27, 1953, pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450, and included on the April 1, 1954 consolidated list of organizations previously designated.

Kenneth Macgowan was an instructor at the Peoples Educational Center, as shown by the pamphlet for the Fall Term 1946 (p. 14). The School's Winter 1947 Catalogue listed him as a lecturer on production in the course on Motion-Picture Direction and gave the following biographical note: "Dramatic critic from 1910 to 1923; play producer from 1923 to 1931; motion-picture producer since 1932 * * * Head of theater arts department at U. C. L. A."

The Attorney General cited the People's Educational Center as Communist and subversive in letters released June 1 and September 21, 1948. The organization was redesignated by the Attorney General, April 27, 1953, pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450, and included on the April 1, 1954 consolidated list of organizations previously designated.

A letterhead of the Hollywood Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions listed Kenneth MacGowan as a member of the Executive Council (letterhead dated October 2, 1945).

The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its Review of the Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace, April 19, 1949 (p. 2), cited the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions as a Communist-front organization.

An advertisement in the "Daily People's World," May 2, 1947 (p. 8), listed Kenneth MacGowan as a sponsor of the Los Angeles Chapter of the Civil Rights Congress.

The Attorney General of the United States cited the Civil Rights Congress as subversive and Communist in letters released December 4, 1947 and September 21, 1948. The organization was redesignated by the Attorney General, April 27, 1953, pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450, and included on the April 1, 1954 consolidated list of organizations previously designated. The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of September 2, 1947 (pp. 2 and 19), cited the Civil Rights Congress as an organization formed in April 1946 as a merger of two other Communist-front organizations (International Labor Defense and the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties); "dedicated not to the broader issues of civil liberties, but specifically to the defense of individual Communists and the Communist

Party" and "controlled by individuals who are either members of the Communist Party or openly loyal to it."

ROBERT M. MACIVER

In a booklet entitled "Can You Name Them?" the name of Robert M. MacIver, Professor of Sociology, Columbia University, is listed on page 3 as one of the endorsers of the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom, cited by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities as a Communist front which defended Communist teachers (Reports of June 25, 1942 and March 29, 1944).

A leaflet published by the American Committee to Save Refugees and entitled "For the Rescue of Refugees," contains the name of Robert M. MacIver among the signers of a public statement of the organization.

The American Committee to Save Refugees was cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities in Report 1311 of March 29, 1944 (pages 49, 112, 129, 133, 138, 167 and 180).

It was reported in the "Daily Worker" of April 8, 1938 (page 4) that Prof. R. M. MacIver, Columbia University, was one of the signers of a petition to lift the arms embargo which was sponsored by the American Friends of Spanish Democracy.

In 1937-38, the Communist Party threw itself wholeheartedly into the campaign for the support of the Spanish Loyalist cause, recruiting men and organizing multifarious so-called relief organizations * * * such as * * * American Friends of Spanish Democracy. (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report 1311, March 29, 1944, page 82.)

According to the Daily Worker of April 10, 1953, page 6, Dr. Robert M. MacIver along with Prof. Robert S. Lynd, both identified as being professors at Columbia University, presented a statement to 200 faculty members on April 6, 1953, in which they called the recent stand of the Association of American Universities favoring "cooperation" with the witchhunting committees "the most serious blow that education has received."

ARCHIBALD MACLEISH

A letterhead of the American League for Peace and Democracy, dated April 16, 1939, revealed that Mr. MacLeish was a member of the Writers and Artists' Committee of that organization which was cited as subversive and Communist by the U. S. Attorney General in letters to the Loyalty Review Board, released to the press June 1 and September 21, 1948.

The American League * * * was established in the United States in 1937 as successor to the American League Against War and Fascism—

in an effort to create public sentiment on behalf of a foreign policy adapted to the interests of the Soviet Union * * * The American League * * * was designed to conceal Communist control, in accordance with the new tactics of the Communist International (U. S. Attorney General, Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, pages 7683 and 7684).

The American League was the—

largest of the Communist "front" movements in the United States; it was formerly known as the American League Against War and Fascism, and, at the time of its inception, as the United States Congress Against War (Special Committee on

Un-American Activities in reports of January 3, 1939 and March 29, 1944; also cited in reports of January 3, 1940; January 3, 1941; June 25, 1942; and January 2, 1943).

Mr. MacLeish was chairman of the opening session of the American Writers Congress, June 4-6, 1937, and also spoke before the Congress ("Daily Worker" of June 5, 1937, pages 1 and 4); he was elected vice-President of the organization during that Congress ("Daily Worker" June 8, 1937, page 3).

The American Writers Congress was cited by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities as having been sponsored by the League of American Writers; Earl Browder, general secretary of the Communist Party, spoke at the second biennial American Writers Congress in 1937. (From the Special Committee's report of March 29, 1944.)

The League of American Writers was cited as subversive and Communist by the U. S. Attorney General (lists released to the press June 1 and September 21, 1948); the "League * * * was founded under Communist auspices in 1935 (and) in 1939 began openly to follow the Communist Party line as dictated by the foreign policy of the Soviet Union" (U. S. Attorney General, Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, pages 7685 and 7686). The League was also cited as a Communist-front organization by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities (reports of January 3, 1940; June 25, 1942; and March 29, 1944).

"The Bulletin" of the League of American Writers (page 7), named Mr. MacLeish as a member of that group; he spoke at a meeting of the League, as shown in "New Masses" of April 20, 1937 (page 32); he was a member of the National Council of the League ("The Bulletin," Summer 1938, page 2); and a committee sponsor of the League, as shown in the "Daily Worker" of January 18, 1939 (page 7).

A pamphlet, "Youngville, U. S. A." (page 63), and an undated official letterhead of the American Youth Congress, both list the name of Archibald MacLeish as a member of the National Advisory Board of that organization. The American Youth Congress was cited as subversive and Communist by the U. S. Attorney General (press releases of December 4, 1947 and September 21, 1948). The Congress "originated in 1934 and * * * has been controlled by Communists and manipulated by them to influence the thought of American youth" (U. S. Attorney General, Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, page 7685; also cited in re Harry Bridges, May 28, 1942, page 10). It was also cited as "one of the principal fronts of the Communist Party" and "prominently identified with the White House picket line * * * under the immediate auspices of the American Peace Mobilization" (Special Committee on Un-American Activities in its report of June 25, 1942; also cited in reports of January 3, 1939; January 3, 1941; and March 29, 1944).

As shown in the "Daily Worker" of April 6, 1937 (page 9), Archibald MacLeish was a member of the Advisory Board of Frontier Films, cited as a Communist front organization by the Special Committee in its report of March 29, 1944.

A letterhead of the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions, dated May 28, 1946, listed Archibald MacLeish as vice-Chairman of that organization, cited as a Communist-front group by the Committee on Un-American Activities in

its Review of the Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace, March 26, 1950 (page 2); it was also cited in the Committee's report on the Communist "Peace" Offensive dated April 25, 1951 (pages 11 and 12).

Mr. MacLeish was a member of American Friends of Spanish Democracy, as shown on a letterhead of that organization dated November 18, 1936. He was one of the sponsors of Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, as disclosed by a letterhead of that organization dated September 10, 1938. A letterhead of the Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, dated July 6, 1938, named him as a member of the organization's Writers and Artists Committee; he was named in the "Daily Worker" of January 12, 1938 (page 7), as one of the sponsors of that organization; the same information was shown in the pamphlet entitled "One Year in Spain" (page 12), and in the "Daily Worker" of February 27, 1937 (page 2). He was one of the sponsors of "Tag Day," held in New York City under the auspices of the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, as shown in the "Daily Worker" of February 27, 1937 (page 2).

During 1937 and 1938, the Communist Party campaigned for support of the Spanish Loyalist cause, recruiting men and setting up so-called relief organizations such as American Friends of Spanish Democracy, Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, and the Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy. (From Report 1311 of the Special Committee * * * dated March 29, 1944.)

In a booklet entitled "These Americans Say: 'Lift the Embargo Against Republican Spain,'" material for which was compiled and published by the Coordinating Committee to Lift the Embargo, Archibald MacLeish, identified as a writer, was named as a "representative individual" who advocated lifting the embargo on the sale of arms to Spain. The Coordinating Committee * * * was set up during the Spanish Civil War by the Communist Party in the United States, and was used by the Communist Party to carry on a great deal of agitation. (Report 1311 of the Special Committee * * *)

The booklet, "Children in Concentration Camps" (on the back cover), lists the name of Archibald MacLeish as one of the sponsors of the Spanish Refugee Relief Campaign, publishers of the booklet; a letterhead of the organization dated November 16, 1939, also named him as national sponsor of the Medical Aid Division of the Spanish Refugee Relief Campaign, cited by the Special Committee * * * as a front organization of the Communist Party (report of January 3, 1940, page 9).

CAREY McWILLIAMS

Organization and affiliation

Anne Kinney (aka Jane Howe) testified that Carey McWilliams was never a member of the Communist Party.

Source

Executive hearings of the Committee on Un-American Activities, released to the public in "Investigation of Communist Activities in the Los Angeles Area—Part 5," pp. 867-900.

Organization and affiliation

Louis Budenz testified that Carey McWilliams was a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. McWilliams denied Mr. Budenz' charge and was quoted as saying: "This statement is categorically false. I have never been a member of the Communist Party."

City government of San Francisco, California, cancelled permission for the use of the War Memorial building for a meeting at which Carey McWilliams had been scheduled to speak.

Speech by Mr. McWilliams in Portland, Oregon, banned in 1950 after Capt. William Browne, chief of detectives for the Portland police department and head of the American Legion's subversive activities committee told the school authorities that McWilliams was subversive, citing the California Tenney Committee report.

Opposed to loyalty oath-----

Sent message of encouragement to attorneys defending 14 persons being tried under the Smith Act.

Protested the decision of the Supreme Court upholding the conviction of 11 Communist leaders under the Smith Act.

Signer of statement in behalf of lawyers defending Communists.

Signer of statement asking parole for Hollywood cases.

Source

Select Committee to Investigate Tax-Exempt Foundations and Comparable Organizations (House of Representatives), Dec. 23, 1952, p. 721.

Washington "Post," Dec. 25, 1952, p. 25.

"Daily People's World," Oct. 14, 1952, p. 3.

"Daily People's World," Jan. 31, 1950, p. 2.

"Daily Workers," Sept. 28, 1950, p. 4; "Daily People's World," Apr. 20, 1949, p. 3; May 17, 1950, p. 3; Aug. 30, 1950, p. 10; Nov. 22, 1950, p. 2; Jan. 18, 1951, p. 9.

"Daily People's World," June 10, 1952, p. 3.

"Daily People's World," June 28, 1951, p. 6.

"Daily Worker," Feb. 1, 1950, p. 3.

"Daily Worker," Dec. 22, 1950, p. 3.

<i>Organization and affiliation</i>	<i>Source</i>
Statements by Mr. McWilliams on Communist cases have appeared in the following.	"Daily Worker," Dec. 31, 1948, p. 3; Feb. 28, 1949, p. 9; June 10, 1949, p. 4; Oct. 19, 1949, p. 11; Oct. 30, 1949, p. 6 (Southern edition of the Sunday Worker); Narodna Volya (Bulgarian language organ of the Communist Party), Mar. 25, 1949, p. 4.
Signer -----	Brief submitted in behalf of John Howard Lawson and Dalton Trumbo in the Supreme Court of the United States, October 1949.
Signer of statement opposing Mundt anti-Communist bill.	"Daily Worker," May 4, 1948, p. 11; "Daily People's World," May 12, 1948, p. 3.
Civil Rights Congress (1) and (2). Signer of statement condemning persecution of Gerhart Eisler.	"Daily Worker," Feb. 28, 1947, p. 2.
National Federation for Constitutional Liberties (1) and (2). Signer of an open letter sponsored by group urging the President to reconsider the order of the Attorney General for the deportation of Harry Bridges, and to rescind the Attorney General's "ill-advised, arbitrary, and unwarranted findings relative to the Communist Party."	"The Worker," July 19, 1942, magazine sec., p. 4.
International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (1). Chairman of meeting to hear Harry Bridges and his codefendants.	"Daily People's World," Apr. 18, 1950, p. 10.
International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (1) and Bridges, Robertson, Schmidt Defense Committee (2). Chairman of dinner in honor of Harry Bridges, J. R. Robertson, and Henry Schmidt.	"Daily People's World," Oct. 2, 1952, p. 3; see also "Daily People's World," Oct. 14, 1952, p. 2.
Bridges, Robertson, Schmidt Defense Committee (2). Participant at meeting and reception in honor of Harry Bridges in New York City, Dec. 10, 1952.	Printed program.
Signer of "strongly worded protest against the nation-wide attack on the right of the Communist Party to use the ballot * * *"	"Daily Worker," July 23, 1940, p. 1.

- | <i>Organization and affiliation</i> | <i>Source</i> |
|--|---|
| Open Letter to American Liberals (1). Signer. | "Soviet Russia Today," March 1937, pp. 14, 15. |
| American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born (1) and (2). Chairman. | Booklet, "The Registration of Aliens" (back cover); "New Masses," June 4, 1940, p. 2; a letterhead dated June 11, 1940; "Daily Worker," Sept. 11, 1940, p. 3; Sept. 30, 1940, p. 3; Oct. 5, 1940, p. 2; Oct. 8, 1940, p. 5. |
| Schneiderman-Darcy Defense Committee (1) and (2). Endorser. | Leaflet, Censored News. |
| International Workers Order (1) and (2). Endorser of meeting. | Circular announcing public rally, Apr. 28, 1940. |
| International Labor Defense (1) and (2). Sent greetings. | Program of Third Biennial National Conference. |
| National Federation for Constitutional Liberties (1) and (2). Vice chairman. | Pamphlet, National Federation for Constitutional Liberties; letterhead of Nov. 6, 1940; program, "Call National Action Conference for Civil Rights." |
| National Federation for Constitutional Liberties (1) and (2). Member, executive committee. | Letterhead, July 3, 1942. |
| Signer of statement hailing the War Department's order on commissions for Communists. | "Daily Worker," Mar. 18, 1945, p. 2. |
| Signer of statement opposing the use of injunctions in labor disputes. | Advertisement "New York Times," Apr. 1, 1946, p. 16. |
| Civil Rights Congress (1) and (2). Sponsor of Freedom Crusade. | "Daily Worker," Dec. 15, 1948, p. 11. |
| National Lawyers Guild (1). Member, Committee on Labor Law and Social Legislation. | News-Letter, July 1937, p. 2. |
| Associate editor of Lawyers Guild Review. | May-June 1948 issue of Lawyers Guild Review, p. 422. |
| Addressed luncheon meeting. | "Daily People's World," Oct. 27, 1953, p. 6. |
| Spoke at banquet May 4 at Hotel Commodore. | "Daily Worker," May 6, 1954, p. 3. |
| American Slav Congress (1) and (2). Sponsor of testimonial dinner, Oct. 12, 1947. | Invitation and program. |
| American Peace Crusade (1) and (2). Member of council. | "New Masses," Aug. 6, 1940, p. 23. |

*Organization and affiliation**Source*

American Peace Mobilization (1) and (2). Member, National Council.

American Continental Congress for Peace (1). Sponsor.

Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy (2). Sponsor.

National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions (1). Signer of statement.

Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace (1). Sponsor.

Washington Book Shop Association (1) and (2). Book, Factories in the Field listed as dividend for members of association.

Southern California Country by Mr. McWilliams, listed as dividend.

Speaker-----

"New Masses" (1) and (2). Contributor.

"A Mask for Privilege" by Mr. McWilliams, reviewed favorably.

Workers Book Shop. Brothers Under the Skin by Mr. McWilliams advertised and sold.

"Witch Hunt" by Mr. McWilliams reviewed favorably.

League of American Writers (1) and (2). Signer of Call to the Fourth American Writers Congress.

Member of panel on minority groups at 1943 congress.

People's Institute of Applied Religion (2). Member, International Board and sponsor.

Spanish Refugee Relief Campaign (1). Local sponsor.

"Daily Worker," Sept. 3, 1940, p. 4.

"Daily People's World," Aug. 18, 1949, p. 2.

Letterheads dated 1946, 1947, and 1948; "Daily People's World," Feb. 26, 1946, p. 3. Letterhead received January 1949.

"Daily Worker," Mar. 12, 1949, p. 12 and conference program, p. 15.

Bookplate, publication of group, issue of December 1939, p. 19.

Bookshopper, May 23, 1946.

Leaflet dated Dec. 15, 1947.

"New Masses," June 4, 1940, p. 9; July 16, 1940, p. 12; Sept. 26, 1944, p. 32.

"Political Affairs," July 1948, p. 665; "The Bookshopper," July 1948, p. 4; "The Worker," Dec. 19, 1948, p. 10, magazine section.

Workers Book Shop Catalog, 1948, p. 10; Catalog, 1949-50, p. 11.

"Daily People's World," Dec. 7, 1950, p. 9; Jan. 15, 1951, p. 7; "Daily Worker," Dec. 24, 1950, p. 6, sec. 2.

Leaflet, "In Defense of Culture"; "New Masses," Apr. 22, 1941, p. 25.

Program.

Letterhead, Jan. 1, 1948.

Undated letterhead.

NORMAN MAILER

*Organization and affiliation**Source*

National Council of the Arts,
Sciences and Professions (1).
Member.

Daily Worker, Sept. 21, 1948,
p. 7.

Speaker, New York State
Council of the Arts,
Sciences.

Adv. in New York Star, Oct. 5,
1948, p. 6.

Speaker at Academic Free-
dom Rally in behalf of dis-
missed teachers.

Adv. in New York Star, Oct. 8,
1948, p. 10.

Signed statement in support
of Henry A. Wallace; i. d.
as author of "The Naked
and the Dead."

Daily Worker, Oct. 19, 1948, p. 7.

Sponsor, dinner held by org.
in honor of Henry A. Wal-
lace, Oct. 28, 1948, New
York City.

Program dated Oct. 28, 1948.

Signed Call Upon the Film
Industry to Revoke Black-
list; call issued by Theatre
Div. of the National Council.

Variety Dec. 1, 1948, p. 21 (an
advertisement).

Signed statement of org-----
Signed statement of org-----

Daily Worker, Dec. 29, 1948, p. 2.
New York Star, Jan. 4, 1949, p. 9
(an adv.).

Sponsor of conference; i. d.
as author.

Daily Worker, Jan. 10, 1949, p.
11.

Signed statement of org-----

Letterhead rec'd. Jan. 1949.

Speaker-----

Daily People's World, July 26,
1949, p. 5.

Speaker, Cultural and Scien-
tific Conference for World
Peace, New York City,
Mar. 25-27, 1949; i. d. as
author, "The Naked and
the Dead."

Conference program, p. 8.

Sponsor, Cultural and Scien-
tific Conference.

Conference program, p. 13.

Sponsor, Cultural and Scien-
tific Conference. * * * i.
d. as a writer.

Daily Worker, Feb. 21, 1949,
p. 9.

Sponsor, Cultural and Scien-
tific Conference.

Conference "Call."

Spoke on "The Only Way for
Writers" at Cultural and
Scientific Conference.

Speaking of Peace, the edited
report of conference, p. 82.

Participated in Cultural and
Scientific Conference * * *;
biography.

Speaking of Peace, p. 141.

<i>Organization and affiliation</i>	<i>Source</i>
Civil Rights Congress (1) and (2). Sponsor of Freedom Crusade.	Daily Worker, Dec. 15, 1948, p. 11.
Sponsor, Freedom Crusade; protests indictment of 12 Communist leaders.	Daily Worker, Dec. 31, 1948, p. 3.
Sponsor, Freedom Crusade--	Program and Conference (Used as Part of Cvetic Exhibit 52 during his testimony before this committee).
Sponsor, National Civil Rights Legislative Conference, Jan. 18 and 19, 1949; i. d. from New York City.	Leaflet of Freedom Crusade, program and conference (Part of Cvetic Exhibit 52).
Masses & Mainstream (1). Author of "The Naked and the Dead," reviewed by Charles Humboldt.	Masses & Mainstream, Aug. 1948, p. 70.
Author of "The Naked and the Dead," recommended by The Worker; photograph appeared in connection with article.	The Worker, December 19, 1948, p. 10, magazine section.
Author of "Naked and the Dead" film adaptation by War Dept.	Daily Worker, May 26, 1950, p. 11.
Daily Worker (1). Author of "Barbary Shore" (Rinehart); critically reviewed by Robert Friedman.	Daily Worker, June 10, 1951, p. 7.
Daily People's World (1). Author of "Barbary Shore"; reviewed critically by Robt. Friedman.	Daily People's World, June 15, 1951, p. M6.
Supported Simon Gerson, a Communist.	Daily Worker, Oct. 18, 1948, p. 4.
Signed brief on behalf of John Howard Lawson and Dalton Trumbo submitted by the Cultural Workers to the Supreme Court of the U. S., Oct. 1949 Term.	Brief.

ALBERT MALTZ

The Daily Worker of March 5, 1941, p. 2, reported that Albert Maltz, Long Island, N. Y., was one of those who signed a statement to the President defending the Communist Party. The Daily Worker of May 4, 1936, p. 2, reported that a play written by Mr. Maltz was given for the benefit of the Communist Party. The Daily Worker of July 21, 1940, p. 1, reported that "The Underground Stream" by Albert Maltz, the story of a Communist organizer in the Detroit automobile industry, was to run in serial form in the publication. A book by Albert Maltz was advertised in the May 1938 issue of the "Communist International."

The Daily Worker of April 28, 1938, p. 4, reported that Albert Maltz was one of the signers of a statement by American Progressives on the Moscow trials.

Albert Maltz was one of those who signed a statement urging the dismissal of the charges against the Communist prisoners, as shown by the *Daily People's World* of November 6, 1948, p. 3; and the *Daily Worker* of January 17, 1949, p. 3, reported that he signed a statement in behalf of the twelve Communist leaders. He was shown as a sponsor of the National Non-Partisan Committee to Defend the Rights of the Twelve Communist leaders (back of letterhead of September 9, 1949), and he signed a statement of the Committee for Free Political Advocacy, an organization which defended the twelve Communist leaders (*Narodna Volya*, March 25, 1949, p. 4, and *Daily Worker*, February 28, 1949, p. 9). The *Daily Worker* of May 16, 1952, p. 3, reported he was a sponsor of a conference scheduled for June 14 at St. Nicholas Arena in New York City by the National Conference to Win Amnesty for Smith Act Victims; he was shown as a sponsor of the National Committee to Win Amnesty for the Smith Act Victims on a letterhead of May 22, 1953, and signed a telegram greeting Eugene Dennis on his 48th birthday, under auspices of that Committee, as reported in the *Daily Worker* on August 11, 1952, p. 3. According to the *Daily Worker* of December 10, 1952, p. 4, he signed an appeal to President Truman requesting amnesty for leaders of the Communist Party convicted under the Smith Act. The *Daily People's World* of July 24, 1953, p. 6, listed his name as having signed an appeal for broad participation in the amnesty campaign launched in behalf of individuals serving sentences under the Smith Act.

An undated leaflet of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born listed Albert Maltz as a member of the Board of Directors of that organization. The Program and Call for the National Conference of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born held in Cleveland, Ohio, October 25 and 26, 1947, listed him as a sponsor of the conference. He was shown to be a sponsor of the American Committee on a photostatic copy of an undated letterhead of the 20th Anniversary National Conference * * *, U. E. Hall, Chicago, Illinois (December 8-9, 1951).

The *Daily Worker* of June 17, 1949, p. 7, reported that Albert Maltz spoke for the American Labor Party.

Albert Maltz contributed to the November 1933 issue of *Fight*, p. 8, the publication of the American League Against War and Fascism.

Albert Maltz was a sponsor of a testimonial dinner given by the American Slav Congress, New York, N. Y., October 12, 1947, as shown by the Invitation issued by the Congress and the Program of the Dinner.

The *Daily People's World* of May 28, 1948, p. 3, reported that Albert Maltz spoke for the American Youth for Democracy.

The Program of the Artists' Front to Win the War, dated October 16, 1942, p. 5, listed Albert Maltz as a sponsor of that organization.

Albert Maltz spoke at the California Labor School, according to the July 22, 1948, issue of the *Daily People's World*, p. 5, and was the guest of honor of the School, according to the April 7, 1949, issue of the same publication, p. 5.

The *Daily Worker* of June 20, 1949, p. 5, reported that Albert Maltz spoke for the Civil Rights Congress in behalf of the Communist leaders. The *Daily People's World* of May 2, 1947, in an advertisement on p. 8, listed Albert Maltz as a sponsor of the Los Angeles Chapter of the Civil Rights Congress. He signed an Open Letter to J. Howard

McGrath in behalf of the four jailed trustees of the Bail Fund of the Civil Rights Congress of New York (advertisement in the Washington Evening Star of October 30, 1951, p. A-7, "paid for by contributions of signers").

Albert Maltz was a sponsor of the Conference on Constitutional Liberties in America, as shown by the program leaflet of the conference dated June 7, 1940, p. 4. A letterhead of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties dated November 6, 1940, and the program, "Call National Action Conference for Civil Rights" listed Mr. Maltz as a sponsor of the National Federation * * *. He signed statements and messages of the organization, as shown by the booklet, "600 Prominent Americans," p. 25; a news release of the organization dated December 26, 1941; a leaflet attached to an undated letterhead of the organization; the Daily Worker of July 19, 1942, p. 4; and the Daily Worker of December 19, 1940, p. 5.

Albert Maltz contributed to the Daily Worker, as shown by the December 24, 1931, p. 3, December 21, 1935, p. 3, and November 9, 1947, pl. 8, issues of the publication. Equality issues of February 1940, p. 18, and June 1940, p. 35, listed Mr. Maltz as a contributor. He was listed as a member of the Editorial Council of Equality in the July 1939, p. 2, June 1940, p. 3, and July 1940, p. 2, issues.

The Daily Worker of April 6, 1937, p. 9, listed Mr. Maltz as a staff member of Frontier Films.

International Publishers listed Albert Maltz in a catalog, p. 14, as one of the authors whose works they published, and the Daily Worker of March 1, 1950, p. 11, reported that the International Publishers had published "The Citizen Writer" by Mr. Maltz.

New Masses, August 27, 1940, p. 21, reported that Albert Maltz was a sponsor of the Plays for Children Contest of the International Workers Order, Junior Section. Mr. Maltz participated in a program of the Jewish People's Fraternal Order of the International Workers Order, as shown by the Daily People's World of September 5, 1947, p. 5. Mr. Maltz spoke at a meeting of the IWO defending Leon Josephson, Eugene Dennis and Gerhart Eisler, Communists as shown in the Daily People's World of February 13, 1948, p. 3. The Daily People's World of May 19, 1948, p. 5, reported that he spoke at a meeting of the Jewish People's Fraternal Order, IWO, Silver Lake Lodge No. 488.

Albert Maltz' play, "Rehearsal," was produced for the Jefferson School of Social Science, according to the April 15, 1949, issue of the Daily Worker, p. 7.

Letterheads of the Spanish Refugee Appeal of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee dated February 26, 1946, April 28, 1949, and May 18, 1951, list Albert Maltz as a sponsor of the organization. He spoke for the organization, as shown by the Daily Worker, April 1, 1948, p. 4; The Worker, October 31, 1947; and the Daily Worker, May 17, 1948, p. 2. A mimeographed letter attached to a letterhead of the organization dated April 28, 1949, listed his name as a signer of an Open Letter to President Truman on Franco Spain; in 1951, he signed the organization's petition to President Truman "to bar military aid to or alliance with fascist Spain" (mimeographed petition attached to letterhead of May 18, 1951).

The Daily Worker of April 29, 1935, pp. 1 and 2, reported that Albert Maltz read "The Working Class Theatre" at the American

Writers' Congress, Mecca Temple, New York, N. Y., April 26-27, 1935. "Direction," May-June, 1939, p. 1, listed Mr. Maltz as one of those who signed the Call to the Third American Writers Congress, and the Program of the Congress listed him as Co-Chairman of the Arrangements Committee. A leaflet, "In Defense of Culture," listed his name as one of those who signed the Call to the 4th American Writers Congress, New York, N. Y., June 6-8, 1941.

The Bulletin of the League of American Writers, p. 12, listed Albert Maltz as a member of the National Board of the League; and the Daily Worker of April 30, 1935, listed his name as a member of the Executive Committee of the organization. New Masses, June 17, 1941, p. 9, and the Daily Worker of September 14, 1942, p. 7, listed Mr. Maltz as Vice President of the League. Mr. Maltz contributed to the pamphlet, "We Hold These Truths," p. 70, which was published by the League; and the Daily Worker of March 26, 1938, p. 5, reported that he was one of those who signed a telegram to Governor Lehman which was sponsored by the League. Albert Maltz signed the Call to the Fourth Congress, League of American Writers, June 6-8, 1941, according to New Masses, April 22, 1941, p. 25, and he was one of those who signed a statement of the League in behalf of a second front, as shown by the Daily Worker of September 14, 1942, p. 7.

The League of Women Shoppers defended Albert Maltz, according to the April 8, 1948, issue of the Daily Worker, p. 5.

Albert Maltz contributed to New Masses, issues of December 15, 1936, p. 37; January 26, 1937, p. 25; and August 17, 1937, p. 16. He signed a letter to the President sent by New Masses, as shown by the April 2, 1940, issue of that publication, p. 21; and he spoke at a symposium, New Masses Theatre Night, May 26, 1941, Manhattan Center, as shown by the May 27, 1941, issue of the periodical, p. 32. The Daily Worker of April 7, 1947, p. 11, listed Albert Maltz as an endorser of the New Masses; and the Daily Worker of October 6, 1947, p. 11, reported that he spoke at a meeting held under the joint auspices of New Masses and Mainstream. An advertisement in PM of October 16, 1947, p. 5, listed his name as a sponsor of a Protest Meeting for Howard Fast held by Masses and Mainstream in New York, N. Y., October 16, 1947. "The Journey of Simon McKeever" by Mr. Maltz was reviewed by Phillip Bonosky in the June 1949 issue of Masses and Mainstream, p. 72. He sent congratulations to Masses and Mainstream on its fifth anniversary (issue of March 1953, p. 54) and contributed an article to the November 1951 issue of the publication, p. 42.

Albert Maltz was a sponsor of the National Conference on American Policy in China and the Far East, as shown by the Call to the conference which was held in New York, N. Y., January 23-25, 1948.

The pamphlet, "How to End the Cold War and Build the Peace," p. 9, listed his name as one of those who signed a statement of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship in praise of Wallace's open letter to Stalin, May 1948. The Daily People's World of October 23, 1943, p. 3, reported that he was on the motion picture committee to organize Hollywood participation in the local observance of the Congress of American-Soviet Friendship, November 16, at the Shrine Auditorium.

A letterhead, which was received by the Committee in January 1949, listed Albert Maltz as a member-at-large of the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions; the same information was shown on a letterhead of the organization's Southern California Chapter (a photostat dated April 24, 1950). Mr. Maltz was shown to be a member of the Board of Directors of the National Council * * * on letterheads of July 28, 1950, and December 7, 1952, and on a leaflet, "Policy and Program Adopted by the National Convention 1950." An undated ballot of the Southern California Chapter of the National Council (to be counted February 9, 1951) listed his name as a member of the organization's Film and Theater Division and as a candidate for Executive Board. The Daily Worker of April 11, 1951, p. 8, reported that he was an honor guest at a meeting of the National Council. He signed a statement of the Council attacking espionage investigations, as shown by the Daily Worker of August 18, 1948, p. 2; he signed the Council's statement protesting curbs on lawyers in political trials, as shown in the Daily Worker of March 10, 1952, p. 3. A statement in support of Henry A. Wallace, sponsored by the Council, was signed by Mr. Maltz, as shown in the Daily Worker of October 19, 1948, p. 7; and he was a sponsor of a dinner held by the Council in honor of Henry A. Wallace, October 28, 1948, Hotel Commodore, New York City, as shown on the Program.

Mr. Maltz was a sponsor of the Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace held under auspices of the National Council * * * in New York, N. Y., March 25-27, 1949, as shown by the Conference Program (p. 13) and the Conference Call.

Mr. Maltz spoke at a meeting of the National Lawyers Guild in Washington, D. C., on "Legislative Investigation? or Thought Control Agency?", October 20, 1947, p. 3.

New Theatre, May 1935, p. 8, listed Albert Maltz as a contributor to that publication of the New Theatre League and New Dance League. The New Theatre League produced "Black Pit" by Maltz, as shown by the January 8, 1936, issue of the Daily Worker, p. 3; and the Daily Worker of June 10, 1938, p. 7, reported that Maltz was the guest of the New Theatre League.

Albert Maltz was one of those who signed the Open Letter in Defense of Harry Bridges, as shown by the Daily Worker of July 19, 1942, p. 4; and he was a member of the International Board and a sponsor of the People's Institute of Applied Religion, Inc., as shown by a letterhead dated January 1, 1948. Mr. Maltz issued a statement in support of the USSR which appeared in the September 1941 issue of "Soviet Russia Today", p. 30; and he was one of those who signed a statement in defense of the members of the National Board of the Spanish Refugee Appeal, as shown by the Daily People's World, June 25, 1948, p. 5.

Albert Maltz was one of those who signed a letter to Governor Thomas E. Dewey which was sponsored by the Schappes Defense Committee, as shown by the New York Times of October 9, 1944, p. 12. He signed a letter to President Roosevelt protesting attacks on the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, as shown by the Daily Worker of February 21, 1940; and he was a public sponsor of the Veterans Against Discrimination of the Civil Rights Congress of New York, as shown by a letterhead of that organization dated May 11, 1946.

"Way Things Are" by Albert Maltz was published by the New Century Publishers, as shown by the 1946 catalogue (p. 30). The Workers Bookshop advertises books by Albert Maltz, as shown by the advertisement of "The Journey of Simon McKeever" in the 1949-1950 catalogue of the bookshop, p. 3; and that of "The Citizen Writer" on a leaflet of the Annual Sale, Workers Bookshop, March 10 to April 1, 1950. "The Citizen Writer" was published by International Publishers, as shown in the Daily Worker, issues of November 21, 1949, p. 11, and March 1, 1950, p. 11. "The Journey of Simon McKeever" was recommended by The Worker (issue of December 4, 1949, p. 8, sec. 2, Southern Edition).

Albert Maltz testified in public hearings before the Committee on Un-American Activities, October 21-30, 1947, as shown in the hearings (p. 363). The Daily People's World of October 30, 1947, p. 1, reported that Maltz was cited for contempt of Congress for refusing to answer questions of the Committee. He was one of the persons cited for contempt of Congress who agreed to waive a jury trial and abide by the decision of the trial case, the Lawson-Trumbo case. The Washington Post of April 11, 1950, p. 1, reported that the Supreme Court upheld the decision of the lower court and that Lawson and Trumbo were sentenced to pay \$1,000 fines and serve a year in jail. The Daily Worker of April 4, 1951, p. 3, reported that Albert Maltz had been released from the Federal prison at Mill Point, West Virginia, after serving his sentence for contempt; he had started serving his term June 29, 1950.

CITATIONS

(1) Cited by Committee and/or Special Committee on Un-American Activities; (2) Cited by the United States Attorney General.

American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born (1) and (2)

American Labor Party (1)

American League Against War and Fascism (1) and (2)

American Slav Congress (1) and (2)

American Writers Congress (1)

American Youth for Democracy (1) and (2)

Artists Front to Win the War (1)

California Labor School (2)

Civil Rights Congress (1) and (2)

Conference on Constitutional Liberties in America (1) and (2)

Daily Worker (1)

Equality (1)

International Publishers (1)

International Workers Order (1) and (2)

Jefferson School of Social Science (1) and (2)

Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee (1) and (2)

League of American Writers (1) and (2)

League of Women Shoppers (1)

Masses and Mainstream (1)

National Conference on American Policy in China and the Far East (2)

National Council of American-Soviet Friendship (1) and (2)

National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions (1)

National Federation for Constitutional Liberties (1) and (2)

National Lawyers Guild (1)
 New Century Publishers (1)
 New Masses (1) and (2)
 New Theatre (1)
 New Theatre League (1)
 Open Letter in Defense of Harry Bridges (1)
 People's Institute of Applied Religion, Inc. (2)
 Schappes Defense Committee (1) and (2)
 Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace (1)
 Veterans Against Discrimination of the Civil Rights Congress (2)
 Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade (1) and (2)

PERRY MILLER

Organization and affiliation

Samuel Adams School for Social Science (2). Teacher of course on "The Literature of Industrialism"; biographical notes shown on page 23 of source. i. d. as Dr.

Member of Faculty-----

Source

Catalogue for Spring Term, 1947 (pp. 15 & 23); photostat of this used as Struik Exhibit 5, July 24, 1951.

Testimony of Mr. Walter S. Steele before this committee July 21, 1947, p. 52.

GARDNER MURPHY

Organization and affiliation

National Federation for Constitutional Liberties (1) and (2). Signed Press release.

American League for Peace and Democracy (1) and (2). Member of Psychologists Committee.

American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born (1) and (2). Sponsor.

National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions (1). Sponsor, Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace, March 25-27, 1949. i. d. as Educator.

Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights (1). Sponsor.

Conference on Pan American Democracy (1) and (2). Sponsor.

Source

Press release dated Dec. 26, 1941.

Letterhead dated Apr. 6, 1939.

Letterhead of June 11, 1940 (written in Spanish); Program of the Fifth National Conference, Atlantic City, N. J., Mar. 29-30, 1941; and a booklet entitled "The Registration of Aliens."

Daily Worker, Feb. 21, 1949, p. 2; also conference program, p. 15.

Program of the conference, Feb. 12, 1940.

Letterhead, Nov. 16, 1938; signed call to the conference as shown in "News You Don't Get" for Nov. 15, 1938, p. 3.

- | <i>Organization and affiliation</i> | <i>Source</i> |
|---|--|
| Coordinating Committee to Lift the Embargo (1). Representative Individual who advocated lifting the arms embargo against Spain. | Booklet entitled "These Americans Say: * * *" (p. 9). |
| Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy (1). Psychologists' Committee. | Letterhead dated July 6, 1938. |
| American Friends of Spanish Democracy (1). Signed petition to lift arms embargo. | Daily Worker, Apr. 8, 1938, p. 4 |
| Civil Rights Congress (1) and (2). Signed an "Open Letter to J. Howard McGrath" on behalf of the four jailed Trustees of the Bail Fund of the Civil Rights Congress of New York., i. d. as a teacher, New York. | Advertisement ("paid for by contributions of signers"), Evening Star, Oct. 30, 1951, p. A-7. |

HENRY MURRAY

- | <i>Organization and affiliation</i> | <i>Source</i> |
|--|------------------------------------|
| Daily Worker (1). Marched in May Day Parade, Joliet, Illinois. | Daily Worker, Apr. 28, 1924, p. 4. |
| National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions (1). Sponsor, Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace, New York City, March 25-27, 1949. Name shown in this source as Henry A. Murray. | Conference program, p. 15. |
| Reported to be witness in behalf of Alger Hiss. Name shown in source as Dr. Henry A. Murray. Washington Times-Herald, Jan. 13, 1950, p. 5. | |

RAY NEWTON

"The Struggle Against War," August 1933 (p. 2) reported that Ray Newton was a member of the Arrangements Committee for the United States Congress Against War of the American Committee for Struggle Against War. A letterhead of the United States Congress Against War dated November 1, 1933 carried the name of Ray Newton as a member of the Arrangements Committee.

The American Committee for Struggle Against War was cited as a Communist front which was formed in response to directives from a World Congress Against War held in Amsterdam in August 1932 under the auspices of the Communist International by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities in its report dated March 29, 1944 (pp. 47 and 119). The Special Committee on Un-American Activities cited the United States Congress Against War as "convened in St. Nicholas

Arena, New York City, on September 29, 1933 * * * it was completely under the control of the Communist Party. Earl Browder was a leading figure in all its deliberations. In his report to the Communist International, Browder stated: "The Congress from the beginning was led by our party quite openly." (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 119.) The Attorney General of the United States cited the organization as follows: "The American League Against War and Fascism was formally organized at the First United States Congress Against War and Fascism held in New York City, September 29 to October 1, 1933. * * * The program of the first congress called for the end of the Roosevelt policies of imperialism and for the support of the peace policies of the Soviet Union, for opposition to all attempts to weaken the Soviet Union. * * * Subsequent congresses in 1934 and 1936 reflected the same program." (Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7683.)

MILTON MAYER

Material concerning Milton Mayer and the Great Books Foundation was entered in Committee files at the request of the Honorable Richard Nixon in a letter addressed to the Chairman, September 25, 1951. This material contains a letter addressed to Senator Nixon, September 13, 1951, by Charles F. Strubbe, Jr., President of the Great Books Foundation, concerning Milton Mayer and the Foundation. A copy of this letter and the letterhead on which it was written is enclosed for your information.

The reference in the letter to the "Syracuse story," in which Mr. Mayer was accused of advocating "tearing down the flag" may be found in the Congressional Record of March 6, 1947 (page 1720), where the Honorable Bertrand Gearhart read an article from the Syracuse (New York) Post Standard of February 16, 1947. This article reported that Milton Mayer, professor at the University of Chicago, had addressed a meeting of One Worlders in Syracuse, as follows:

We must haul down the American flag. And if I wanted to be vulgar and shocking, I would go even further, and say haul it down, stamp on it, and spit on it.

Attached to Mr. Strubbe's letter is a photostatic copy of a letter dated March 14, 1947, from District Attorney William H. Powers, to the Assistant Counsel to the Governor of New York, which states:

* * * in connection with the complaint from Mr. Gridley Adams of the United States Flag Foundation, I wish to report that an investigation of this episode indicates no crime was committed, or insult intended to the flag. The objectionable remarks occurred at a Forum held on February 15, 1947, at the Osedaga Hotel in Syracuse, New York, as part of the program of the Institute of International Relations, which is sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee and the Syracuse Peace Council. The subject of the Forum was "world government," a concept apparently opposed by Mr. Mayer.

The attention focused on his statement illustrates the misunderstanding that can arise when a question is taken out of its context. What Mr. Mayer apparently meant was that the persons advocating world government would "haul down the American Flag, etc." which is obviously exactly contrary to advocating such a practice.

Also attached to the file are photostats of a certification of Mr. Bower's signature by the Onondaga County Clerk, May 1, 1951, and clippings of articles reporting on Mr. Bower's investigation which

appeared in the Syracuse Post-Standard on March 19, 1947, and the Syracuse Herald-Journal of the same date.

In an article datelined Whittier, July 4, the Daily People's World of July 5, 1950 (page 4), reported that—

the U. S. policy in Korea today "seems dangerously like the totalitarianism we are supposed to be fighting, Milton Mayer told one of the final sessions of the Institute of International Relations sponsored by the Quakers here * * * Emphasizing that he was himself a rabid anti-Communist, Mayer said he failed to see how war in Korea was going to eliminate communism * * *"

REINHOLD NIEBUHR

A letterhead of the Fourth Annual Conference, American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, held at the Hotel Annapolis in Washington, D. C., March 2-3, 1940, showed Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr to be one of the sponsors of that conference. The American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born was cited as subversive and Communist by the United States Attorney General in letters furnished the Loyalty Review Board and released to the press by the U. S. Civil Service Commission, June 1 and September 21, 1948; the organization was redesignated by the Attorney General pursuant to Executive Order 10450 of April 27, 1953. The Special Committee on Un-American Activities cited the American Committee * * * as "one of the oldest auxiliaries of the Communist Party in the United States" (Report 1311 of March 29, 1944).

Dr. Niebuhr endorsed the American Congress for Peace and Democracy, as shown on the "Call to Action" by the Congress for January 6-8, 1939, in Washington, D. C.; a letterhead of the American League for Peace and Democracy, dated July 12, 1939, named him as a member of the National Committee of that organization; the "Daily Worker" of January 18, 1938 (page 2) reported that he was one of those who signed a resolution urging passage of the Anti-Lynching Bill, which resolution was sponsored by the American League for Peace and Democracy. Dr. Niebuhr was one of the sponsors of the Boycott Japanese Goods Conference of the American League * * *, as shown in the January 11, 1938 issue of the "Daily Worker" (page 2). It is also shown on a letterhead of the China Aid Council of the League, dated May 18, 1938, that Dr. Niebuhr was a sponsor of the Council. He was chairman of a Mass Reception at the opening session of the United States Congress Against War, as shown on the printed program of the Congress.

The American Congress for Peace and Democracy has been cited as a Communist-front organization advocating collective security against the Fascist aggressors prior to the signing of the Stalin-Hitler pact; the American League for Peace and Democracy was formed at this Congress. (From a report of the Special Committee * * * dated March 29, 1944.)

The American League for Peace and Democracy was "established in the United States in 1937 as successor to the American League Against War and Fascism in an effort to create public sentiment on behalf of a foreign policy adapted to the interests of the Soviet Union * * * (It) was designed to conceal Communist control in accordance with the new tactics of the Communist International" (United States Attorney General, Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, pages 7683 and 7684); the Attorney General included the

American League * * * on lists of subversive and Communist organizations furnished the Loyalty Review Board (press releases of June 1 and September 21, 1948) and redesignated it pursuant to Executive Order 10450 of April 27, 1953. The Special Committee cited the American League as "the largest of the Communist 'front' movements in the United States" (Reports of January 3, 1939; March 29, 1944; January 3, 1940; January 3, 1941; June 25, 1942; and January 2, 1943). The American League Against War and Fascism was formally organized at the First United States Congress Against War and Fascism which was held in New York City, September 29-October 1, 1933 (United States Attorney General, Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, page 7683); the Special Committee cited the United States Congress Against War as "completely under the control of the Communist Party" (Report of March 29, 1944).

A letterhead of the American Friends of Spanish Democracy, dated February 21, 1938, named Dr. Niebuhr as a member of the Executive Committee of that organization, cited by the Special Committee as a Communist-front group (Report of March 29, 1944).

Dr. Niebuhr was one of the sponsors of a mass rally of the American Labor Party, as shown on a handbill entitled "Protest Brutal Nazi Persecutions!" The Special Committee cited the American Labor Party as follows: "For years the Communists have put forth the greatest efforts to capture the entire American Labor Party throughout New York State. They succeeded in capturing the Manhattan and Brooklyn sections of the American Labor Party but outside of New York City, they have been unable to win control" (Report of March 29, 1944).

A leaflet entitled "Presenting the American Student Union" named Dr. Niebuhr as a member of the Advisory Board of the American Student Union; he spoke at the Fourth National Convention of the organization, as shown in the "Student Almanac" for 1939 (page 32); he was a member of the Sponsoring Committee of the "Alumni Homecoming" dinner arranged by the American Student Union in New York City, March 21, 1937, according to a photostat of a leaflet announcing the dinner.

The American Student Union has been cited as a Communist-front organization which was "the result of a united front gathering of young Socialists and Communists" in 1937; the Young Communist League took credit for creation of the Union, and the Union offered free trips to Russia. The Union claims to have led as many as 500,000 students out in annual April 22 strikes in the United States. (From a Report of the Special Committee * * * dated January 3, 1939, page 80.)

Dr. Niebuhr was one of the sponsors of the Consumers National Federation, as shown in the organization's pamphlet, "The People vs. H. C. L." (page 3), dated December 11-12, 1937. The Consumers National Federation was cited as a Communist-front organization in Report 1311 of the Special Committee * * *, dated March 29, 1944.

In a booklet entitled "These Americans Say: 'Lift the Embargo Against Republican Spain,'" material for which was compiled and published by the Coordinating Committee to Lift the (Spanish) Embargo, the Rev. Reinhold Niebuhr was named as a "representative" clergyman who advocated lifting the embargo on the sale of arms to Spain, "a well-meant but tragically mistaken effort to legislate

neutrality." The Coordinating Committee to Lift the Embargo has been cited as one of a number of front organizations, set up during the Spanish Civil War by the Communist Party in the United States and through which the party carried on a great deal of agitation. (From the Special Committee's Report of March 29, 1944.)

The organization, American Friends of the Chinese People, has been cited as a Communist-front group by the Special Committee in its Report of March 29, 1944; a letterhead of the organization, dated May 16, 1940, carried the name of Reinhold Niebuhr in a list of members of the National Advisory Board.

ERNEST MINOR PATTERSON

- | <i>Organization and affiliation</i> | <i>Source</i> |
|---|---|
| American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom | Letterhead, Sept. 22, 1939. |
| (1). Member, National Committee (shown as Ernest M.). | |
| Member, Executive Committee (shown as Prof. Ernest M.; University of Pennsylvania). | Letterhead, Dec. 21, 1939. |
| Signer of Open Letter to Nicholas Murray Butler denouncing his "pro-war" stand. | Daily Worker, Oct. 7, 1940, p. 3. |
| American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born (1) (2). Sponsor. | Letterhead, June 11, 1940; Letterhead, Mar. 29, 1941; Program, Fifth National Conference, Atlantic City, N. J., Mar. 29-30, 1941; and, booklet, "The Registration of Aliens," back cover. |
| New York Conference for Inalienable Rights (1). Signer of telegram to President Roosevelt and Attorney General Jackson in behalf of the International Fur and Leather Workers Union defendants. | Daily Worker, Sept. 17, 1940, pp. 1 and 5. |
| Philadelphia Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder [Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder (1) (2)]. Signer of Letter to the President. | The Worker, Mar. 15, 1942, p. 4. |

PAUL RADIN

- (1) Cited by Special and/or Committee on Un-American Activities;
 (2) Cited by United States Attorney General.

- | <i>Organization and affiliation</i> | <i>Source</i> |
|--|---|
| California Labor School (2). Instructor; Member of faculty; lecturer; biographical note. | Yearbook and catalog, "California Labor School" 1948, pp. 21, 38. |
| Speaker; chairman at lecture. | Daily People's World, Aug. 9, 1948, p. 5. |

<i>Organization and affiliation</i>	<i>Source</i>
League of American Writers (1) and (2). Member.	The Bulletin, Summer, 1938, p. 4.
Open Letter for Closer Cooperation with the Soviet Union (1). Signed Open Letter.	Soviet Russia Today, September 1939, p. 25.
Science and Society (1). Contributor.	New Masses, Apr. 27, 1937, p. 26.
Washington Book Shop (1) and (2). Member; address shown as 1442 Fairmont Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.	Membership list on file with this committee.

ELIZABETH F. READ

No Record; the following reference is to one Elizabeth Read.

<i>Organization and affiliation</i>	<i>Source</i>
American Youth Congress (1) (2). Member of Continuations Committee (identified as from the National Student Federation of America.)	Program of American Youth Congress, Aug. 15, 16, and 17, 1934, p. 4.

ROBERT REDFIELD

The "Daily Worker" of June 10, 1938 (page 2) reported that Robert Redfield endorsed an appeal of the American Friends of Spanish Democracy to Congress to lift the Spanish embargo.

In 1937-38, the Communist Party threw itself wholeheartedly into the campaign for the support of the Spanish Loyalist cause, recruiting men and organizing multifarious so-called relief organizations * * * such as * * * American Friends of Spanish Democracy. (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 82.)

Professor Robert Redfield, Chicago, signed a statement of the National Committee to Defeat the Mundt Bill as shown by the April 3, 1950, issue of the "Daily Worker" (p. 4).

The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report on the National Committee to Defeat the Mundt Bill, January 2, 1951, cited the group as "a registered lobbying organization which has carried out the objectives of the Communist Party in its fight against anti-subversive legislation."

The "Daily Worker" of July 9, 1952 (p. 6) listed Professor Robert Redfield as having signed an open letter to the Platform Committees of the Republican and Democratic Parties urging that they include in their 1952 platforms "a plank calling for repeal of the McCarran Act."

MRS. JACOB RIIS

- (1) Cited by Special and/or Committee on Un-American Activities;
- (2) Cited by Attorney General of the United States.

<i>Organization and affiliation</i>	<i>Source</i>
League of Women Shoppers (1). Sponsor-----	Letterhead of Oct. 7, 1935.

See also: Hearings before Special Committee on Un-American Activities, pages 530 and 3071.

PAUL ROBESON

During the committee's hearings regarding Communist infiltration of minority groups, July 14, 1949, Mr. Manning Johnson (member of the Communist Party for ten years) testified as follows concerning Paul Robeson:

I shall never forget when I was called by Charles Dirba, secretary of the national disciplinary commission of the party. Incidentally, the national disciplinary commission is the American Soviet secret police agency in this country. I say that without equivocation and without the slightest hesitation. Charles Dirba was secretary of that commission, and Golos, the head of World Tourists, was chairman.

Because I had insisted that Paul Robeson be called in to assist in our fight against white chauvinism, Dirba said by making such requests I was doing irreparable harm to the Communist Party, because in the first place it was not Paul Robeson's work, and that by the promiscuous use of Paul Robeson's name it would become general knowledge that he was a member of the Communist Party, and they could not afford to have such knowledge become general, because it would endanger much work Paul Robeson was engaged in. I had to accept that or accept expulsion from the party. (See: Hearings Regarding Communist Infiltration of Minority Groups—Part 2, Testimony of Manning Johnson, pages 508 and 509.)

On February 19, 1951, this committee issued a Statement on The March of Treason, a Study of the American "Peace" Crusade, in which the following reference was made to Paul Robeson:

The American Peace Crusade is an organic part of the Communist peace offensive now being waged, * * * as an effort to "disarm and defeat the United States." Spearheading the Crusade are the following known members of the Communist Party: Moscow-trained Ben Gold, also Howard Fast, Alex Sirota, Albert Kahn, Maurice Travis, and Paul Robeson * * *. Once before, we witnessed an American Peace Crusade. That was during the infamous pact between Adolph Hitler and Joseph Stalin. At that time it was sponsored by the American Peace Mobilization which picketed the White House. Oddly enough, a number of signers of the call for the coming Peace Pilgrimage were likewise supporters of the American Peace Mobilization, namely Paul Robeson, * * * (See page 1 of the Statement.)

Paul Robeson's attitude toward the Soviet Union was reflected in an article which he wrote for the magazine, Soviet Russia Today (August 1936, page 13). Mr. Robeson stated that—

The Soviet Union is the only country I've ever been in, where I've felt completely at ease. I've lived in England and America and I've almost circled the globe—but for myself, wife and son, the Soviet Union is our future home. For a while, however, I wouldn't feel right going there to live. By singing its praises wherever I go, I think I can be of the most value to it. It's too easy to go to the Soviet Union, breathe free air, and live "happily ever afterwards."

During a visit to Moscow, he took occasion to visit a number of Soviet workers' homes. One of them he visited was that of his brother-in-law, John Goode, employed in Moscow as a mechanic and busdriver. Mr. Robeson said that—

he lives in a comfortable airy apartment, plenty of sunlight, surrounded by a number of other workers who had places of the same sort. I don't say everything's perfect, but they're building, improving all the time.

In the Daily Worker of October 11, 1946 (page 11), it is shown that when Mr. Robeson was questioned relative to his visits to the Soviet Union and the schooling his son got there, he replied that "my son had what I would call a very basic Soviet education." When asked whether he was a Communist, Mr. Robeson answered that he charac-

terizes himself as an "anti-Fascist" and although he wasn't a member of the Communist Party, he would choose it over the Republicans, explaining that—

in my association with Communists throughout the world, I have found them to be the first people to die, the first to sacrifice, and the first to understand fascism.

The New York Times reported on July 10, 1949 (page 31), that—the famous baritone (Paul Robeson), recently returned from a trip through Europe (and) told the 300 Negro workers in radio, television and the theatre that they were deprived of all rights, whereas inhabitants of the Soviet Union and the "people's democracies" in Western Europe "are in no danger of losing any of their civil rights" (and further) predicted the death of American democracy if Negroes and "progressive" artists in this country did not unite with the twelve indicted leaders of the Communist Party to overthrow the "guys who run this country for bucks and foster cold war hysteria."

On various occasions, Mr. Robeson has defended the Communist Party. On July 23, 1940, the Daily Worker reported that he had signed an Open Letter to President Roosevelt, protesting against the attack on the right of the Communist Party to use the ballot. On September 23, 1940, the same publication revealed that he had signed a statement, urging ballot rights to Communists. The Communist Party of New York wrote a statement to the President, defending the Party; the statement was signed by Paul Robeson and others, as shown in the Daily Worker of March 5, 1941 (page 2). The same publication (in the issue of April 22, 1947, page 5), named Mr. Robeson among the one-hundred Negro leaders who called upon President Truman and Congress "to repudiate decisively the fascist-like proposal to illegalize the Communist Party."

The Daily Worker of April 21, 1947 (page 1), reported that when asked if he was a Communist, Mr. Robeson replied that—

there are only two groups in the world today—fascists and anti-fascists. The Communists belong to the anti-fascist group and I label myself an anti-fascist. The Communist Party is a legal one like the Republican or Democratic Party and I could belong to either. I could just as well think of joining the Communist Party as any other.

Mr. Robeson's defense of Communists and Communist candidates is shown by the following: He filed a Supreme Court brief in behalf of the twelve Communist leaders and his photograph appeared in the Daily Worker on January 9, 1949 (page 3) in this connection. When some of the Communist Party leaders were arrested in 1948, Paul Robeson sponsored a "Statement by Negro Americans" on behalf of these people (Daily Worker, August 23, 1948, page 3; August 29, 1948, page 11); on September 16, 1940, the Daily Worker named Paul Robeson as one of those who signed a statement by Negro leaders, protesting attacks against Communist candidates. A meeting was held in Madison Square Garden on March 17, 1941, honoring William Z. Foster, national chairman of the Communist Party, on his 60th birthday, on which occasion Mr. Robeson sang (from the Daily Worker of March 19, 1941, page 5).

Paul Robeson was Chairman of the Committee for the reelection of Benj. J. Davis, a Communist Party candidate, as shown in the Daily Worker of September 25, 1945, page 12; an advertisement in the Washington Post of November 4, 1946, named Mr. Robeson as

a member of the Citizens Committee for Robert Thompson and Benjamin J. Davis who were Communist Party candidates. The Daily Worker also shows that Paul Robeson spoke at a dinner honoring Benjamin Davis (see issue of October 20, 1947, page 7); he supported the defense of Gerhart Eisler and Leon Josephson, Communists (Daily Worker, April 28, 1947, page 4). The Daily Worker of March 4, 1952 (page 3) and March 6, 1952 (page 1), reported that Paul Robeson was one of those who signed a protest to Premier Plastires of Greece against the execution of eight Greek Communists.

The pamphlet entitled "What is APM?" (page 12) contained the name of Paul Robeson in a list of members of the National Council of the American Peace Mobilization; he was vice-Chairman of this organization, as shown in the Daily Worker of September 3, 1940 (page 4); he spoke at a mass meeting of the organization in Washington, D. C., September 13, 1940 (Daily Worker, September 13, 1940, page 4; September 15, 1940, page 2).

The American Peace Mobilization was cited as "one of the most seditious organizations which ever operated in the United States" (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report 1311 of March 29, 1944; also cited in reports of June 25, 1942; January 2, 1943). The Attorney General of the United States cited the organization as having been—

formed in the summer of 1940 under the auspices of the Communist Party and the Young Communist League as a "front" organization designed to mold American opinion against participation in the war against Germany (Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, page 7684);

and as subversive and Communist (press releases of December 4, 1947 and September 21, 1948; also included in consolidated list of April 1, 1954).

Paul Robeson was chairman of the Council on African Affairs, as shown in the following sources: Letterhead of the organization dated May 17, 1945; a leaflet entitled "What of Africa's Peace in Tomorrow's World?"; a pamphlet entitled "Africa in the War"; another, "Seeing is Believing—Here is the Truth About South Africa"; and "The Job to be Done," a leaflet. The Council on African Affairs was cited as subversive and Communist by the Attorney General (press releases of December 4, 1947 and September 21, 1948; included in consolidated list released April 1, 1954).

Letterheads of the Civil Rights Congress dated March 4 and May 7, 1948, and October 20, 1950, named Paul Robeson as Vice-Chairman of the organization; the Daily Worker of January 18, 1949 (page 11) also listed him as Vice-Chairman; he signed the call to the National Conference of the Civil Rights Congress in Chicago, as shown in the Daily Worker of October 21, 1947 (page 5); together with Eugene Dennis (Communist Party member), Mr. Robeson spoke at a meeting of the Civil Rights Congress (Daily Worker, November 5, 1947, page 5); he also spoke at the National Conference of the group in Chicago, as shown in the Daily Worker of November 19, 1947 (page 6).

The Civil Rights Congress was formed by a merger of two other Communist-front organizations, the International Labor Defense and the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties. It was "dedicated * * * specifically to the defense of individual Communists and the Communist Party" and "controlled by individuals who are either members of the Communist Party or openly loyal to it" (Committee on Un-American Activities in Report 1115 of September

2, 1947); the Attorney General cited the Civil Rights Congress as subversive and Communist (press releases of December 4, 1947 and September 21, 1948; included in consolidated list dated April 1, 1954).

A 1947 catalogue of the Winter Term, George Washington Carver School, listed Paul Robeson as a member of the Board of Directors of the School which was cited as an adjunct in New York City of the Communist Party (the Attorney General in press release of December 4, 1947; also included in consolidated list released April 1, 1954).

Letterheads of the Spanish Refugee Appeal of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, dated February 26, 1946 and May 18, 1951, include the name of Paul Robeson in a list of national sponsors of the organization. The Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee was cited as a Communist-front organization headed by Edward K. Barsky (Special Committee * * * in Report of March 29, 1944). The Attorney General cited it as subversive and Communist (press releases of December 4, 1947 and September 21, 1948; included in consolidated list of April 1, 1954).

The Daily Worker of April 19, 1947 (page 4), named Paul Robeson as one of the sponsors of the May Day Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions; he was a member of the same committee for the May Day Parade (Daily Worker, April 28, 1947, page 3); and one of the Marshals for the United May Day Parade (The Worker, April 27, 1947, page 2). He was a sponsor of a conference in New York City, March 24, 1951, held under the auspices of the Provisional United Labor and People's Committee for May Day as shown by the Call to a United Labor and People's Conference for May Day, 1951. He participated in the May Day Parade in 1951 (Daily Worker, May 2, 1951, page 9).

The May Day Parade has been cited as an annual mobilization in New York City of Communist strength (Special Committee on Un-American Activities in Report 1311 of March 29, 1944).

Paul Robeson was one of the sponsors of a Win-the-Peace Conference held in the National Press Building, Washington, D. C., April 5-7, 1948, as shown on the call to that conference; a summary of the proceedings of the conference showed that Paul Robeson was elected Co-Chairman, together with Col. Evans F. Carlson, of the National Committee to Win the Peace. On June 13, 1936, Paul Robeson spoke at the Win-the-Peace Rally to Stop World War III, sponsored by the National Committee to Win the Peace (handbill of the rally). A letterhead of the conference, dated February 28, 1946, and the Daily Worker of May 9, 1946 (page 3), name Paul Robeson as a sponsor and Co-Chairman, respectively, of the Win-the-Peace Conference. He was co-Chairman, New York Committee to Win the Peace, as shown on a letterhead dated June 1, 1946; and the call to a conference June 28-29, 1946.

The National Committee to Win the Peace was cited as subversive and Communist by the Attorney General (press releases of December 4, 1947 and September 21, 1948; included in consolidated list released April 1, 1954).

In a pamphlet entitled "For a New Africa," which contains the proceedings of the Conference on Africa, held in New York City, April 14, 1944, Paul Robeson was named as Chairman of the National Negro Congress; he also participated in the Cultural Conference of the National Negro Congress (Daily Worker, March 14, 1947, page 11).

"The Communist-front movement in the United States among

Negroes is known as the National Negro Congress" (from a report of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities dated January 3, 1939; also cited in reports of January 3, 1940; June 25, 1942; March 29, 1944); the Attorney General cited the National Negro Congress as "An important sector of the democratic front, sponsored and supported by the Communist Party"; and as subversive and Communist. (Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, pages 7687 and 7688; and press releases of December 4, 1947 and September 21, 1948; included in consolidated list released April 1, 1954).

Paul Robeson was a member of the Executive Board of the New York Committee of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, as shown in an undated leaflet entitled "The South is Closer Than You Think" (received by this committee about February 1947); he was one of the narrators in the attack by the Southern Conference for Human Welfare on the Freedom Train (news release dated November 15, 1947).

The Southern Conference for Human Welfare was cited as a Communist-front organization "which seeks to attract southern liberals on the basis of its seeming interest in the problems of the South" although its "professed interest in southern welfare is simply an expedient for larger aims serving the Soviet Union and its subservient Communist Party in the United States" (Committee on Un-American Activities in Report dated June 12, 1947. The Special Committee * * * cited the group as a Communist-front which received money from the Robert Marshall Foundation (report dated March 29, 1944).

A letterhead of the Congress of American-Soviet Friendship, dated October 27, 1942, named Paul Robeson as one of the patrons of that congress; he sang and spoke before the group at a meeting in New York City, November 6-8, 1943 (pamphlet entitled "U. S. A.-U. S. S. R." page 31). According to a letterhead and a memorandum issued by the congress dated March 13, 1946 and March 18, 1946, respectively, Paul Robeson was one of the sponsors of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Inc. A printed advertisement announcing a Rally for Peace, sponsored by the group, appeared in the Daily Worker of December 1, 1948 (page 6). Paul Robeson was on the program, arranged by the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, which was held in Madison Square Garden December 13, 1948.

In a report dated March 29, 1944 by the Special Committee * * * the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship as having been, in recent months, the Communist Party's principal front for all things Russian. The Attorney General cited the group as subversive and Communist (press releases of December 4, 1947 and September 21, 1948; included in consolidated list released April 1, 1954).

The Worker of June 29, 1947 (page 5m), named Paul Robeson as one of the members of the International Workers Order, cited as "one of the most effective and closely knitted organizations among the Communist-front movements" by the Special Committee * * * (report of January 3, 1939; also cited in reports of March 29, 1944; January 3, 1940; and June 25, 1942); the Attorney General cited the International Workers Order as "one of the strongest Communist organizations" (Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, page 7688); and as subversive and Communist (press releases of December

4, 1947 and September 21, 1948; also included in consolidated list released April 1, 1954).

Paul Robeson was one of the contributing editors of *New Masses*, as shown in the issues of March 14, 1944 and April 30, 1946; he signed their letter to the President of the United States (*New Masses*, April 2, 1940, page 21); and endorsed the publication, as shown in the *Daily Worker* of October 10, 1944 (page 6). On January 14, 1946, Mr. Robeson was honored at a dinner in New York City for the purpose of making awards to those who contributed to greater inter-racial understanding (*Daily Worker*, January 7, 1946, page 11); he received *New Masses'* Second Annual Award for his contribution to promoting democracy and inter-racial unity (*New Masses*, November 18, 1947, page 7).

The Attorney General cited *New Masses* as a "Communist periodical" (Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, page 7688); and the Special Committee * * * cited it as a "nationally circulated weekly journal of the Communist Party" (report dated March 29, 1944; also cited in their reports of January 3, 1939 and June 25, 1942). Beginning in March, 1948, *New Masses* and the Marxist quarterly known as *Mainstream* were consolidated into a publication known as *Masses & Mainstream*; Paul Robeson remained as contributing editor, as shown in the March 1948 issue of *Masses & Mainstream* (Volume 1, No. 1).

The *Daily Worker* of February 4, 1952 (page 8), reported that Paul Robeson was prohibited from leaving this country when he attempted to enter Canada to speak at a convention of the British Columbia International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers.

As a welcome home rally for Paul Robeson in New York City, June 19, 1949 (reported in *The Worker* of June 26, 1949, page 4, and the *Daily Worker* of July 3, 1949, page 6m), arranged by the Council on African Affairs, he was quoted in these sources as having made the following statement: "Yes, I love the Soviet people more than any other nation, because of their suffering and sacrifices for us, the Negro people, the progressive people, the people of the future in this world." He pledged himself to "defend them (the Communists) as they defended us, the Negro people. And I stand firm and immovable by the side of that great leader who has given his whole life in the struggle of the American working class—Bill Foster; by the side of Gene Dennis; by the side of my friend Ben Davis; Johnny Gates; Henry Winston; Gus Hall; Gil Green; Jack Stachel; Carl Winter; Irving Potash; Bob Thompson; Johnny Williamson—twelve brave fighters for my freedom. Their struggle is our struggle."

Mr. Robeson was one of the sponsors of the Non-Partisan Committee to Defend Communist Leaders (*Daily Worker*, July 18, 1949, page 2); and praised those leaders in an article which appeared in the *Daily People's World* of May 16, 1950 (page 11). In an article date-lined Moscow, June 9, 1949 (see the *Daily Worker* of June 10, 1949, page 4), Paul Robeson was quoted as having told the Soviet Academy of Sciences that he would return soon to the United States to testify at the New York trial of Communist leaders. Identified as "one of the most popular of foreign visitors attending a celebration in honor of the poet, Alexander Pushkin," Robeson was quoted in the article as having told the group that "we are fully resolved to struggle for peace and friendship together; * * * with you Soviet people representing the hope of the whole world * * *"

On August 4, 1950, the New York Times (page 1) reported that the State Department had requested Paul Robeson to surrender his passport. The Daily Worker of April 3, 1951 (page 2) reported that on April 5, attorneys before a Federal District Judge would argue for an order compelling the State Department to renew his passport. According to the September 18, 1951 issue of that paper (page 1), Paul Robeson was invited by the Chinese people to attend the Second Anniversary of the People's Republic of China, but that the State Department had denied him the right to leave the country. As shown by the December 9, 1951 issue of The Worker (page 2), Mr. Robeson applied to the State Department for a special passport to go to Paris to present a genocide plea before the General Assembly of the UN. He renewed his fight for a passport in order to attend the American Intercontinental Peace Conference in Rio de Janeiro (Daily Worker, January 18, 1952, page 8). He spoke by long-distance telephone to Canadian unionists in Vancouver, British Columbia, after his passport was canceled, according to the Daily Worker of February 12, 1952 (page 2).

ESTHER ROTH

- (1) Cited by Special and/or Committee on Un-American Activities;
- (2) Cited by Attorney General of the United States.

Organization and affiliation

Source

Hollywood Independent Citizens' Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions (1).
Member, Executive Council.
Name shown in this source as Mrs. Esther Roth.

Letterhead dated Dec. 10, 1946.

See also: Expose of the Communist Party of Western Pennsylvania (based upon testimony of Matthew Cvetie, undercover agent, February 21, 1950, pages 1202, 1318, and 1442). These are hearings of the Committee on Un-American Activities.

Dr. HAROLD O. RUGG

On November 22, 1938, Miss Alice Lee Jemison, Washington representative of Joseph Bruner, national president of the American Indian Federation, was a witness before the Special Committee on Un-American Activities. In connection with this testimony, Miss Jemison submitted a statement concerning Indian affairs in the United States which was incorporated in the record. The following reference to Dr. Harold Rugg is noted in this statement:

In 1935, the council of the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians conducted an investigation into the new educational program which was put into operation at Cherokee, N. C. This was followed by individual investigations by Mr. and Mrs. Fred B. Bauer, Federation members at Cherokee, by Mr. O. K. Chandler, then Americanism chairman of the Federation, and by Mr. Frank Waldrop, a newspaper man of Washington, D. C. in 1936. These investigations disclosed that:

* * * * *

That the books, "Introduction to American Civilization" and "Modern History" by Harold Rugg, member of the Progressive Education Association, were in use in the class rooms, and that these books had been taken out of the schools of the District of Columbia because of their radical teachings * * *. (Public Hearings, Volume 4, pages 2502-2503.)

Reference to the Rugg Textbooks is also found in the testimony of James F. O'Neil, vice-chairman of the National Americanism Commission of the American Legion, in public hearings before the Committee on Un-American Activities on March 27, 1947. The reference appears as follows:

Mr. O'Neil. * * * I speak specifically of the Rugg textbooks. The Rugg textbooks have been removed from the educational systems in many states.

Probably the outstanding instance was in San Francisco, where the Legion urged the removal of these textbooks from the schools because of their un-American teachings and doctrine, and as a result a board was created by the San Francisco Board of Education—an independent group. I don't recall the exact membership, but I believe there was a representative of either the president or somebody in the field of social sciences, from the University of Southern California, the University of California, and a third representative from some other institution. They concurred with the American Legion in the removal and the elimination of these textbooks from the schools.

* * * * *

Mr. BONNER. Just tell me a little something about these Rugg textbooks. What did they comprise—* * *

Mr. O'NEIL. * * * briefly, it was for a science of government that was totally different from the American system of government—an undemocratic system of government—in the social sciences * * *. (Hearings on H. R. 1884 and H. R. 2122, March 24-28, 1947, page 28.)

It is noted that on page 271 of Rugg's book, "The Great Technology," the following statement appears:

Thus through the schools of the world we shall disseminate a new conception of government—one that will embrace all the collective activities of men; one that will postulate the need for scientific control and operation of economic activities in the interest of all people.

It is also noted that Washington, D. C. newspapers have reported that Harold Rugg is author of textbooks rejected for use in the schools of the District of Columbia. (See: "Evening Star," December 17, 1947, page B-1; "Times-Herald," February 1, 1948, page 4; and "Times-Herald," December 26, 1948, page 2.)

ARTHUR SCHLESINGER, Jr.

In "Who's Who in America" for 1936-1937, Arthur Meier Schlesinger is shown to have two children, Arthur Meier and Thomas Bancroft, and to have been professor of history at Harvard University since 1925.

Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., is the author of an article entitled, "The U. S. Communist Party," which was written exclusively for "Life" magazine and published in the July 29, 1946 issue. The following statement concerning the author accompanied the article:

The author of this article, Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., is only 28 years old but is already recognized as an able American historian. His biography, "The Age of Jackson," won the 1946 Pulitzer Prize and he has been awarded a Guggenheim Fellowship to write "The Age of Roosevelt." Last Spring he was named associate professor of history at Harvard. He is currently writing a series of articles for "Fortune", wrote this one especially for "Life."

An undated booklet entitled, "Can You Name Them?" (page 3), lists A. M. Schlesinger as having endorsed the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom, organized on Lincoln's birthday in 1939; he signed a petition of the same committee, as was shown on a mimeographed sheet attached to a letterhead dated January 17, 1940.

The American Committee for Democracy * * * was cited as a Communist-front organization which defended Communist teachers (Special Committee on Un-American Activities in Reports of June 25, 1942 and March 29, 1944).

Prof. Arthur M. Schlesinger was named on a letterhead of the American Friends of Spanish Democracy, dated February 21, 1938, as a member of that group; identified as a professor at Harvard University, he signed a letter to President Roosevelt, urging that the Neutrality Act be amended so as to render it inapplicable to Spain; the letter was prepared under the auspices of the American Friends of Spanish Democracy. In information submitted by Mr. Walter S. Steele, during public hearings before the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, August 17, 1938 (page 569), it was disclosed that Arthur M. Schlesinger was a member of the American Friends of Spanish Democracy.

During 1937 and 1938, the Communist Party campaigned for support of the Spanish Loyalist cause, recruiting men and organizing so-called relief groups such as American Friends of Spanish Democracy. (From a Report of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities dated March 29, 1944.)

In the booklet, "600 Prominent Americans Ask President to Rescind Biddle Decision" (regarding deportation of Harry Renton Bridges), prepared and published by the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, September 11, 1942, A. M. Schlesinger was named as one of those who signed an Open Letter of that organization.

The National Federation for Constitutional Liberties has been cited by the Attorney General of the United States as subversive and Communist (press releases of December 4, 1947 and September 21, 1948; included in consolidated list released April 1, 1954); the Attorney General had previously cited it as "part of what Lenin called the solar system of organizations * * * by which Communists attempt to create sympathizers and supporters of their program" (Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, page 7687). The Special Committee on Un-American Activities cited the National Federation * * * as "one of the viciously subversive organizations of the Communist Party" (Report of March 29, 1944; also reports of June 25, 1942 and January 2, 1943). The Committee on Un-American Activities cited the National Federation * * * as "actually intended to protect Communist subversion from any penalties under the law" (report dated September 2, 1947).

Prof. A. M. Schlesinger, Harvard University, was a sponsor of the Civil Rights Congress, as shown on the "Urgent Summons to a Congress on Civil Rights" to be held in Detroit, Michigan, April 27 and 28, 1946. The Civil Rights Congress was formed in April 1946 as a merger of two other Communist-front organizations, International Labor Defense and the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties; it was "dedicated not to the broader issues of civil liberties, but specifically to the defense of individual Communists and the Communist Party" and "controlled by individuals who are either members of the Communist Party or openly loyal to it" (Report No. 1115 of September 2, 1947); the Attorney General cited the Civil Rights Congress as subversive and Communist (press releases of December 4, 1947 and September 21, 1948; included in consolidated list released April 1, 1954).

A statement by Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., was published in the Book Review Section of the New York Times, December 11, 1949 (page 3), as follows:

I happen to believe that the Communist Party should be granted freedom of political action and that Communists should be allowed to teach in universities so long as they do not disqualify themselves by intellectual distortions in the classroom * * *.

GILBERT SELDES

Organization and affiliation

Source

- People's Educational Center (2). Photostatic copy of the clipping from Daily People's World, May 10, 1946, p. 5.
- Sponsor, "Fun For The People," a show at Wilshire-Ebell Theatre, May 21, 1946.
- Writers Congress (Cited by 1 as American Writers Congress). Program of the congress, 1943.
- Member, Seminar on Radio Television.
- Reichstag Fire Trial Anniversary Committee (1). Signed Declaration of the organization honoring Georgi Dimitrov. Full-page advertisement in New York Times, Dec. 22, 1943, p. 40.

KARL SHAPIRO

Organization and affiliation

Source

- National Committee to Defeat the Mundt Bill (1). Sponsor, National Committee * * *; i. d. as Prof., Baltimore, Md. Committee's report on the National Committee to Defeat the Mundt Bill, Dec. 7, 1950, p. 12.
- Opposed Ober anti-Communist bill. i. d. as poet laureate of Maryland. Daily Worker, Mar. 13, 1949, p. 2.
- Initiated referendum campaign of Maryland Citizens Committee Against Ober anti-Communist law. i. d. as poet. Daily Worker, Apr. 13, 1949, p. 5.
- Endorsed Referendum of Citizens Committee against Ober Law. Letterhead, Oct. 14, 1950.
- i. d. as Assistant Prof.
- Member of Citizens Committee Against the Ober Law. i. d. as Assistant Prof. Leaflet, "Civil Liberties in Maryland Are at Stake!"

MEYER SHAPIRO

Organization and affiliation

Source

- Communist Party. Signed statement of League of Professional Groups in support of Communist Party Elections. Name shown in this source as Meyer Schapiro. Daily Worker, Nov. 6, 1933, p. 2.
- See also: Hearings before the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Volume 1, pages 547 and 561.

ERNEST J. SIMMONS

A Communist periodical, *New Masses* (February 2, 1937, p. 28), named Ernest J. Simmons as chairman of a symposium under the auspices of the American Russian Institute. He was a speaker for that organization, according to the *Communist Daily Worker*, February 6, 1937, p. 7, and May 20, 1947, p. 2. The *Daily Worker* of December 12, 1947, p. 3, said: "The Board of Superintendents yesterday announced it intended to eliminate a course for teachers on culture in the Soviet Union. The course, for which teachers received credit, was sponsored by the American-Russian Institute. * * * Chairman of the Institute is Prof. Ernest J. Simmons of Columbia University." The American Russian Institute was cited as Communist by the U. S. Attorney General in a letter to the Loyalty Review Board released April 27, 1949. He redesignated the organization pursuant to Executive Order 10450, April 27, 1953, and included it on the consolidated list of cited organizations April 1, 1954.

Soviet Russia Today (cited by the Committee on Un-American Activities as a Communist-front publication—Report No. 1953, April 26, 1950, p. 108) published, in its issue of September 1939, p. 24, the text of an Open Letter for Closer Cooperation with the Soviet Union. Professor Ernest J. Simmons, Assistant Professor of English Literature, Harvard University, was listed as a signer of the letter, p. 25. According to the *Daily Worker* of February 10, 1933, p. 4, Ernest J. Simmons contributed an article to the February issue of *Soviet Russia Today*.

The Summary of Proceedings of a Roundtable Conference held by the American Council on Soviet Relations, May 24–25, 1940, listed Prof. Ernest Simmons as a participant. The Council was cited as subversive and Communist by the Attorney General, in letters released to the press in 1948. His citation of the organization also appeared in the Congressional Record of September 24, 1942, p. 7688. He redesignated the organization pursuant to Executive Order 10450, April 27, 1953, and named it on the consolidated list of April 1, 1954. The Special Committee on Un-American Activities cited the organization in its report of March 29, 1944, p. 174.

A Bulletin of the Committee on Education of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship (June 1945, p. 22), listed Ernest J. Simmons as a member of the Sponsoring Committee. That organization was cited as subversive and Communist by the Attorney General in his letters to the Loyalty Review Board released in 1947 and 1948. He redesignated the organization April 27, 1953, and named it on the consolidated list of April 1, 1954. The Special Committee on Un-American Activities cited the Council in its report of March 29, 1944, p. 156.

The Bulletin of the League of American Writers (Summer 1938, p. 4) listed Ernest J. Simmons as a member. The League was cited as subversive and Communist by the U. S. Attorney General in letters to the Loyalty Review Board released in 1948, and was redesignated April 27, 1953. The League was also named on the consolidated list of April 1, 1954. It was cited by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities in reports of January 3, 1940, p. 9; June 25, 1942, p. 19; March 29, 1944, p. 48.

A Message to the House of Representatives, January 1943, sponsored by the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, listed among the signers Ernest J. Simmons, Professor of Comparative Literature, author, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. The Federation was cited as subversive and Communist by the Attorney General in letters to the Loyalty Review Board released in 1947 and 1948, and in the Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7687; redesignated April 27, 1953; consolidated list of April 1, 1954. The Special Committee on Un-American Activities cited the Federation as "one of the viciously subversive organizations of the Communist Party" (report of March 29, 1944, p. 50).

The Daily Worker of October 19, 1948, p. 7, reported that the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions had issued a statement that 500 leaders in the arts, sciences, and professions had joined in support of Henry A. Wallace. Professor Ernest J. Simmons was listed among the supporters. The National Council has been cited by the Committee on Un-American Activities as a Communist front (Report No. 1954, p. 2).

New Masses, October 28, 1941, p. 23, contained an article by Ernest J. Simmons, "Soviet Scholarship and Tolstoy." "USSR: A Concise Handbook," edited by Ernest J. Simmons, was reviewed in New Masses for June 24, 1947, p. 22. New Masses was cited as a Communist periodical by the Attorney General (Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7688) and by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities (report of March 29, 1944, pp. 48 and 75).

A "Peace Ballot" issued by "The Yanks Are Not Coming Committee" listed Prof. Ernest J. Simmons, Harvard, as a member of the "Peace Ballot Commission." The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944, pp. 17, 95, and 100, stated that the Communist Party was "the principal agent" in "the Yanks Are Not Coming movement."

The 1948 Catalog (p. 5) of the Workers Book Shop listed "U. S. S. R. Foreign Policy," by Ernest J. Simmons. "The Workers Book Shop * * * is headquarters of a chain of Communist bookshops, which are the official outlets for Communist literature and at which tickets for Communist Party and front functions customarily are sold" (Hearings Regarding the Communist Infiltration of the Motion Picture Industry, Committee on Un-American Activities, 1947, p. 375).

"Books on the U. S. S. R." (a selected bibliography by Bessie Weissman and issued by the Washington Cooperative Bookshop), pp. 27 and 28, recommended the following books by Ernest J. Simmons: "Dostoevski," "Pushkin," and "An Outline of Modern Russian Literature." The Washington Cooperative Bookshop was cited as subversive and Communist by the Attorney General, in letters to the Loyalty Review Board, released in 1947 and 1948. He redesignated the organization April 27, 1953, and named it on the consolidated list of April 1, 1954. The organization was also cited by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities (report of March 29, 1944, p. 150).

A book by Professor Simmons—"Problems of Leadership and Control in Soviet Literature"—is referred to in the Communist Daily People's World of May 26, 1949, p. 5.

An article, "The Kremlin Prepares a New Party Line," by Ernest J. Simmons, appeared in the magazine section of the January 8, 1950,

issue of The New York Times, p. 13. The following is quoted from the article:

An examination of the Soviet newspaper and periodical press from a time shortly after the end of the war shows a pretty constant pattern of action and ideological propagandizing which merits the most careful consideration as a possible harbinger of the shape of things to come.

Like clever dramatists the Soviets often reveal actions before the motives which govern them. Strange as it may seem, in a dictatorship it is frequently necessary, as in our own country, to prepare public opinion for significant future policy, and this policy in turn may well be connected with international developments since the end of the war which could hardly have been anticipated by the Soviets or explained by Marxian dialectics. In the ideological battle that now rages between the two worlds the Soviets must regain the initiative or lose further ground. So some important change in policy would seem to be inevitable.

Two distinct lines of development emerge from this press campaign. One is the purge—it might be better to say the purification—of intellectuals, which has been gathering momentum ever since 1946. The second is the steady campaign to promote the conviction that the transition from socialism to communism is now a realizable objective in the Soviet Union. At first glance there might not seem to be any connection between these two developments. However, each is worth exploring precisely from the point of view that they are connected and are both part of a single, unified drive toward a future transformation of Soviet policy of momentous concern to the world.

* * * In turn the musicians, artists and architects have been fried in deep fat; then the economists, philosophers, statisticians, mathematicians, biologists, lawyers and astronomers; then the literary critics, teachers of literature and finally teachers, scholars and educators in general. * * *

The extent of the drive indicates clearly that a party directive from on high is being rigorously executed * * *

When asked why the Russians had been so successful in the war, a character in a recent Soviet novel replied: "Because they have not only a state, but a state plus an idea." And the whole vast Soviet propaganda machine has been selling that "idea" to the world with amazing success for over thirty years. Of late, however, the "idea" has been encountering formidable opposition, especially in the West, and the Soviets have evinced a tendency to support the "idea" with elements of power. But they fully realize, in the present international power structure, that their greatest hope in this struggle is their ideological appeal and not military aggressiveness.

To be sure, it is commonly felt that the present growing opposition to the idea of Soviet communism has not been an ideological one, but a political, economic and military one * * *. In fact, it is often said that America and the West have no ideology to answer the ideology of communism on a world plane. This is partly true, for America has failed, except in a negative sense, to combine ideological leadership with its policy to contain Soviet communism.

However, it is also true that all these political, economic and military actions of the United States and the West carry with them the clear implication of ideological opposition * * *.

In this ideological struggle of two worlds it is essential, from the Soviet point of view, that international communism should offer a fresh and inspiring appeal to the allegiance of all peoples. Hence a declaration at the next All-Union Party Congress that the people of the Soviet Union would soon enjoy the benefits of communism—a reward formerly imagined as realizable only in the very distant future—would obviously be designed to provide a tremendous propaganda impetus to international communism, and at the same time would reassert the prominent position of the Soviet people and their party in the battle for the minds of men.

HILDA SMITH

Organization and affiliation

American League for Peace and Democracy (1) (2). Member, Washington Branch (address shown as: 505 18th St., NW., Washington, D. C.).

Source

Membership list—reprinted in Public Hearings, Special Committee on Un-American Activities, vol. 10, page 6404.

HILDA K. SMITH

Organization and affiliation

"New Pioneer" (1). Contributor

Source

New Pioneer, March 1932, p. 12.

HILDA W. SMITH

Organization and affiliation

Washington Book Shop (1) (2). Member (address shown as: 1457 Belmont St., NW., Washington, D. C.).

Source

Membership list in Committee files (1941).

HILDA SMITH

Organization and affiliation

See also: Public Hearings, Special Committee on Un-American Activities, vol. 1, pages 565 and 703.

Source

GEORGE HENRY SOULE, JR.

Organization and affiliation

No references were found to George *Henry Soule Jr.*; but the following appears under the name:

Source

GEORGE SOULE

Organization and affiliation

American Friends of Spanish Democracy, Medical Bureau (1). Member, General Committee.

Source

New Masses, Jan. 5, 1937, p. 31.

American Friends of Spanish Democracy (1). Signer of Letter to the President (editor, The New Republic).

Daily Worker, Feb. 16, 1938, p. 2.

Member, Executive Committee.

Letterhead, Feb. 21, 1938.

Signer of Petition to lift the arms embargo.

Daily Worker, Apr. 8, 1938, p. 4.

American Friends of the Soviet Union (1) (2). Speaker.

Daily Worker, Jan. 29, 1938, p. 8, and Feb. 2, 1938, p. 2.

American Youth Congress (1) (2). Member, National Advisory Board.

Pamphlet, "Youngville, U. S. A.," p. 64.

Signer of Call to Congress of Youth, 5th national gathering of the AYC, in New York City (editor, The New Republic).

Proceedings of the Congress, July 1-5, 1939, p. 2.

Conference on Pan-American Democracy (1) (2). Signer of Call to the Conference.

"News You Don't Get," Nov. 15, 1938, p. 3.

Sponsor

Letterhead, Nov. 16, 1938.

<i>Organization and affiliation</i>	<i>Source</i>
Council for Pan American Democracy (1) (2). Vice-Chairman. Signer of Open Letter to the President of Brazil to Save Luiz Carlos Prestes. Vice-Chairman; member, Executive Committee.	Letterhead, July 11, 1940. New Masses, Dec. 3, 1940, p. 28.
Consumers National Federation (1). Sponsor.	Pamphlet, "Economic Trends and the New Deal in the Caribbean," pub. by the organization, 1942. Pamphlet, "The People vs. H. C. L.," Dec. 11-12, 1937, p. 3.
Coordinating Committee to Lift the Embargo (1). Listed as one of the representative individuals in favor of lifting the Spanish embargo (writer).	Booklet, "These Americans Say," p. 9.
Descendants of the American Revolution (1). Sponsor; and, member of Advisory Board. Member-----	Daily Worker, Jan. 21, 1938, p. 2. Daily Worker, Feb. 13, 1939, p. 2.
First Congress of the Mexican and Spanish American People of the United States (1). Signer of Call to the congress to be held in Albuquerque, N. Mex. (editor, The New Republic).	Mimeographed press release on the congress, Mar. 24, 25, 26, 1939.
Frontier Films (1). Member, Advisory Board.	Daily Worker, Apr. 6, 1937, p. 9.
International Juridical Association (1). Signer of statement. Signer of report on mutiny laws prepared under supervision of the I. J. A. at the request of International Labor Defense (1) (2).	Daily Worker, July 25, 1936, p. 2. I. J. A. Monthly Bulletin, Vol. 5, No. 2, Aug. 1936; and Labor Defender Sept. 1936, p. 15.
International Publishers (1) (2). Writer of introduction to pamphlet by V. Chemadanov of the Young Communist League of the Soviet Union, published by International Publishers.	Daily Worker, Apr. 30, 1936, p. 5.
League of American Writers (1) (2). Signer of "A Manifesto and a Call" to the National Writers Congress, New York City, June 4, 5 and 6, 1937. Signer of statement-----	New Masses, May 6, 1937, p. 25. Daily Worker, Sept. 1, 1936, p. 4.
Signer of Petition in support of Gerson.	Daily Worker, Mar. 10, 1938, p. 1.

<i>Organization and affiliation</i>	<i>Source</i>
Medical Bureau American Friends of Spanish Democracy (1). Member, Executive Committee.	Letterhead, Nov. 18, 1936.
National Committee for People's Rights (1) (2). Member.	Letterhead, July 13, 1938; and "News You Don't Get," Nov. 15, 1938.
National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights (1). Member, Board of Sponsors.	Press Release, Feb. 23, 1940.
"New Masses" (1) (2). Signer of New Masses Letter to the President (editor, The New Republic).	New Masses, Apr. 2, 1940, p. 21.
North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy (1) (2). Sponsor of organization's Tag Day, in New York City.	Daily Worker, Feb. 27, 1937, p. 2.
"Soviet Russia Today" (1). Contributor.	Soviet Russia Today, Sept. 1936, p. 29.
United Office and Professional Workers of America (1). Sponsor of conference of the Book and Magazine Guild, Local 18, UOPWA.	Daily Worker, Mar. 9, 1938, p. 5.
Member, sponsors committee of UOPWA Local 16's 5th Annual Stenographers' Ball.	Letterhead, Feb. 1, 1940.
See also: Public Hearings, Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Vol. 1, pages 377, 565, 566, 568, 691, 694, 702, 703, and 876; Vol. 3, pages 2167 and 2169; Vol. 17, pages 10300, 10302, 10305, 10306, 10340, 10341-10347, and 10349.	

MARK STARR

<i>Organization and affiliation</i>	<i>Source</i>
Commonwealth College (1) and (2). Endorsed reorganization plan of college; identified as Educational Director, International Ladies Garment Workers Union.	"Fortnightly," publication of Commonwealth College, Aug. 15, 1937 issue, p. 3.
Consumers National Federation (1). Sponsor.	Pamphlet, "The People vs. H. C. L.," Dec. 11-12, 1937, p. 3.
Film Audiences for Democracy (1). Member, Executive Committee.	"Film Survey," June 1939, p. 4.
Films for Democracy (1). Member, Executive Committee.	"Films for Democracy," April 1939, p. 2.

BERNHARD J. STERN

The following reference to Bernhard Stern is from the testimony of Granville Hicks, public hearings, Committee on Un-American Activities, February 26, 1953 (pp. 96-97):

Mr. TAVENNER. When did you become a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. HICKS. In the winter of 1934-35.

Mr. TAVENNER. And how long did you remain a member?

Mr. HICKS. Until September 1939.

* * * * *

Mr. TAVENNER. Who asked you to become a member of the Party?

Mr. HICKS. Bernhard Stern.

Mr. TAVENNER. Bernhard Stern. How was he employed?

Mr. HICKS. He was employed in some capacity at Columbia University. I don't know what his rank was.

Mr. TAVENNER. Was he a teacher?

Mr. HICKS. Yes. I think so.

Mr. TAVENNER. Tell the committee the circumstances under which he asked you to become a party member.

Mr. HICKS. I was living—I was not living in New York at that time. I was living in Troy. As I remember, he wrote and asked me if I would have a meal with him the next time I came to the city. I did so. We had dinner together and he simply asked me if I didn't feel I was now ready to join the party; and after we discussed it a little while I said that I did feel so.

Mr. TAVENNER. Were you then assigned to a special group or any particular group of the Communist Party?

Mr. HICKS. Well, he took me to the group to which he belonged.

Mr. TAVENNER. Then you became a member of the same group or unit of which he was a member?

Mr. HICKS. That is true; which was a group of professional people, writers mostly, in New York City.

In public hearings before the Special Committee on Un-American Activities on September 13, 1939, Alexander Trachtenberg, a member of the Communist Party and its National Committee since 1921, Secretary and Treasurer of International Publishers, and Chairman of the Literature Department of the Communist Party, gave the following testimony concerning Bernhard J. Stern:

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you published any pamphlets or books by Bernhard J. Stern?

Mr. TRACHTENBERG. No; I have not. Oh, pamphlets? Yes, I have.

* * * * *

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you ever published a pamphlet by a man called Bennett Stevens?

Mr. TRACHTENBERG. Bennett Stevens? Yes; that is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And also by Bernhard Stern? You stated a while ago that you had published pamphlets by Bernhard Stern.

Mr. TRACHTENBERG. Edited; yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And do you not know that Bernhard Stern and Bennett Stevens are the same person?

Mr. TRACHTENBERG. What is the name of the pamphlet? It must be many years ago.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you met both Bernhard Stern and Bennett Stevens?

Mr. TRACHTENBERG. Oh, there are many authors who write under pseudonyms.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you met Bernhard Stern, whose pamphlets you have published?

Mr. TRACHTENBERG. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And have you met Bennett Stevens?

Mr. TRACHTENBERG. Yes; that is the pen name of Bernhard Stern. That is correct. That must have been about 12 years ago that I published those. I have no record before me. You have all these records there, you see.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And you know that Bernhard Stern is a professor at Columbia University, do you not?

Mr. TRACHTENBERG. I think he is teaching there; yes. (Public Hearings, pages 4928-4929.)

The following reference to Bernhard J. Stern appears on page 1623 of Appendix V to the Public Hearings of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities:

* * * Charlotte Todes, also a Communist Party functionary and wife of Bernhard J. Stern who was a Columbia University professor using the alias of Bennett Stevens.

Your attention is called to the following pages of the "Review of the Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace," a copy of which is enclosed: *

6, 7, 9, 18, 21, 22, 24, 28, 31, 32, 34, 35, 37, 38, 40, 41,
45, 49, 52, 54, 56, 57, 60.

Subsequent to the above information our files disclose the following: He signed a statement against denaturalization, which was sponsored by the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, according to the Daily Worker, August 30, 1950, page 5. This source identified him as a professor at Columbia University. He signed an Open Letter to the American People in opposition to the Hobbs Bill, H. R. 10, which was sponsored by the American Committee * * * (Daily Worker, July 25, 1950, p. 4). He was a Sponsor of the National Conference to Defend the Rights of Foreign Born Americans, Detroit, Michigan, December 13 and 14, 1952, as shown by a Press Release regarding the conference and the "Call and Program" of the conference. According to the Daily Worker of April 29, 1953 (page 6), Prof. Bernhard Stern was on a list of sponsors of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born for 1953. He was a sponsor of the National Conference to Repeal the Walter-McCarran Law and Defend Its Victims, to be held December 12 and 13, 1953, Chicago, Ill., as shown by the Daily Worker, October 1, 1953, page 2, and the Call and Program of the conference.

The American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born was cited as subversive and Communist by the Attorney General of the United States in letters to the Loyalty Review Board, released June 1 and September 21, 1948. The organization was redesignated by the Attorney General, April 27, 1953, pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450, and included on the April 1, 1954 consolidated list of organizations previously designated pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450. The Special Committee on Un-American Activities in its report of March 29, 1944 (p. 155), cited the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born as "one of the oldest auxiliaries of the Communist Party in the United States."

The Call to a Bill of Rights Conference, New York City, July 16 and 17, 1949, named Bernard J. Stern, Columbia University, as a sponsor. Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, member of the National Committee of the Communist Party, in writing about the conference for her column in the "Daily Worker" (July 25, 1949, p. 8), stated that one of the highlights of the conference was the fight for the 12 defendants in the current Communist cases. She reported that seven of the defendants were present and participated actively. The New York "Times" (July 18, 1949, p. 13) reported that "the twenty resolutions adopted unanimously by the two-day conference registered opposition to the conspiracy trial of the eleven Communist leaders, the Presidential

*We do not have an available copy of the "Review of the Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace." If you wish to see these references you may come to the Publication Service of the Committee.

loyalty order * * * deportation for political belief * * * among others. The Conference also called for an end to the investigation by the Federal Bureau of Investigation into political, rather than criminal, activities."

Dr. Bernhard J. Stern, New York, signed an Open Letter to President Truman on Franco Spain, which was sponsored by the Spanish Refugee Appeal of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, according to a mimeographed letter attached to a letterhead of the organization, dated April 28, 1949.

The Attorney General cited the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee as Subversive and Communist in letters released December 4, 1947 and September 21, 1948. The organization was redesignated by the Attorney General, April 27, 1953, and included on the April 1, 1954 consolidated list. The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944 (page 174), cited the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee as a "Communist-front organization."

He was a sponsor of the National Conference on American Policy in China and the Far East, as shown by a Conference Call, "* * * January 23-25, 1948, New York City."

The Attorney General cited the National Conference on American Policy in China and the Far East as Communist and "a conference called by the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy" in a letter released July 25, 1949. The organization was redesignated April 27, 1953, and included in the April 1, 1954 consolidated list.

A mimeographed list of signers of the "Resolution Against Atomic Weapons," which was sponsored by the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions, contained the name of Bernhard J. Stern, New York. The list of signers was attached to a letterhead dated July 28, 1950. The letterhead also named him as a member of the Board of Directors. He was shown as a member of the Board of Directors of the organization on a letterhead dated December 7, 1952 (photostat). The "Daily Worker" of March 10, 1952 (p. 3), listed Dr. Bernhard Stern as a signer of a statement of the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions protesting curbs on lawyers in political trials.

The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report, Review of the Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace, arranged by the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions, released April 19, 1949 (p. 2), cited the National Council * * * as a Communist front organization.

Bernhard J. Stern, Columbia University, New York, was one of the endorsers of the World Peace Appeal, as shown by an undated leaflet, Prominent Americans Call for * * *" (leaflet received September 11, 1950).

The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report on the Communist "Peace" Offensive, April 1, 1951 (p. 34), cited the World Peace Appeal as a petition campaign launched by the Permanent Committee of the World Peace Congress at its meeting in Stockholm, March 16-19, 1950; as having "received the enthusiastic approval of every section of the international Communist hierarchy"; as having been lauded in the Communist press, putting "every individual Communist on notice that he 'has the duty to rise to this appeal'"; and as having "received the official endorsement of the Supreme Soviet of the U. S. S. R., which has been echoed by the governing bodies

of every Communist satellite country, and by all Communist Parties throughout the world."

The "Times Herald" of March 28, 1953 (p. 2) reported that Bernhard J. Stern, alleged to have used the name of Bennett Stevens in writings or for Communist purposes, denied he is now a Communist before the Senate Investigating Committee; but refused to say whether he ever had been an active member of the Communist Party.

MAXWELL STEWART

Organization and affiliation

American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom (1). Signer of petition.

American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born (1) and (2). Sponsor.

Signer of Statement for American People, and endorsing the Campaign for American Citizenship and Citizenship Rights.

American Council on Soviet Relations (1) and (2). Participant, Roundtable Conference, May 24-25, 1940.

American Committee to Save Refugees (1). Sponsor of Dinner-Forum on "Europe Today," held at Biltmore Hotel, New York, Oct. 9, 1941, under joint auspices ACSR, Exiled Writers Committee of League of American Writers and United American Spanish Aid Committee.

American Friends of Spanish Democracy, Medical Bureau (1). General Committee, Member.

Member, Executive Committee.

American Friends of Spanish Democracy (1). Signer of letter to President.

Member, Executive Committee.

American Friends of the Chinese People (1). Speaker, Mass Meeting.

Speaker-----

Signer, Letter pledging support to China.

Contributing Editor, "China Today" (official publication of American Friends * * *).

Source

Mimeographed sheet attached to letterhead, Jan. 17, 1940.

Letterhead, 4th Annual Conference, Hotel Annapolis, Washington, D. C., Mar. 2-3, 1940. "Daily Worker," Oct. 28, 1940, p. 3.

Summary of Proceedings, July 15, 1940.

Program of Dinner-Forum.

"New Masses," Jan. 5, 1937, p. 31.

Letterhead, Nov. 18, 1936.

"Daily Worker," Feb. 16, 1938, p. 2.

Letterhead, Feb. 21, 1938.

"Help China!" (Handbill).

"Daily Worker," Feb. 2, 1938, p. 8.

"Daily Worker," July 16, 1940, p. 4.

"China Today," Feb. 1938, p. 2.

<i>Organization and affiliation</i>	<i>Source</i>
American League Against War and Fascism (1) and (2). Member, National Committee.	"Call to the Second U. S. Congress Against War and Fascism," Sept. 28, 29, and 30, 1934, Chicago, Ill., p. 2.
Member, National Executive Committee.	Letterhead, Aug. 22, 1935; "Fight," Dec. 1935, p. 2.
American League for Peace and Democracy (1) and (2). Urges support of Tag Week drive.	"Daily Worker," Apr. 16, 1938, p. 2.
Signer of resolution (urging passage of Anti-Lynching Bill).	"Daily Worker," Jan. 18, 1938, p. 3.
China Aid Council of American League for Peace and Democracy (1) and (2). Sponsor of Easter Drive.	"Daily Worker," Apr. 8, 1938, p. 2.
China Aid Council (1). Sponsor.	Letterhead, May 18, 1938.
American Youth Congress (1) and (2). Member, National Advisory Board.	"Youngville, U. S. A.," p. 64.
Book Union (1). Member, Advisory Council.	Undated Folder.
Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy (2). Consultant.	Letterheads, 1946 and 1947; letterhead, May 28, 1948.
Sponsor, Conference on China and the Far East, San Francisco (called by National Committee to Win the Peace and Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy).	Call to the Conference, Oct. 18-20, 1946; letterhead, Sept. 19, 1946.
Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy (2). Honored.	"Spotlight on the Far East," Nov. 1947, p. 2.
Answered questionnaire issued by organization in favor of recognition of Chinese Communist Gov't. (Contributing editor, The Nation; editor, Public Affairs Pamphlets).	Far East Spotlight, Dec. 1949-Jan. 1950, p. 23.
Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy (2). Signer of statement for recognition of Communist China.	"Daily Worker," Jan. 16, 1950, p. 4.
Conference on Pan American Democracy (1) and (2). Sponsor.	Letterhead, Nov. 16, 1938.
Signer of Call.....	News You Don't Get, Nov. 15, 1938, p. 3.
Council for Pan American Democracy (1) and (2). Signer of Open Letter to President of Brazil to Save Luis Carlos Prestes.	"New Masses," Dec. 3, 1940, p. 28.

<i>Organization and affiliation</i>	<i>Source</i>
Coordinating Committee to Lift the Embargo (1). Representative Individual.	Booklet, "These Americans Say:" p. 9.
Fight (1). Contributor.	"Fight," June 1934, p. 2.
Friends of the Soviet Union (1) and (2). Endorser.	"Soviet Russia Today," December 1933, p. 17.
Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights (1). Sponsor.	Program of Conference, Feb. 12, 1940.
Labor Research Association (1) and (2). Contributor.	"Daily Worker," June 8, 1936; p. 5.
League of American Writers (1) and (2). Member, Committee of Sponsors, Dinner-Forum on "Europe Today" held by Exiled Writers Comm. of Law., American Committee to Save Refugees; United American Spanish Aid Comm.	Program of Dinner-Forum.
Mother Bloor Banquet. Sponsor.	Program, Jan. 24, 1936, p. 9.
National Committee for People's Rights (1) and (2). Member.	Letterhead, July 13, 1938; News You Don't Get, Nov. 15, 1938.
National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners (1) and (2). Member.	Letterhead, Oct. 31, 1935.
National Committee to Win the Peace (2). Sponsor, Conference on China and the Far East, San Francisco (called by the National Committee to Win the Peace and Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy).	Call to the Conference Oct. 18-20, 1946; letterhead, Sept. 19, 1946.
National Council of American-Soviet Friendship (1) and (2). Sponsor.	Letterhead, Mar. 13, 1946; Memorandum issued by the Council Mar. 18, 1946.
National Emergency Conference (1). Sponsor.	Call to Conference, held at Hotel Raleigh, Washington, D. C., May 13 and 14, 1939, p. 3.
National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights (1). Member, Board of Sponsors.	Letterhead, Feb. 15, 1940; Press Release, Feb. 23, 1940.
National People's Committee Against Hearst (1). Member.	Letterhead, Mar. 16, 1937.
New Masses (1) and (2). Contributor.	"New Masses," August 1929, p. 15; Aug. 8, 1939, p. 24.
Member, Initiating Committee, New Masses Letter to President, and signer of same.	"New Masses," Apr. 2, 1940, p. 21.
Non-Partisan Committee for the Reelection of Vito Marcantonio (1). Member.	Letterhead, Oct. 3, 1936.

<i>Organization and affiliation</i>	<i>Source</i>
North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy (1) and (2). Speaker; Philadelphia.	"Daily Worker," Apr. 9, 1937, p. 2.
Open Letter for Closer Cooperation with the Soviet Union (1). Signer.	"Soviet Russia Today," September 1939, p. 28.
Open Letter to American Liberals (1). Signer.	"Daily Worker," Feb. 9, 1937, p. 2; "Soviet Russia Today," March 1937, pp. 14-15.
"Soviet Russia Today" (1). Contributor.	"Soviet Russia Today," January 1936, p. 12; "Daily Worker," June 11, 1937, p. 7; "Soviet Russia Today," June 1939, p. 35; November 1939, p. 13; April 1940, p. 9.
"Soviet Russia Today" (1). Member, Editorial Council.	"Soviet Russia Today," January 1939, p. 3; January 1940, p. 3; March 1942, p. 3.
United American Spanish Aid Committee (1) and (2). Member, Committee of Sponsors, Dinner-Forum on "Europe Today," held at Biltmore Hotel, New York City, Oct. 9, 1941, under auspices of United American Spanish Air Committee; American Committee to Save Refugees; Exiled Writers Committee of League of American Writers.	Program of Dinner-Forum.
Meeting to Greet Soviet Constitution; sponsor.	"Daily Worker," Nov. 30, 1936, p. 5.
Signed letter protesting ban on Communists in American Civil Liberties Union.	"Daily Worker," Mar. 19, 1940, p. 4.
Editor, Moscow News-----	"Daily Worker," June 28, 1934, p. 3.
Taught in the Moscow Institute--	Testimony of Stuart Lillico, public hearings, Committee on Un-American Activities, Nov. 22, 1938, p. 2512; testimony of Jack B. Tenney, public hearings Committee on Un-American Activities, March 1947, p. 247.
Committee for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact. (1). Signer of statement calling for International Agreement to Ban Use of Atomic Weapons; author, Annandale, N. J.	Statement attached to Press Release of Dec. 14, 1949, p. 11.

<i>Organization and affiliation</i>	<i>Source</i>
Labor Research Association (1) and (2). Contributor.	"Daily Worker," June 8, 1936, p. 5.
Sponsor, meeting to greet Soviet Constitution; NYC.	"Daily Worker," Nov. 30, 1936, p. 5.
Signer, Open Letter to New Masses concerning "American Committee for the Defense of Leon Trotsky."	"New Masses," Feb. 16, 1937, p. 2.
Speaker at Student Strike, Philadelphia.	"Daily Worker," Apr. 24, 1937, p. 5.
Signer, statement by American Progressives on the Moscow Trials.	"Daily Worker," Apr. 28, 1938, p. 4.
Signed telegram sent to Peru to release political prisoners.	"New Masses," Dec. 6, 1938, p. 20.
Reviews "USSR Foreign Policy, Collection of Litvinov's Speeches," with approval.	"New Masses," Aug. 8, 1939, p. 24.
Signed letter protesting ban on Communists in American Civil Liberties Union.	"Daily Worker," Mar. 19, 1940, p. 4.
Statement: "Of course we should recognize the new gov't of China; recognition provides a means of dealing with it; otherwise we are terribly handicapped—viz. the Ward Case. Recognition has nothing to do with approval or disapproval."; Contributing editor, The Nation; editor, Public Affairs Pamphlets.	Far East Spotlight, December 1949–January 1950, p. 23.
Condemns South Korean administration; quoted with approval.	"Daily People's World," Oct. 6, 1950, p. 4.
Record given -----	Congressional Record, Feb. 7, 1950, p. A941.

JACOB VINER

There are only two references in committee files to Jacob Viner. See Hearings of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, page 2374; also Hearings of the Committee on Un-American Activities Regarding Communism in the United States Government, Part I, April 25, 1950, page 1727.

J. RAYMOND WALSH

<i>Organization and affiliation</i>	<i>Source</i>
American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born (1) and (2). Sponsor (Identified with Hobart College).	Program, Fifth National Conference, Atlantic City, N. J., Mar. 29–30, 1941.

*Organization and affiliation**Source*

- American Council on Soviet Relations (1) and (2). Signer of open letter to the Pres. of the U. S. urging a declaration of war on the Finnish government in the interests of a speedy victory by the U. N. over Nazi Germany and its Fascist allies. (Iden. with Williams College).
- American Slav Congress (1) and (2). Dinner Chairman and Sponsor of Testimonial Dinner, Hotel Pennsylvania, N. Y. C., Oct. 12, 1947.
- American Student Union (1). Convention Speaker.
- Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy (2). Member, Board of Directors.
- Council for Pan American Democracy (1) and (2). Member, Executive Committee.
- "Daily Worker" (1). Photo-----
- League of American Writers (1) and (2). Member (N. Y. C.)
- National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions (1). Sponsor, Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace, N. Y. C., March 25-27, 1949.
- Signer of statement attacking espionage investigation.
- National Emergency Conference (1). Signer of Call.
- National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights (1). Member, Executive Committee.
- Open Letter for Closer Cooperation with the Soviet Union (1). Signer.
- Southern Conference for Human Welfare (1). Speaker.
- Official folder of the organization.
- Program of Dinner, p. 2.
- "The Student Almanac—1939" for the Fourth Annual National Convention, Dec. 26-30, 1938, p. 32.
- Letterhead, May 28, 1948; letterheads of 1946 and 1947; Far East Spotlight, June 1948; Information Bulletin, August 1946.
- Letterhead, July 18, 1940; pamphlet, "Economic Trends and the New Deal in the Caribbean," published by Council, 1942.
- "Daily Worker," Dec. 7, 1936, p. 3.
- Bulletin of the League of American Writers, Summer, 1938, p. 4.
- Conference Program, p. 15.
- "Daily Worker," Aug. 18, 1948, p. 2.
- Call for a National Emergency Conference, Washington, D. C., May 13-14, 1939.
- Press Releases, Feb. 23, 1940; Feb. 15, 1940.
- "Soviet Russia Today," Sept. 1939, pp. 24, 25, 28.
- News Release, Washington Committee, Apr. 7, 1947.

<i>Organization and affiliation</i>	<i>Source</i>
Win-the-Peace Conference, Wash., D. C., April 5-7, 1946 (formed National Committee to Win the Peace 2). Chairman, Saturday Afternoon Session.	Summary of Proceedings, p. 5.
Signer of statement attacking Mundt anti-Communist bill.	"Daily Worker," May 4, 1948, p. 11.
Opposed to Mundt-Nixon bill.....	"Daily Worker," June 13, 1949, p. 3.
Dies Committee Press Releases and Speeches.	Congressional Record, June 11, 1946, p. 6824.

GENE WELTFISH

Gene Weltfish, President of the Congress of American Women, New York, spoke at a meeting of the American Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born ("Daily People's World," November 10, 1947, p. 2); she signed a letter of the group, attacking deportation of Communists ("Daily Worker," March 4, 1948, p. 2); she signed this organization's statement against denaturalization as shown in the "Daily Worker" of August 10, 1950, page 5. She was named as a sponsor of the American Committee * * * in the following sources: Undated letterhead (received for files, July 11, 1950); a 1950 letterhead; and undated letterhead (distributing a speech of Abner Green at the conference of December 2-3, 1950;) a book of coupons issued by them; a letterhead of the Midwest Committee, April 30, 1951; and the "Daily Worker" of April 4, 1951, p. 8. The "Daily Worker" of August 24, 1951 (page 6) reported that Prof. Gene Weltfish, sponsor of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, was one of those who signed an open letter to President Truman protesting the jailing of Abner Green, secretary of the organization.

The United States Attorney General cited the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born as subversive and Communist in lists released June 1, 1948, and September 21, 1948. It was also cited as "one of the oldest auxiliaries of the Communist Party in the United States" by the Special Committee (Report, March 29, 1944, page 155.

Dr. Gene Weltfish, anthropologist and author, was reported as being a sponsor of the American Continental Congress for Peace in the "Daily Worker" of July 29, 1949 (page 5). The Committee on Un-American Activities in its report on the Communist "Peace" Offensive, April 25, 1951 (page 21), cited the American Continental Congress for Peace as "another phase in the Communist 'peace' campaign, aimed at consolidating anti-American forces throughout the Western Hemisphere."

Dr. Weltfish was a member of the Board of Directors of the American Council for a Democratic Greece as shown by a press release of March 17, 1948. This group was cited as subversive and Communist, the organization formerly was known as the Greek-American Council, by the U. S. Attorney General (letters to the Loyalty Review Board, June 1, 1948, and September 31, 1948).

The "Daily Worker" of March 15, 1951 (page 8) reported that Dr. Gene Weltfish was a sponsor of the American Peace Crusade. She was a sponsor of the American People's Congress and Exposition for Peace held under the auspices of the American Peace Crusade, Chicago,

Illinois, June 29, 30, and July 1, 1951, as shown by "The Call to the American People's Congress * * *" and a leaflet, "American People's Congress * * * invites you to participate in a National Peace Competition" * * * June 29, 1951. The "Daily Worker" of May 1, 1951 (page 11) reported that she was a sponsor of a contest for songs, essays and paintings advancing the theme of world peace, held under auspices of the American Peace Crusade.

The Committee on Un-American Activities in its report on the Communist "Peace" Offensive, April 25, 1951 (page 51) and in its statement issued on the March of Treason, February 19, 1951, cited the American Peace Crusade as an organization which "the Communists Established" as a "new instrument for their 'peace' offensive in the United States" and which was heralded by the "Daily Worker" "with the usual bold headlines reserved for projects in line with the Communist objectives."

A "Program of Testimonial Dinner" which was held at the Hotel Pennsylvania, New York, on October 12, 1947, page 2, named her as one of the sponsors of a dinner given by the American Slav Congress. The Fall, 1948 issue of the "Slavic-American" (page 18) named Gene Weltfish as a speaker at a meeting of the Congress. The American Slav Congress was cited as subversive and Communist by the U. S. Attorney General in lists furnished the Loyalty Review Board, which were released to the press on June 1, 1948 and September 21, 1948.

The American Slav Congress was the subject of a report of the Committee on Un-American Activities, released June 26, 1949, in which it was cited as—

a Moscow-inspired and directed federation of Communist-dominated organizations seeking by methods of propaganda and pressure to subvert the 10,000,000 people in this country of Slavic birth or descent. (page 1)

Dr. Weltfish was a speaker or reporter at a Conference to Safeguard the Welfare of Our Children and Our Homes, held under auspices of the American Women for Peace, March 22 at the Pythian, 135 W. 70th Street, New York, N. Y., as reported by the April 6, 1952 issue of the "Daily Worker" (page 8, magazine section). The Committee, in its report on the Communist "Peace" Offensive, cited the American Women for Peace as—

an advance wave to establish a beachhead for other left-wing organizations scheduled to descend on Washington in observance of a Communist-declared "Peace Week."

She was named as a sponsor of the American Youth for Democracy as shown by a "Program of dinner on first anniversary of the American Youth for Democracy" (dated October 16, 1944). The Special Committee * * * cited this group as "the new name under which the Young Communist League operates and which also largely absorbed the American Youth Congress." (Report, March 29, 1944, page 102). The Committee also cited this organization as—

a front formed in October 1943 to succeed the Young Communist League and for the purpose of exploiting to the advantage of a foreign power the idealism, inexperience, and craving to join which is characteristic of American college youth. Its "high-sounding slogans" cover "a determined effort to disaffect our youth and to turn them against religion, the American home, against the college authorities, and against the American government itself." (Report No. 271, April 17, 1947.) The U. S. Attorney General also cited it as subversive and Communist in lists of December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948.

Dr. Gene Weltfish was a speaker at a mass rally to protest lynchings which was held under the auspices of the Civil Rights Congress, August 28, 1946, New York, N. Y., as shown by the handbill, "Lynch Terror Stalks America." She signed a statement of the group in defense of Gerhart Eisler ("Daily Worker," February 28, 1947, p. 2; she was a panel participant at the conference of the Civil Rights Congress of New York, October 11, 1947 ("Program of Conference"); a sponsor of the National Conference of the group which was held in Chicago on November 21-23, 1947 (Program, "Let Freedom Ring," and "Daily People's World," October 28, 1947, p. 4); sponsor of the group's National Civil Rights Legislative Conference, January 18 and 19, 1949 (Leaflet, "Freedom Crusade," program of conference); and an additional sponsor of the Bill of Rights Conference," New York City, July 16-17, 1949, p. 6; she signed an Open Letter to Congress urging defeat of the Mundt Bill; signed a statement of the Congress protesting indictment and arrest of Communist Party leaders ("Daily Worker," August 3, 1948, p. 2); member of their delegation in behalf of Communist leaders ("Daily Worker," January 25, 1949, page 10); signed an open letter to J. Howard McGrath on behalf of the four jailed Trustees of the Bail Fund of the Civil Rights Congress as shown by an advertisement ("paid for by contributions of signers"), in the October 30, 1951 issue of the "Evening Star" (page A-7). The "Daily Worker" of November 12, 1951 (page 18) reported that she was to speak at a memorial meeting protesting an act of genocide which was to be held under auspices of the Congress. She spoke at an anniversary dinner of the group on March 26, 1952, as reported by the March 26, 1952 issue of the "Daily Worker" (page 3).

The Committee on Un-American Activities cited the Civil Rights Congress as—

an organization formed in April 1946 as a merger of two other Communist-front organizations (International Labor Defense and the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties) "dedicated not to the broader issues of civil liberties, but specifically to the defense of individual Communists and the Communist Party" and "controlled by individuals who are either members of the Communist Party or openly loyal to it." (Report No. 1115, September 2, 1947, pp. 2 and 19).

The U. S. Attorney General cited the group as "subversive and Communist" in lists furnished the Loyalty Review Board (press releases, December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948).

Letterheads of 1946, 1947, July 11, 1947, and May 28, 1948, named her as one of the sponsors of the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy. As shown by the pamphlet, "What Price Philippine Independence" by George Phillips (pages 30-32), Gene Weltfish was one of those who signed an Open Letter to President Truman, released on October 7, 1946, under auspices of the Committee for a Democratic * * * cited as "Communist" by the U. S. Attorney General (press release of April 27, 1949). She was a sponsor of the National Conference on American Policy on China and the Far East, as shown by the Conference Call "* * * Jan. 23-25, 1948, New York City." This conference was called by the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy and was cited as "Communist" by the U. S. Attorney General (press release of July 25, 1949).

Gene Weltfish was President of "Woman Power," published monthly by the Congress of American Women, 55 W. Forty-second Street, New

York, N. Y., as shown in testimony of Walter S. Steele. (Public Hearings, July 21, 1947, p. 35.) She was also the President of the Congress of American Women as shown by a letterhead of February 25, 1949, and by a bulletin of the group (page 2). A leaflet, "What is the Congress of American Women?" listed Dr. Weltfish as vice-chairman of the Continuing Committee of the Congress of American Women. A report of Gene Weltfish of the Congress of American Women to the June 1946 Executive Committee meeting of the International Democratic Women's Federation in Paris, France, appeared in "Soviet Women," July-August 1946 (p. 4). According to the "Daily Worker" of February 11, 1948, p. 10, she is a member of the Executive Committee of the Women's International Democratic Federation.

The Congress of American Women was the subject of a report by the Committee on Un-American Activities, released October 23, 1949, in which it stated that—

The Congress of American Women is an affiliate of the Women's International Democratic Federation, which was founded and supported at all times by the international Communist movement. The purpose of these organizations is not to deal primarily with women's problems, as such, but rather to serve as a specialized arm of Soviet political warfare in the current "peace" campaign to disarm and demobilize the United States and democratic nations generally, in order to render them helpless in the face of the Communist drive for world conquest.

This organization was also cited as "subversive" and "Communist" by the U. S. Attorney General in lists furnished the Loyalty Review Board (press releases dated June 1, 1948, and September 21, 1948).

Dr. Gene Weltfish was one of the signers of a petition to President Truman "to bar military aid to or alliance with fascist Spain" released under auspices of the Spanish Refugee Appeal of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee as shown by a mimeographed petition, attached to a letterhead of May 18, 1951. The U. S. Attorney General cited the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee as "subversive and Communist" (see letters of December 4, 1947 and September 21, 1948). The Special Committee in its report dated March 29, 1944 (page 174), cited the Joint Anti-Fascist * * * as a "Communist-front organization headed by Edward K. Barsky."

One of the most important "cultural" events of the year for the Reds was the celebration in honor of "Mother" Ella Reeve Bloor on the occasion of her eighty-fifth birthday anniversary. Gene Weltfish was one of the sponsors of this banquet, as shown in the "Daily Worker" of June 11, 1947 (page 5).

Dr. Gene Weltfish, anthropologist, was listed among those who sent greetings to women of the Soviet Union, under the auspices of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship ("Daily Worker," March 8, 1949, page 7). She was an endorser of this organization as shown by the program, "Congress on American-Soviet Relations," December 3-5, 1949. The U. S. Attorney General cited the National Council * * * as "subversive and Communist" in letters of December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948. The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report dated March 29, 1944 (page 156) cited the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship as "the Communist Party's principal front for all things Russian."

A pamphlet, "Seeing is Believing," (dated 1947) listed her as a Council Member of the Council on African Affairs, Inc. An undated pamphlet named her as a conference participant of the Council (Pamphlet, "For a New Africa," page 37). The "Daily Worker" of

April 26, 1947 (page 12) reported that she signed a statement, sponsored by the Council. She was a member of the Executive Board of this group, according to the "Daily Worker" of March 29, 1948, page 7. The Council on African Affairs was cited as subversive and Communist (U. S. Attorney General's letters to the Loyalty Review Board, December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948).

A pamphlet, "For a New Africa," named Gene Weltfish as an individual participant of the Conference on Africa held in New York on April 14, 1944, under the sponsorship of the National Negro Congress. The Special Committee in its Report of January 3, 1939 (page 81) stated that—

the Communist-front movement in the United States among Negroes is known as the National Negro Congress.

The U. S. Attorney General stated that—

Commencing with the formation of the National Negro Congress in 1936, Communist Party functionaries and "fellow travelers" have figured prominently in the leadership and affairs of the Congress * * * according to A. Phillip Randolph, John P. Davis, secretary of the congress, has admitted that the Communist Party contributed \$100 a month to its support. * * * (Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, pp. 7687 and 7688).

This group was also cited by the U. S. Attorney General (press releases of the U. S. Civil Service Commission, dated December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948).

The "Daily Worker" of September 20, 1947 (page 8) and the "Worker" for September 28, 1947 (page 10) named Dr. Weltfish as a speaker for the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. The January 15, 1948 (page 5) issue of this paper listed her as a participant in the picket line against Franco, which was sponsored by the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. The Special Committee * * * in its report of March 29, 1944 (page 82) stated that—

In 1937-38, the Communist Party threw itself wholeheartedly into the campaign for the support of the Spanish Loyalist cause, recruiting men and organizing multifarious so-called relief organizations.

Among these was the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. The U. S. Attorney General cited this group as "subversive and Communist" in lists to the Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947 and September 21, 1948.

Letterheads of September 8, 1947, September 30, 1947, and an undated letterhead (received for files, April 1948) have named Gene Weltfish as a member of the Advisory Council of "Soviet Russia Today" which was cited as a "Communist front" by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities in its Report of March 29, 1944 (page 167) and Report of June 25, 1942 (page 21).

According to the Conference Program (page 15) Gene Weltfish was one of the sponsors of the Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace, which was arranged by the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions and held in New York City on March 25, 26, and 27, 1949. She participated in this conference by speaking on "Fascism, Colonialism and World Peace" as shown by the edited report of the Conference, "Speaking of Peace" (pages 72 and 143). She was a sponsor of a conference held by the National Council * * * on October 9-10, 1948, as shown by a leaflet, "To Safeguard These Rights * * *", published by the Bureau on Academic Freedom of the National Council. She was also a signer of a statement spon-

sored by this organization, as shown by the Congressional Record of July 14, 1949 (page 9620). She was a sponsor of the World Congress for Peace (American Sponsoring Committee) as shown by the leaflet, "World Congress for Peace, Paris" April 20, 21, 22, 23, 1949.

In its report of April 9, 1949, the Committee on Un-American Activities cited the Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace as a—

gathering at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York City on March 25, 26, and 27, 1949, which was actually a supermobilization of the inveterate wheelhorses and supporters of the Communist Party and its auxiliary organizations.

This group prepared "the way for the coming World Peace Congress to be held in Paris on April 20 to 23, 1949, with similar aims in view on a world scale and under similar Communist auspices (page 1). The National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions was cited as a "Communist-front organization" on page 2 of the same report.

The "Daily Worker" of February 16, 1949 (page 2) and February 20, 1949 (page 10) named Gene Weltfish as one of those persons protesting the procedure in Communist trials. She was one of those who signed a telegram in behalf of Robert Thompson, Communist, as shown by the "Daily Worker" of November 30, 1948 (page 11), and was also a member of a delegation in behalf of Robert Thompson ("Daily Worker," December 15, 1948; page 1). She was a sponsor of the National Non-Partisan Committee to Defend the Rights of the 12 Communist leaders, as shown by the reverse side of a letterhead dated September 9, 1949. Robert Thompson was one of the eleven Communist leaders who were convicted on October 14, 1949 of conspiracy to teach and advocate the violent overthrow of the United States Government ("New York Times," October 15, 1949, page 5).

Gene Weltfish was a signer of a brief submitted in behalf of John Howard Lawson and Dalton Trumbo, October 1949, by the Cultural Workers in the Supreme Court of the United States, October Term, 1949. The following reference to John Howard Lawson, Dalton Trumbo and certain other individuals appears in the Report of the Committee on Un-American Activities, dated December 31, 1948, page 9:

Each of these witnesses refused to affirm or deny membership in the Communist Party * * * In each case the committee presented voluminous evidence to show affiliations with communist organizations and a copy of the witness' Communist Party registration card.

Lawson and Trumbo were convicted of contempt of Congress and sentenced to one year in jail and fined \$1,000 each ("Washington Times Herald," May 30, 1950, page 1). They began serving their sentence on June 11, 1950 ("New York Times," June 11, 1950, page 3).

According to the "Daily Worker" of April 10, 1950 (page 2) Gene Weltfish was a signer of a statement in support of Pablo Neruda, a Chilean Communist. The "Worker" of October 26, 1947 (page 7) named Dr. Weltfish as an active supporter of Ada B. Jackson, an American Labor Party candidate.

For years, the Communists have put forth the greatest efforts to capture the entire American Labor Party throughout New York State. They succeeded in capturing the Manhattan and Brooklyn sections of the American Labor Party

but outside of New York City they have been unable to win control. (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report 1311, March 29, 1944, page 78.)

Dr. Gene Weltfish was a sponsor of a conference called by the Provisional Committee for a United Labor and People's May Day which was organized to "set up May Day Committees" and "to assure the broadest participation in the May Day Demonstration" ("Daily Worker," March 14, 1949, page 8). "The May Day Parade in New York City is an annual mobilization of Communist strength." (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report 1311, March 29, 1944, page 179.)

An undated leaflet, "Prominent Americans Call For * * * (received for files, September 11, 1950) named Prof. Gene Weltfish as an endorser of the World Peace Appeal.

The text of the "peace petition" as adopted in Stockholm on March 15-19, 1950, by the so-called World Peace Congress at the third session of its Permanent Committee, is announced to the world in the March 24, 1950, issue of "for a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy," official organ of the general staff of the International Communist conspiracy, the Information Bureau of the Communist and Workers Parties (Cominform). In conformity with this directive, the Communist Party, USA, formulated its own "peace plan" in the "Worker" for June 11, 1950. Calling for a "Nation-wide drive for millions of signatures," every Communist is notified that he "has the duty to rise to this appeal." On June 20, 1950, the "peace petition" received the official stamp of approval from the Supreme Soviet of the U. S. S. R. (The Communist "Peace Petition Campaign," Interim Statement of the Committee on Un-American Activities, released July 13, 1950.)

Dr. Weltfish was one of the sponsors of the Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case, as shown on a letterhead of the group dated June 5, 1952; the "Daily Worker" of October 15, 1952 (page 3), reported that she had protested the death sentence against Ethel and Julius Rosenberg; she was one of the individuals who signed an amicus curiae brief submitted to the U. S. Supreme Court, urging a new trial for Ethel and Julius Rosenberg; Dr. Weltfish was identified in this source as an anthropologist at Columbia University. The "Daily Worker" of January 21, 1953 (page 7), also reported that Dr. Weltfish urged clemency for the Rosenbergs, sentenced to death after their conviction in March 1951, of conspiring with a Soviet official to send atomic secrets to Russia between 1944 and 1950.

ALEXANDER WERTH

A review of "The Year of Stalingrad," by Alexander Werth, appears in "Soviet Russia Today," June 1947 (p. 23). "Soviet Russia Today" has been cited by the Committee on Un-American Activities as a Communist-front publication (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, March 29, 1944, p. 167; June 25, 1942, p. 21—Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report No. 1953, April 26, 1950, p. 108). The reviewer, Isidor Schneider, states that the task of the book "is to make clear the full significance of the year of the decisive battle which changed the course of the Second World War—and of modern history."

A booklet, "Poland Today," by Alexander Werth, published in 1948 by the Polish Research and Information Service, contains the following statements:

And it must be said that Polish Communists give the impression of being Poles first and foremost, Communists only next, and Pro-Russians last and sometimes not at all. Many say that they want Poland to acquire certain but

by no means all of the features of Soviet economy. A large number of Poles are attracted to the P. P. R. (Communist Party) because it has the best organizing brains at its head * * *.

Soviet Communism is totally unacceptable to the Polish people, and the Polish Communists know it as well as anybody. But there are certain features of Soviet organization and economy which they—and not only they—consider valuable in the process of rebuilding Poland * * * (p. 7).

* * * The Russians in general are not liked, and the "Russian occupation" of 1944-45 has left some bad memories; discipline among some of the Russian troops, especially after victory, went to pieces completely. A growing number of Poles, however, are beginning to realize that it was the Russians, after all, who drove the Germans out of Poland, and the fact that "they did not stay on" is also put to their credit (p. 14).

"Moscow War Dairy," by Alexander Werth, was recommended by the Washington Cooperative Bookshop, in "Books on the U.S.S.R.," a selected bibliography by Bessie Weissman, p. 30. The Congressional Record of September 24, 1942 (p. 7688) contained a statement by the U. S. Attorney General, from which the following is quoted:

The Washington Cooperative Book Shop, under the name, "The Book Shop Association," was incorporated in the District of Columbia in 1938. * * *

Evidence of Communist penetration or control is reflected in the following: Among its stock the establishment has offered prominently for sale books and literature identified with the Communist Party and certain of its affiliates and front organizations * * * certain of the officers and employees of the book shop, including its manager and executive secretary, have been in close contact with local officials of the Communist Party of the District of Columbia.

The Attorney General also cited the organization as subversive and Communist in his letters to the Loyalty Review Board, in 1947 and 1948.¹ The organization was redesignated by the Attorney General, April 27, 1953, pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450, and included on the April 1, 1954, consolidated list of organizations previously designated pursuant to Executive Order No. 10450. The Special Committee on Un-American Activities cited the organization as a Communist front in its Report, March 29, 1944 (p. 150).

Alexander Werth was quoted with approval by Joseph Starobin in the "Daily Worker" of December 21, 1949 (p. 6).

Joseph Clark, in his "Daily Worker" column of January 30, 1950 (p. 6), said:

Alexander Werth writes from Czechoslovakia in The Nation (Jan. 7): "It seems important to explode another favorite myth of our anti-Communist propagandists—that Czechoslovakia is being 'mercilessly exploited' by the Soviet Union. It is not. The clear purpose of Soviet policy is to make Czechoslovakia economically an outstanding success."

An article headed "British Writer Refutes Lies about Soviet 'Forced Labor'" appears on pages 3 and 11 of the "Daily Worker" of February 16, 1949. The following is quoted from the article:

U. S. charges of "forced labor" in the Soviet Union, often exploded as deliberate lies in the past, are based on a recent book by David J. Dallin, which has been exposed as (sic) a series of lies and distortions by leading British and American correspondents in the Soviet Union.

* * * His book, Forced Labor in the Soviet Union, was riddled by the noted British correspondent Alexander Werth some months ago in the British publication New Statesmen and Nation. Werth, who was a correspondent in the Soviet Union for seven years, cited two places named by Dallin as "forced labor camps," which he visited and found to be thriving cities.

In his "Daily Worker" column of January 16, 1950, Joseph Clark quotes from an article by Alexander Werth in the January 2 issue of

"The Nation." The article praised the Communist regime in Czechoslovakia.

An article headed "Anti-Soviet Slander Exposed as Forgery" appears in the "Daily Worker" of February 23, 1949 (p. 6). The following is quoted from the article:

"There are no limits to the methods of anti-Soviet propaganda, and in some countries of western Europe it has become the business not only of the great magnates—such as for example the great organization behind the distribution of Kravchenko's book—but also of all kinds of scum who in normal times would be selling copies, pornographic pictures and other profitable rubbish."

This is the verdict given by the well-known British journalist Alexander Werth in a statement published in *Rude Pravo* * * *

Werth described * * * a characteristic method of those who trade in what he calls "that highly profitable commodity—anti-Soviet propaganda and slander" * * *.

According to the "Daily Worker" of November 2, 1952 (p. 7), Alexander Werth was a signer of the World Peace Appeal.

The Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report on the Communist "Peace" Offensive, April 1, 1951 (p. 34), cited the World Peace Appeal as a petition campaign launched by the Permanent Committee of the World Peace Congress at its meeting in Stockholm, March 16–19, 1950; as having "received the enthusiastic approval of every section of the international Communist hierarchy"; as having been lauded in the Communist press, putting "every individual Communist on notice that he 'has the duty to rise to this appeal'"; and as having "received the official endorsement of the Supreme Soviet of the U. S. S. R., which has been echoed by the governing bodies of every Communist satellite country, and by all Communist Parties throughout the world."

TENNESSEE WILLIAMS

<i>Organization and affiliation</i>	<i>Source</i>
Sent greetings to Moscow Art Theater.	Daily Worker, Nov. 1, 1948, p. 13.
Author of "Streetcar Named Desire," praised in Daily Worker.	Daily Worker, Dec. 8, 1947, p. 13.
See also: Public hearings of this committee regarding Communist Infiltration of Hollywood Motion-Picture Industry—Part 2, April and May 1951, pp. 331, 2413.	

DR. WILLIAM CARLOS WILLIAMS

The following information from the public records, files and publications of this committee concerning Dr. William Carlos Williams should not be construed as representing results of an investigation by or findings of the committee. It should be noted that the subject individual is not necessarily a Communist, a Communist sympathizer, or a fellow-traveler, unless so indicated.

On March 5, 1941 (page 2), the Daily Worker featured in a full-page spread the names of several hundred persons who defended the Communist Party against alleged persecution. The statement called attention to "a matter of vital significance to the future of our nation. It is the attitude of our government toward the Communist Party * * *." The name of William Carlos Williams of Rutherford, New Jersey, appeared in the list of persons who signed that statement.

Dr. Williams was one of those who signed an Open Letter of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, addressed to the President of the United States, urging reconsideration of the order of Attorney General Francis Biddle for deportation of Harry Bridges. The Open Letter was published in pamphlet form, September 11, 1942, by the National Federation * * *, under the title "600 Prominent Americans Ask President to Rescind Biddle Decision"; Dr. Williams was identified in this source as being from Rutherford, New Jersey. The Daily Worker of July 19, 1942 (page 4), also reported that William Carlos Williams had signed an Open Letter on behalf of Mr. Bridges.

The Attorney General has cited the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties as "part of what Lenin called the solar system of organizations, ostensibly having no connection with the Communist Party, by which Communists attempt to create sympathizers and supporters of their program * * *." (Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, page 7687); the Attorney General also cited the organization as subversive and Communist (press releases of December 4, 1947 and September 21, 1948; included in consolidated list released April 1, 1954); the Special Committee on Un-American Activities found that "there can be no reasonable doubt about the fact that the National Federation * * * is one of the viciously subversive organizations of the Communist Party" (reports of March 29, 1944; June 25, 1942; and January 2, 1943). It was cited as having been formed for the "alleged purpose of defending civil liberties in general but actually intended to protect Communist subversion from any penalties under the law" (Committee on Un-American Activities in Report 1115 of September 2, 1947). Harry Bridges was a Communist Party member and leader of the San Francisco general strike of 1934 which was planned by the Communist Party (see Report of the Special Committee * * * dated March 29, 1944, pages 90-97).

The printed program of the Fifth National Conference of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born which was held in Atlantic City, N. J., March 29-30, 1941, contained the name of William Carlos Williams in a list of sponsors of that conference. The American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born has been cited as "one of the oldest auxiliaries of the Communist Party in the United States" (Special Committee on Un-American Activities in a report dated March 29, 1944; also cited in report of June 25, 1942); the Attorney General cited the organization as subversive and Communist (press releases of June 1 and September 21, 1948; included on consolidated list released April 1, 1954).

The American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom has been cited as "a Communist front which defended Communist teachers" (Special Committee * * * in reports of June 25, 1942 and March 29, 1944); William Carlos Williams was one of those who signed the organization's petition, as was shown on a mimeographed sheet attached to the group's letterhead of January 17, 1940; in this source he was identified as an author.

Dr. Williams signed a statement of the American League for Peace and Democracy, according to New Masses for March 15, 1938 (page 19); he signed a letter of the American Friends of Spanish Democracy, addressed to the President of the United States (Daily Worker, Feb-

ruary 7, 1938, page 4); he signed an Open Letter for Closer Cooperation with the Soviet Union which was printed in Soviet Russia Today for September 1939 (page 28), in which source he was identified as a writer; he signed the Golden Book of American Friendship With the Soviet Union, as revealed in Soviet Russia Today for November 1937 (page 79); and signed the Call to the Third American Writers Congress, as reported in Direction for May-June 1939 (page 1).

The American League for Peace and Democracy was established "in an effort to create public sentiment on behalf of a foreign policy adapted to the interests of the Soviet Union" (Attorney General, Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, pages 7683 and 7684); the organization was also cited by the Attorney General in press releases of June 1 and September 21, 1948; included in consolidated list released April 1, 1954. The Special Committee * * * cited it as "the largest of the Communist 'front' movements in the United States" (reports of January 3, 1939; March 29, 1944; January 3, 1940; January 3, 1941; June 25, 1942; and January 2, 1943).

American Friends of Spanish Democracy was one of the organizations formed during 1937 and 1938, when the Communist Party was campaigning for support of the Spanish Loyalist cause (from the Special Committee's report of March 29, 1944). The Special Committee reported on June 25, 1942, that the Open Letter for Closer Cooperation with the Soviet Union was issued by "a group of Communist Party stooges." The Golden Book of American Friendship with the Soviet Union was a "Communist enterprise" signed by "hundreds" of "well-known Communists and fellow-travelers" (Special Committee * * * in its report of March 29, 1944).

The American Writers Congress was sponsored by the League of American Writers, cited as subversive and Communist by the Attorney General (press releases of June 1 and September 21, 1948; included in consolidated list released April 1, 1954); it was founded "under Communist auspices" in 1935 and in 1939 it began openly to follow the Communist Party line as dictated by the foreign policy of the Soviet Union" (Attorney General, Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, pages 7685 and 7686); and was cited as a Communist-front organization by the Special Committee (reports of January 3, 1940; June 25, 1942; and March 29, 1944).

The Daily Worker of April 11, 1951 (page 8), reported that Dr. William Carlos Williams, poet, would speak at a meeting sponsored by the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions, on behalf of John Howard Lawson, Dalton Trumbo, and Albert Maltz; the same publication, in the issue of April 16, 1951 (page 4), announced that Dr. Williams had been unable to appear at the meeting, because of illness, but that he had initiated a letter appealing for parole of the so-called "Hollywood Ten"; he signed a statement on behalf of the "Hollywood Ten", as reported in the Daily Worker on May 12, 1950 (page 3); he signed a petition to the Supreme Court of the United States for a Reconsideration of its Refusal to Hear the Appeal of the Hollywood Ten, as shown in an advertisement inserted in the Washington Post on May 24, 1950 (page 14), in which source he was identified as a poet.

Dr. Williams supported the National Council's effort to secure a rehearing of the case of Communist leaders before the Supreme Court of the United States, as shown in "We Join Black's Dissent", a

reprint of an article from the St. Louis Post-Dispatch of June 20, 1951, by the National Council * * *. The Committee on Un-American Activities cited the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions as a Communist-front organization (Review of the Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace, arranged by the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions, released April 19, 1949).

During the Special Committee's investigation in 1939, they unearthed the fact that "Earl Browder, general secretary of the Communist Party in the United States, had obtained a false American passport in the course of his conspiratorial activities * * *. Browder was tried and convicted on charges in connection with this fraudulent passport. His sentence was a four-year term in Atlanta Federal Penitentiary. During his incarceration in Atlanta, the Communists and their sympathizers all over the United States carried on an intensive campaign in which they pictured Browder as a victim of capitalist persecution. The principal Communist organization which conducted this campaign was known as the Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder".

A letterhead of the Citizens Committee to * * *, dated April 2, 1942, named William Carlos Williams as one of the "prominent Americans who favor Presidential clemency for the release of Earl Browder". An undated leaflet of the same organization which was an appeal to President Roosevelt "for justice in the Browder case" named Dr. Williams, author, *Collected Poems*, as one of those who made the appeal.

Under the title of "Letters from Readers", featured in *New Masses* for December 1930 (page 22), William Carlos Williams, Rutherford, New Jersey, contributed the following:

I like the John Reed number * * *. I feel in a false position. How can I be a Communist, being what I am. Poetry is the thing which has the hardest hold on me in my daily experiences. But I cannot, without an impossible wrench of my understanding, turn it into a force directed toward one end, Vote the Communist Ticket, or work for the world revolution. There are too many difficulties, unresolved difficulties in my way. I can however see the monumental blockwit of social injustices surrounding me on every side. But why they arise, God only knows. But in any case they are there and I would give my life freely if I could right them. But who the hell wants my life? Nobody as far as I can see. They don't even want my verse, which is of more importance. I'm for you. I'll help as I can. I'd like to see you live. And here's to the light, from wherever it may come.

Mr. Williams contributed to *New Masses* for November 23, 1937 (page 17), and reviewed "The Spider and the Clock", by S. Funaroff (International Publishers), in the August 16, 1938, issue of the same publication (pages 23-25). Under the heading, "Some Additional Views", which appeared in *New Masses* for August 17, 1943 (page 22), William Carlos Williams, poet and novelist, expressed his views as follows:

Replying to your question, Can Communists and non-Communists unite? No, not in the same nation, that's why we have nations. But if you'll put your question, Can a Communist nation unite with a non-Communist nation? Certainly and why not? We aren't afraid of them and they're not afraid of us. In fact, we seem to like them, individually, and many of us admire their intellectual make-up. They seem cleaner than the swine we are used to fighting to keep our nation halfway honest and anti-thug.

It is going to be *some* laugh when the war is over and we've beat the mirror-writing we are so practically familiar with under a different name at our own doorsteps—it's going to be *some fun* if Russia or the Russian system, now on a

basis of friendship with us, begins to be a brilliant and overwhelming success from a *business* standpoint. Nobody ever thought of that. Oh boy! Is it going to be fun to watch the subtle change that will come over the local fascist. Man to man, does any one think that a hard boiled American businessman is so stupid that he won't shift his political complexion if there's *money in it*? You've got to ask me a harder one than that.

(Note: Words italicized above were shown in italics in original source.)

EDMUND WILSON

Organization and affiliation

Source

- Communist Party (1) and (2). Signed Call for Support of the Communist Party National Election and its candidates. Daily Worker, Sept. 14, 1932, p. 1, c. 2.
- Member, League of Professional Groups for Foster and Ford, C. P. candidates for President and Vice President of the U. S., respectively. Pamphlet, "Culture and the Crisis," p. 32.
- The Liberator (1). Contributor; name shown in all of these sources as Edmund Wilson, Jr. The Liberator, April 1920, p. 38; June 1920, p. 27; May 1921, p. 25; September 1921, p. 13; February 1922, p. 12.
- New Masses (1) and (2). Contributing Editor; name shown as *Edmond Wilson, Jr.* New Masses, October 1927, p. 3.
- Contributor. New Masses, April 1932, p. 7; and September 1932, p. 9.

See also: Hearings of Special Committee on Un-American Activities, pages 380, 509, 557, 559, 566, and 703.

ORGANIZATIONS

AMERICAN STUDENT UNION

The American Student Union was cited as a Communist-front organization by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities in Reports dated January 3, 1939; January 3, 1940; June 25, 1942; and March 29, 1944.

As a section of the World Student Association for Peace, Freedom and Culture, the American Student Union is the result of a united front gathering of young Socialists and Communists. It was formerly known as the Student League for Industrial Democracy and the National Student League. The latter was the American section of the Proletarian Youth League of Moscow. Out of the coalition convention, which was held at Columbus, Ohio, in 1937, came the American Student Union. The united front was heralded in Moscow as "one of its (Communism's) greatest triumphs."

The American Student Union claims to have led as many as 500,000 students out in annual April 22 student strikes in the United States * * * It announced that it set up the "front" movement, the United Student Peace Committee in 1938, which has brought into its front 17 national youth organizations. * * *

The Young Communist League takes credit for the creation of the American Student Union, since it was its organization, the National Student League, which issued the call and organized the convention which was held in Columbus.

In an advertisement which appeared in a Communist journal, New Masses, the Union offered free trips to Russia. In 1938 it issued a call for a "closed shop

on the campus," urging a united front between its local college groups and certain teachers and professional groups * * * It claims credit for perfecting a united front of Communist and Socialist students in Europe (Report of the Special Committee * * * dated January 3, 1939, page 80).

In the Report on American Youth for Democracy, issued by the Committee on Un-American Activities April 17, 1947, the American Student Union was cited as a Communist-dominated organization (page 16).

Mr. Walter S. Steele, in his testimony in public hearings before the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, August 17, 1938, gave information concerning the American Student Union (pages 582 and 584), from which the following is quoted:

The membership of the American Student Union is approximately 30,000. It is a section of the World Student Union, now the World Student Association for Peace, Freedom and Culture. Its organ is the Student Advocate.

The American Section (World Student Association for Peace, Freedom and Culture) was organized at a joint meeting of the (Communist) National Student League and the (Socialist) Student League for Industrial Democracy, held in the Young Women's Christian Association at Columbus, Ohio, December 28-29, 1938. Their report of this congress stated that nearly 500 delegates from 113 schools and colleges in the United States were present. The Communist unit had inveigled the Socialist youth into participating in the congress, usurped the leadership of the organization, and have used it as an adjunct to the Young Communist movement all during its short life * * *

In a report to Moscow, the Communists refer to the American Student Union as one of its greatest triumphs in the United States * * * The April 24, 1938 issue of the Sunday Worker published an article which stated that the Young Communist League created the American Student Union and is the main inspiration behind the student peace activities that rocked America on April 27, 1937 * * *

On February 4, 1938 (Daily Worker, page 6), the American Student Union thanked the official organ for the fine publicity and support it gave the union's Vassar convention * * *

The following is from the testimony of William Nowell, public hearings before the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, November 30, 1939 (pages 6994-6995):

I am discussing now the general policy, and my knowledge of the fact that the American Students Union was a part of the youth and is a part of the youth program of the Communist Party, that is, the Young Communist League, which received instructions to strive to organize such a body. They succeeded. As I say, the policy was based upon utilizing the discontent of students, based upon the belief that along with depressed conditions and the fact that students who are reasonably enlightened, that is, they have some theoretical and political understandings, since they are students, and are studying, could be and can be easily politicalized. Therefore, the program, that is, the approach to the organization of these students was based upon these facts. That is, the league sponsored it, because of the lack of opportunity, which is true to a certain extent, and the fact that they are in the league tells that they are or would be, and that they are easily politicalized * * *

AMERICAN YOUTH CONGRESS

The American Youth Congress was cited as subversive and Communist by former Attorney General Tom Clark in letters to the Loyalty Review Board, released to the press December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948.

"It originated in 1934 and * * * has been controlled by Communists and manipulated by them to influence the thought of American youth," according to former Attorney General Francis Biddle (Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7685; also cited in re Harry Bridges, May 28, 1942, p. 10).

The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report dated June 25, 1942, described the American Youth Congress as follows:

The American Youth Congress was prominently identified with the White House picket line which, under the immediate auspices of the American Peace Mobilization, opposed every measure of national defense up until the very day that Hitler attacked Russia. From its very inception the American Youth Congress has been one of the principal fronts of the Communist Party (p. 16).

The Special Committee on Un-American Activities cited the American Youth Congress as "the Communist front which has now been largely absorbed by American Youth for Democracy" in its Report No. 1311, dated March 29, 1944, p. 102.

The following is taken from the testimony of Walter S. Steele during public hearings before the Committee on Un-American Activities, July 21, 1947:

The genealogy of American Youth for Democracy extends back through several Red ancestors to the Young Workers League, which was formed in 1922 and was one of the beneficiaries of the American Fund for Public Service, more commonly known as the Garland (Red) Fund. The first national convention of the organization was held May 13-15, 1922. Prior to that time numerous local Communist organizations had been using the name Young Workers' League, and the convention adopted the title. The third national convention of the Red Youth was held in October 1925, when a revised constitution was adopted and the name slightly changed to Young Workers' (Communist) League. Communist youngsters adopted the name Communist Youth League for a brief period in 1929.

The use of the name Young Communist League began with the August 1, 1939 edition of the Young Worker, its official organ at the time. That name continued until the invention of the latest booby-trap, the American Youth for Democracy. At the time of the transformation, Communists said:

"All Communists will naturally hope that thousands of youth who will join the new organization will later join the Communist Party."

* * * * *

In the May 1922 issue of Young Worker, then the official organ of the Young Communist League, the following statement appeared:

We hear the tramp of the young as they come in ever larger masses to the banner of the revolutionists. Soon they will conquer. Meanwhile as we view the intolerable situation forced upon us by the master class, let this be our slogan till that happy May Day comes when we have won for ourselves a workers' republic: "We have loved enough; now let us hate" (pp. 71 and 72).

In Report No. 1311 of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, dated March 29, 1944, it was stated that "the American Youth Congress was outstandingly active in the American Peace Mobilization against conscription and the national defense program."

An article entitled "Communist Youth Ask for Unity" appeared in the Daily Worker of July 19, 1935, p. 1, from which the following is quoted:

In the past period of time, we have learned to work together and to act together despite the fundamental differences in program and policy which still separates our two organizations. Working relationships have now existed between the Young Peoples Socialist League and the Young Communist League for over a year. Joint activity for realizing the program of the American Youth Congress resulted in the inspiring student strike of April 12th, participated in unitedly by Socialist and Communist students.

The following statement was made by Earl Browder (then General Secretary of the Communist Party) in his book "Communism in the United States":

The greatest progress has been made among the youth. Without any formal negotiations the Young People's Socialist League and the Young Communist League already find themselves standing upon an agreed platform. This achievement came out of the struggle against the fascist Central Bureau which called the American Youth Congress in which the anti-fascist united front won a complete victory in winning over almost the entire body of delegates to a program entirely opposed to the one proposed by the leaders, with government support, adopting instead a program of struggle against war and fascism, and for the immediate needs of the youth, including unemployment insurance, etc. This victory, the basis of which had already been laid by the Youth Section of the American League Against War and Fascism which was already a growing united front from below, reaching all strata of youth, now comprises 1,700,000, ranging from Y. M. C. A.'s, Y. W. C. A.'s, church youth organizations, trade union youth sections, settlement houses, etc., clear down to the Y. P. S. L. and Y. C. L. In this, the political center of gravity is the work of our Y. C. L. Practically all the basic proposals and policy came from us or from those circles influenced by us through the unanimous support of this broad youth movement" (pp. 265-266).

BROOKWOOD LABOR COLLEGE

The subject organization has not been cited as subversive by this committee or by the United States Attorney General. The Special Committee on Un-American Activities, in its report of March 29, 1944 (House Report No. 1311), referred to the organization as a "communist" school, and named it among "Communist enterprises" which had received financial assistance from the American Fund for Public Service, stating that it had received "at least \$115,000" (pp. 34 and 76). The American Fund for Public Service (Garland Fund) was cited in the same report as being "a major source for the financing of Communist Party enterprises" (pp. 75 and 76).

Brookwood's Fifteenth Anniversary Review contained an article by Spencer Miller, Jr., from which the following is quoted:

The Workers Education Bureau of America and Brookwood celebrate in 1936 the fifteenth anniversary of their establishment. During the period of a decade and a half of their respective service to the labor movement, there have been not a few elements in common in their history. Many of the same persons who were present at the conference called at the Brookwood School in Katonah, New York, to plan for the establishment of a resident labor college on March 30 and April 1, 1921, were also present the following days, April 2 and 3, at the New School for Social Research * * * when the plans were finally adopted for the creation of a national clearing-house on workers' education. * * *

For the first eight years of the existence of Brookwood it was an affiliated and valued member of the Workers Education Bureau. When in 1929 this link of affiliation was discontinued because of the difficulties between Brookwood and the American Federation of Labor, the officers of the Bureau continued unofficially and informally to cooperate with Brookwood. * * *

* * * Brookwood was to be a training center to train workers to work in the workers' movement. (p. 31)

The following is quoted from the preface to "Workers' Education at the Cross Roads—Sixth Annual Conference of Teachers in Workers' Education at Brookwood, February 22-24, 1929 (Edited by a Committee of Local 189, American Federation of Teachers)," p. 3:

* * * In August of that year (1928) the Executive Committee of the A. F. of L. launched an attack upon Brookwood Labor College on the ground that it was "un-American, atheistic, and Red" and that it was too critical of A. F. of L. unions.

Friends of workers' education who saw in this an attack upon the whole movement rallied to the defense of Brookwood and for months the controversy waxed hot. At the New Orleans convention of the American Federation of Labor in

October, 1928, attempts to obtain a hearing for the school were throttled, and the convention confirmed the recommendation of the Executive Council that unions be advised to withhold moral and financial support from the school.

Brookwood was disaffiliated from the Workers Education Bureau by the action of the W. E. B. executive committee on January 18, 1929, on the ground that the Bureau had no other alternative in view of the A. F. of L. action, although it was definitely stated that the W. E. B. had no charges against Brookwood and had made no investigation. * * *

"Ten Years of Workers' Education, a survey of the 8th Annual Conference of Teachers in Workers' Education at Brookwood, February 21-23, 1931" contained a report by Helen G. Norton, of Brookwood, from which the following is quoted (p. 75):

Some graduates have been blacklisted by employers because of strike or organizational activity and have gone into other and unorganized industries.

Some have turned to the Communist or Socialist party. * * * I cannot give you figures on how many of our students were Communists when they came. Some of them are not now party members by their own or the party's wish. The same is true of those who joined the party after they left school. One of them writes, "I am still a left winger with some moderation. I was expelled from the party for being a Trotskyite and I left the latter group for being something else." A number who were in the party's opposition before the present group came into power have been expelled for still being oppositionists. It may be that radicals get into the habit of being in the minority and can't get over it when the minority by chance becomes the majority. The fact that the number of graduates engaging in labor political activity has risen from 13 in the 1923-26 group to 30 in the 1927-30 may be considered a result of the stagnation of the trade union movement. And in their rebellion against the ineffectualness of "business unionism" most of them seized upon the most radical program they could find as is evidenced by the fact that out of 43 persons engaged in labor political activity, 31 are Communists of one brand or another. Thirty graduates are members of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action, started two years ago. Be it said to Brookwood's credit that it has not manufactured any Republicans or Democrats. * * *

Further references to Brookwood Labor College may be found in hearings of the Special Committee to Investigate Un-American Propaganda, as follows: Volume 1, pp. 563, 564, 566, 973; Volume 3, p. 2106.

FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION

Fellowship of Reconciliation has never been officially cited as a Communist-front organization nor in any other manner by this Committee or the Attorney General of the United States.

In public hearings before the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, November 7, 1938, the Fellowship of Reconciliation was described by Mr. J. B. Matthews, its former executive secretary, as a "radical peace organization." (Public Hearings, Volume 3, p. 2179.)

According to a pamphlet of the organization, the Fellowship of Reconciliation began in England soon after the outbreak of the First World War "as a movement of Christian protest against war and of faith in a better way than violence for the solution of all conflict." The pamphlet further states that the organization was composed of individual members from more than twenty countries who subscribed to the following Statement of Purpose:

They refuse to participate in any way, or to sanction military preparation; they work to abolish war and to foster good will among nations, races and classes;

They strive to build a social order which will suffer no individual or group to be exploited for the profit or pleasure of another * * *

The Fellowship of Reconciliation has published a magazine, "Fellowship," and has utilized the magazine, "The World Tomorrow," to

reach religious and peace organizations. It has published leaflets, pamphlets, guides for study groups, newsletters, and interracial newsletters.

"Reconciliation Trips" which have piloted 50,000 persons on visits of understanding to all sorts of groups in New York City were inspired by the Fellowship of Reconciliation in 1921 "when in an era of 'red-baiting' propaganda the suggestion was made to a group of clergymen that it might be a good plan to meet and talk with leaders of radical groups in their own headquarters." Some of its officers and members have

conducted reconciliation trips to foreign countries * * * Fellowship members were among the first to visit Soviet Russia and to urge the resumption of diplomatic relations between Russia and the United States. (From John Nevin Sayre's "The Story of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, 1915-1935.")

Through its official representatives, the Fellowship of Reconciliation has participated in Communist-inspired conference against war, when the line of the Communist Party was anti-war. As executive secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, Joseph B. Matthews attended the Communist-controlled Amsterdam World Congress Against War in 1932. (Public Hearings, Volume 3, p. 2175.) The Fellowship also participated in the United States Congress Against War held in August, 1933, which was the predecessor of the American League Against War and Fascism and the American League for Peace and Democracy.

The United States Congress Against War was cited as a Communist-front organization by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities in Reports dated January 3, 1940, June 25, 1942, and March 29, 1944. Attorney General Francis Biddle found that the "American League Against War and Fascism was formally organized at the First United States Congress Against War and Fascism held in New York City, September 29-October 1, 1933" (Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7683).

The American League Against War and Fascism was "established in the United States in an effort to create public sentiment on behalf of a foreign policy adapted to the interests of the Soviet Union." Established in the United States in 1937 as successor to the American League Against War and Fascism, "the American League for Peace and Democracy * * * was designed to conceal Communist control, in accordance with the new tactics of the Communist International" (Attorney General Francis Biddle, Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7683 and 7684).

Both the American League Against War and Fascism and its successor, the American League for Peace and Democracy, were cited as subversive and Communist by Attorney General Tom Clark. (See: Press Releases of the U. S. Civil Service Commission, December 4, 1947 and June 1, 1948 and September 21, 1948.)

Both the American League Against War and Fascism and the American League for Peace and Democracy were cited as Communist-front organizations in Reports of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities dated January 3, 1939; January 3, 1940; June 25, 1942; and March 29, 1944. The American League for Peace and Democracy was also cited in Reports of January 3, 1941 and January 2, 1943.

A search of Committee files has revealed no recent literature of the organization in which its present officers might be listed; however, the "Directory of Agencies in Intergroup Relations" for 1948-1949, published by the American Council on Race Relations, Chicago, Illinois, gives the address of Fellowship of Reconciliation, Racial-Industrial Department, as 2929 Broadway, New York 25, New York, and names Bayard Rustin and George M. Houser as co-secretaries (page 21). No information concerning Bayard Rustin or George M. Houser is found in the public records, files and publications of the Committee.

HIGHLANDER FOLK SCHOOL

The Highlander Folk School has never been cited as subversive by the Committee on Un-American Activities and/or the Attorney General of the United States.

In an article which appeared in the New York Times on December 16, 1946, p. 29, and which was datelined Monteagle, Tennessee, December 15, it was reported that—

the Highlander Folk School here will start next year a three-year inter-racial rural education program throughout the South to promote better understanding between people of rural and urban areas and to combat racial and religious prejudice, it was announced today by Myles Horton, director of the school * * *. The school, since its inception in 1932, has trained more than 7,000 Southerners in residence sessions and more than 12,000 others in field extension courses. Among those who have endorsed the work of the school in the past were listed Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Dr. Frank Graham, president of the University of North Carolina, and Senator Elbert Thomas of Utah.

A leaflet of the school, advertising the 1939 Winter Term, claims that the "purpose of Highlander Folk School is to promote the progressive labor movement in the South." Under the courses announced in the same leaflet is one in Union Problems which "deals with definite problems of the students as labor unionists. Methods of organizing, strike tactics, Labor Board procedure, education in unions, race relations are some of the things discussed * * *."

On July 21, 1947, Mr. Walter S. Steele testified before the Committee on Un-American Activities that—

one of the oldest of the Red mediums of propaganda is the Communist school for the training and orientating of new recruits * * *.

The Highlander Folk School in Monteagle, Tennessee, unquestionably keeps pretty close to the party line. Its directors, James Dombrowski and Myles Horton, are found in the company of Red-fronters. It has been a recipient of funds from the Robert Marshall Foundation * * *.

Mr. Steele continued:

Members of the executive council of the Highlander Folk School are William H. Crawford of the CIO Steelworkers' Union, district director; Edward F. Gallagher, vice president of the Hosiery Workers' Union; Paul R. Christopher, CIO regional director, Tennessee; James Dombrowski, listed as secretary of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare; Charles Gillman, CIO regional director, Georgia; Carey Haigler, CIO regional director, Alabama; Lucy Randolph Mason, CIO public relations director; George Mitchell, regional director, CIO-PAC; Hollis Reid, legislative board of locomotive firemen; Thomas Starling, director, Region 8, Auto Workers' Union (CIO); Aubrey Williams, organizing director of Regional Farmers' Union and publisher of Southern Farmer (Montgomery, Alabama), a member of the board of directors of the Progressive Citizens Association. (From Mr. Steele's testimony before the Committee on Un-American Activities, July 21, 1947, pages 56 and 57.)

Public records, files, and publications of the Committee contain the following information concerning James Dombrowski and Myles Horton, named by Mr. Steele as directors of the Highlander Folk School:

JAMES DOMBROWSKI

A list of the 1947-1948 officers of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare named James A. Dombrowski as an administrator of that organization. (Reprinted in Committee's Report on the Southern Conference * * *, June 12, 1947.) The same report also contains a chapter on Mr. Dombrowski, quoted in part as follows:

At the April 1942 sessions of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, James Dombrowski was elected executive secretary. He was the signer of a statement defending the Communist Party in March 1941 and a speaker for the National Conference for Constitutional Liberties in 1940. The latter organization has been cited as subversive by Attorney General Biddle.

Dombrowski, together with Myles Horton, a member of the present board of representatives of the conference, helped launch a joint Socialist-Communist united-front movement in the South in 1935. As Socialist Party leaders in Tennessee, the two men endorsed a united-front plan of action which included campaigns against the AAA and for a "rank and file" movement in the American Federation of Labor (Chattanooga Times of January 28, 1935, p. 5). They have both been charged with operating as stooges for the Communist Party within Socialist circles.

A clue to Dombrowski's political views is given in his book, "The Early Days of Christian Socialism in America" (1936). Dombrowski asserts that the Rev. George D. Herron, whom he considers "by far the most able man" in the early days of the Christian Socialist movement, pointed out in the last decade of the nineteenth century:

"* * * that class lines were becoming more sharply defined that the logic of the inherent contradictions within capitalism was leading inevitably to more and more concentration of wealth, to the enrichment of the few at the expense of the masses" (p. 30).

Dombrowski goes on to defend Herron's views on violence. Herron, he says: "* * * did not think that violence was inimical to a religious approach to social change. Peace at the expense of justice was not a religious solution to social problems. And resorting to his social interpretation of the cross, according to which all moral progress is made at the expense of suffering and sacrifice, he looked upon a revolution by violence, provided it promised a more just society, as a possible technique for social change worthy of the sanction of religion" (p. 193).

"In his acceptance of the fact of the class struggle went the implicit recognition of the necessity for coercion" (p. 192).

The Southern Conference for Human Welfare was cited as a Communist-front organization which received money from the Robert Marshall Foundation, one of the principal sources of funds by which many Communist fronts operate. (From a report of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities dated March 29, 1944.) The organization "seeks to attract southern liberals on the basis of its seeming interest in the problems of the South" although its "professed interest in southern welfare is simply an expedient for larger aims serving the Soviet Union and its subservient Communist Party in the United States" (Report 592 of the Committee on Un-American Activities dated June 12, 1947).

The following is quoted from the testimony of Paul Crouch before this Committee during public hearings, May 6, 1949 (pages 190 and 193):

Mr. CROUCH. * * * Prior to the Southern Conference, there was a small committee, with headquarters in Birmingham, which included as its leading members Joseph S. Gelders, Communist Party leader in Birmingham * * *

Mr. MANDEL. Was James A. Dombrowski in that group?

Mr. CROUCH. He came into it later.

* * * * *

Mr. MANDEL. Did you know James Dombrowski as a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. CROUCH. Not as a member of the Communist Party. I do not know whether he is or is not a member of the Communist Party. He professes to be a left Socialist. I have met officially with him on a number of occasions as head of the Communist District Bureau of Tennessee. He and Myles Horton were present at the conference as Socialists and as representatives of the Highlander Folk School at Monteagle, Tenn.

At this conference Mr. Dombrowski gave me the impression of being completely pro-Communist and anxious to collaborate with the Communist Party and follow its leadership, without taking the risk of actual Party membership.

I would like to mention in this connection that the Highlander Folk School at Monteagle, Tenn., was a school organized by Myles Horton and Don West, and which Mr. Dombrowski shortly thereafter joined. Mr. Horton likewise professed to be a left Socialist, with Communist sympathies, and I asked him about joining the Communist Party. He did not give a final answer, but had not joined at the time I left Tennessee in early 1941. His wife, Zylphia, seemed even more pro-Communist than her husband, and I heard reports in party circles, which I am unable to verify, that she had subsequently joined the party.

Mr. MANDEL. Does that finish your comments on the Southern Conference?

Mr. CROUCH. Yes, except I would like to add that my most recent contact with the Southern Conference has been at Birmingham, Ala., where I have attended a number of meetings during the past 18 months, where I have heard Mr. Dombrowski and Clark Howell Foreman speak; and I personally know that the leading officers of the Southern Conference, Theresa Kantor—

Mr. MANDEL. Of what city?

Mr. CROUCH. Miami Beach; and Leo Scheiner, chairman of the Southern Conference in the Miami area, are active members of the Communist Party.

A letterhead of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, dated December 11–12, 1948, contains the name of James A. Dombrowski in a list of sponsors of the organization, "one of the oldest auxiliaries of the Communist Party in the United States" (from a report of the Special Committee dated March 29, 1944; also cited in their report of June 25, 1942); the United States Attorney General cited the organization as subversive and Communist (letters to the Loyalty Review Board, released June 1, 1948, and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953).

The name of Dr. James Dombrowski, identified with the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, appears on a letterhead of the People's Institute of Applied Religion, Inc., dated January 1, 1948, as a member of the International Board, a member of the Southern Conference, and a sponsor of that group. The People's Institute was cited as subversive and Communist by the Attorney General (press releases of June 1 and September 21, 1948; redesignated April 27, 1953).

James A. Dombrowski was a member of the Advisory Board of the Southern Negro Youth Congress, as shown on letterheads of that organization dated June 12, 1947, and August 11, 1947; he spoke at a meeting of the group, as shown in the following sources which identify him as Director of the Southern Conference Educational Fund: Daily People's World of April 25, 1948 (p. 11); Daily Worker of June 7, 1948 (p. 4); June 17, 1948 (p. 7); and June 27, 1948 (p. 2).

The Southern Negro Youth Congress is "surreptitiously controlled" by the Young Communist League, as disclosed in a report of the Committee on Un-American Activities (which was released April 17, 1947); it was cited as subversive and Communist by the United States Attorney General (letter to Loyalty Review Board, released December 4,

1947; redesignated April 27, 1953). The Special Committee on Un-American Activities cited the organization in its report of January 3, 1940.

On March 5, 1941, p. 2, the Communist Daily Worker printed a full-page spread of the names of several hundred persons who defended the Communist Party against alleged persecution. The statement addressed to the President and Congress of the United States, called "attention (to) a matter of vital significance to the future of our nation. It is the attitude of our government toward the Communist Party * * *" The name of James Dombrowski, Monteagle, Tennessee, was signed to the statement.

Identifying himself with the Socialist Party, Tennessee, James Dombrowski was one of those who signed a letter (printed in the Chattanooga Times, Chattanooga, Tennessee, January 28, 1935, p. 5 "calling upon state executive committees of all southern States to hold meetings to effect united front between socialists, communists and other working class groups and suggesting revolutionary campaign."

Fortnightly magazine for August 15, 1937, p. 3, disclosed that James Dombrowski, Secretary, Highlander Folk School, had endorsed the reorganization plan for Commonwealth College (publishers of Fortnightly). The United States Attorney General has cited Commonwealth College (Mena, Ark.) as Communist (letter to Loyalty Review Board, released April 27, 1949; redesignated April 27, 1953). The Special Committee on Un-American Activities called it a "Communist enterprise" (Report, March 29, 1944, pp. 76 and 167).

Mr. Dombrowski spoke at the Conference on Constitutional Liberties in America which was held in June 1940, as shown on the program (p. 2), and in New Masses of June 18, 1940 (p. 22); he signed the January 1943 Message of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, addressed to the House of Representatives (leaflet attached to an undated letterhead of the National Federation).

The National Federation for Constitutional Liberties has been cited as subversive and Communist by the Attorney General (press releases of December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948); he redesignated the organization April 27, 1953. The Attorney General called it "part of what Lenin called the solar system of organizations, ostensibly having no connection with the Communist Party, by which Communists attempt to create sympathizers and supporters of their program * * *" (Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7687). The Special Committee on Un-American Activities called it "~~one of~~ the viciously subversive organizations of the Communist Party" (Report March 29, 1944, p. 50; also cited in Reports, June 25, 1942, p. 20; and January 2, 1943, pp. 9 and 12). This Committee cited the organization in Report No. 1115, September 2, 1947, p. 3.

The Daily Worker of February 1, 1951, p. 2, named Dr. James A. Dombrowski of New Orleans as one of the sponsors of the American Peace Crusade; the "Call for Peace and Freedom" named him as one of the sponsors of the Crusade's American People's Congress and Exposition for Peace which was held in Chicago, June 29-July 1, 1951; he was also identified in this source as being from New Orleans.

The American Peace Crusade has been cited as an organization which the Communists established as "a new instrument for their

'peace' offensive in the United States" and which was heralded by the Daily Worker with the usual bold headlines reserved for projects in line with the Communist objectives (Report on the Communist "Peace" Offensive, released by the Committee on Un-American Activities April 1, 1951).

In the same report on the "Peace" Offensive, the Committee disclosed that the World Peace Appeal was a petition campaign launched by the Permanent Committee of the World Peace Congress at the meeting in Stockholm, March 16-19, 1950; it "received the enthusiastic approval of every section of the international Communist hierarchy." Dr. James A. Dombrowski of New Orleans endorsed the World Peace Appeal, as shown on an undated leaflet entitled, "Prominent Americans Call for * * *"

MYLES HORTON

The printed program of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, November 20-23, 1938, reveals the name of Myles Horton as a speaker at that conference; it also identified him as a member of the Committee on Resolutions and a member of the Southern Council of the organization. He also spoke at a conference of the group which was held April 14-16, 1940, as was shown on the official program. In both sources Mr. Horton was identified as Director of the Highlander Folk School, Monteagle, Tennessee. In 1947-1948, Myles Horton was a member of the Board of Representatives of the Southern Conference * * *, according to the organization's publication, "The Southern Patriot", for December 1946, p. 8.

In public hearings before the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, August 13, 1938, Mr. John P. Frey, President of the Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor, made the following reference to Myles Horton, in a report which he presented in connection with his testimony:

* * * Elizabeth Hawes, Alton Lawrence, *Miles Horton*: These three people have been in the past, and probably now are, paid organizers for the Textile Workers Organization Committee. They have been active in radical work in the South and a few years ago attended a secret convention in North Carolina, at which time plans were made for spreading the revolutionary theories throughout the South.

In connection with this we might mention that the Highlander Folk School, Monteagle, Tennessee, was mixed up in this secret convention, in which these three CIO organizers took a very prominent part. (Public Hearings, Special Committee on Un-American Activities, volume 1, page 126.)

The Chattanooga Times (Chattanooga, Tennessee), of January 28, 1935, p. 5, reported that Myles Horton was one of those who, "with other Socialists", signed a letter "calling upon state executive committees of all Southern states to hold meetings to effect a united front between socialists, communists and other working class groups, and suggesting a revolutionary campaign." Myles Horton signed the statement and identified himself with "the executive committee of the Socialist party."

Also note reference to Mr. Horton in the testimony of Paul Crouch, under "Dombrowski".

INDEPENDENT COMMUNIST LABOR LEAGUE OF AMERICA

The following is quoted from a publication of this committee, "Organized Communism in the United States," released August 19, 1953 (p. 143):

Factional fights in the Communist Party of Russia and in the Communist International carried over into the Communist Party in America. The expulsion of Trotsky by the Russian Communist Party was followed by the wholesale expulsion of the followers of Trotsky from the American Party. The factional fight between Stalin and Bukharin also affected the Communist Party in the United States.

Jay Lovestone, who was suspected of sympathy with Bukharin, was ordered to Moscow for work in the Comintern.

On May 12, 1929, the Comintern reported an "Address" it had decided to send to the American Communist Party. Lovestone and others were asked to give their endorsement to this "Address," which was nothing more nor less than a condemnation of the Lovestone group. When Lovestone refused, he was removed from all positions in the American Communist Party and the Communist International and was ordered to remain in Moscow. Several weeks later, Lovestone, without the knowledge or permission of the Comintern, left Moscow and returned to the United States. For this breach of discipline, he was expelled by the Communist Party of the United States.

Lovestone, with some of his followers, formed the Communist Party U. S. A. (majority group); later changed to the Communist Party U. S. A. (opposition); still later changed to the Independent Communist Labor League of America, and finally to the Independent Labor League of America. In January 1941, the Independent Labor League of America, through its general secretary, Jay Lovestone, issued a declaration of dissolution and expressed the belief that radicalism in the United States was "in a hopeless blind alley from which there is no escape along the old lines."

NATIONAL FARMERS UNION

The National Farmers Union has never been cited by the Attorney General of the United States nor has it ever been investigated or cited as a Communist or a Communist-front organization by the Committee on Un-American Activities.

The Guide to Public Affairs Organizations, published by the American Council on Public Affairs in 1946, lists the National Farmers Union as being located at 3501 East 46th Avenue, Denver, Colorado; James Patton, President. The publication further states that the organization maintains an office at 1371 E Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

"The Worker" of November 14, 1943 (page 6) reported in an article datelined Utica, N. Y., that the Farmers Union of New York in its second wartime convention voted to affiliate with the National Farmers Union and to join in the creation of the new Northeastern Division of the National Farmers Union. The same article named Archie Wright as President of the New York organization. "The Worker" is the Sunday edition of the Communist publication, "The Daily Worker."

The following quotations from "The Communist" of October 1937, an official publication of the Communist Party, concern the Communist Party's hopes to infiltrate the National Farmers Union:

Every district of the Party must work to have this program become the property of the National Farmers Union, with special emphasis on making it the rallying point to isolate the Kennedy-Coughlin forces in the Farmers' Union November Central Committee Plenum * * * (page 953).

In our mass work our main concentration must be to build the National Farmers Union, to develop local, state and national programs around which we can rally and crystallize a firm progressive leadership (page 948).

James G. Patton, who signed as President, National Farmers Union, wrote a letter to the Honorable Martin Dies, dated November 12, 1942, concerning statements made on the Floor of the House of Representatives by Mr. Dies. The letter was written on a letterhead of the Farmers Educational and Cooperative Union of America, Office of the President, which showed the address of the organization as 3501 East 46th Ave., Denver, Colorado.

The Honorable Martin Dies in his speech stated that the Farmers Educational and Cooperative Union of America received contributions from the Robert Marshall Foundation in the sum of \$22,500.00. Mr. Dies also stated that the following leaders of the Farmers' Educational and Cooperative Union of America were national leaders of the American Peace Mobilization: Gerald Harris, Alabama Farmers Union; * * * Clinton Clark, Louisiana Farmers Union; * * * (See: Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, page 7690.)

The Robert Marshall Foundation "has been one of the principal sources for the money with which to finance the Communist Party's fronts generally in recent years" (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Report 1311 dated March 29, 1944).

The American Peace Mobilization was cited as a Communist-front organization by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities in Report 1311 of March 29, 1944 (page 5). The Attorney General of the United States cited the American Peace Mobilization as a Communist-front and as subversive and Communist (Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, page 7684; letters to the Loyalty Review Board, released to the press December 4, 1947 and September 21, 1948, respectively; also included in consolidated list released April 1, 1954).

The "Daily Worker" of August 2, 1938 (page 3) reported that the Farmers Educational and Cooperative Union of America participated in the World Youth Congress, "a Communist conference held in the summer of 1938 at Vassar College" (Special Committee * * * in Report of March 29, 1944).

References to the National Farmers Union are found in the Committee's Hearings Regarding Communist Activities Among Farm Groups, held February 28 and March 9, 1951, a copy of which is enclosed (See: pages 1894-1896, 1901-1903, 1916-1920, 1923).

JAMES G. PATTON

An article published in the "Daily Worker" of September 18, 1947 (page 8) stated that "an attempt to disrupt the Farmers Union by raising the red issue was quashed by its top leaders recently. James S. Elmore, until recently editor of the National Union Farmer, resigned under fire after being criticized for inserting a red-baiting editorial and cartoon in the current issue.

James Patton, Farmers Union President, who is recovering from an operation, wrote Elmore declaring the material was inconsistent with Farmers Union policy and "invited" his resignation.

The "Daily Worker" of January 29, 1948 (page 2) reported that James G. Patton, President, National Farmers Union, indicated that the organization would support Henry Wallace for President. His photograph appeared in the March 15, 1950 (page 8) issue of that paper; it stated in this connection that he opposed the Mundt anti-Communist bill.

The American Slav Congress issued an invitation to a Testimonial Dinner at the Hotel Pennsylvania, New York City, October 12, 1947; the printed program named James G. Patton as one of the sponsors of the dinner. The American Slav Congress was cited by the Committee on Un-American Activities as "a Moscow-inspired and directed federation of Communist-dominated organizations seeking by methods of propaganda and pressure to subvert the 10,000,000 people in this country of Slavic birth or descent." (Report 1951 dated April 26, 1950, page 1.) The Attorney General of the United States cited the American Slav Congress as subversive and Communist in letters to the Loyalty Review Board, released to the press June 1 and September 21, 1948; also included in consolidated list released April 1, 1954.

On January 11, 1938, the "Daily Worker" named James G. Patton as one of those who signed a manifesto which was sponsored by the Union of Concerted Peace Efforts, cited as a Communist-front organization by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities in its Report No. 1311 of March 29, 1944.

James G. Patton, identified as President of the National Farmers Union, was one of those who signed a statement of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties which hailed the War Department's order regarding commissions for Communists ("Daily Worker," March 18, 1945, page 2). The National Federation * * * was cited as "one of the viciously subversive organizations of the Communist Party" (Special Committee * * * in Report 1311 of March 29, 1944; also cited in Reports of June 25, 1942 and January 2, 1943).

The National Federation * * * was among a "maze of organizations" which were "spawned for the alleged purpose of defending civil liberties in general but actually intended to protect Communist subversion from any penalties under the law" (Report 1115 of the Committee on Un-American Activities dated September 2, 1947). The Attorney General of the United States cited the National Federation as "part of what Lenin called the solar system of organizations, ostensibly having no connection with the Communist Party, by which Communists attempt to create sympathizers and supporters of their program." (Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, page 7687). Subsequently, the Attorney General cited the National Federation as subversive and Communist (press releases of December 4, 1947 and September 21, 1948; also included in consolidated list released April 1, 1954).

The Civil Rights Congress issued a statement opposing red-baiting and attacks on Communists, which was signed by James Patton, as shown in "The Worker" of May 25, 1947 (page 9); he was identified as a member of the Executive Board, Local 78, Food, Tobacco, Agricultural and Allied Workers of America, Phoenix, Arizona. James G. Patton, President, National Farmers Union, was a member of the Initiating Committee for a Congress on Civil Rights held in Detroit, April 27-28, 1946, as shown by the Summons to the Congress.

The following quotation is found on page 19 of a Report on the Civil Rights Congress, released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, September 1947:

It is worthy of note that subsequent to the formation of the Civil Rights Congress in Detroit on April 27-28, 1946, and the enlistment of additional sponsors, the names of a number of members of the initiating committee, having served their decoy purposes, disappeared from the organization's letterhead, among them being * * * James G. Patton * * * This seems to be a favorite device of Communist-front organizations.

From facts available to the Committee on Un-American Activities, it was found that "the Civil Rights Congress is an organization dedicated not to the broader issues of civil liberties, but specifically to the defense of individual Communists and the Communist Party, that the organization is controlled by individuals who are either members of the Communist Party or openly loyal to it" (Committee Report on the Civil Rights Congress dated September 2, 1947). The Attorney General of the United States cited the Civil Rights Congress as subversive and Communist (letters released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948; also included in consolidated list released April 1, 1954).

James G. Patton, President, National Farmers Union, endorsed "In Fact," as shown by a folder entitled "A Statement from George Seldez on In Fact." The publication, "In Fact," was cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee in its Report of March 29, 1944.

In addition, Committee records show that in 1947, James G. Patton was an honorary sponsor of the Union for Democratic Action, Washington Chapter (letterhead dated January 10, 1947). This organization has not been cited as a Communist front; it was the predecessor of Americans for Democratic Action whose stated purpose is:

We believe that all forms of totalitarianism, including Communism, are incompatible with these objectives. In our crusade for an expanding democracy and against fascism and reaction we welcome as members of ADA only those whose devotion to the principles of political freedom is unquestioned. (From the Civil Liberties Conference Program of the Philadelphia Chapter, ADA, January 10, 1948.)

Also in 1947, James G. Patton, President, Farmers Union, was one of those who signed a "statement made by eighty-seven leading American liberals, setting forth what they consider to be a standard of political conduct for those who believe in liberalism or progressivism as a middle way between the extremes of reaction and communism * * *". This statement, which was placed in the Congressional Record on May 23, 1947 (pages A2599-2600), by the Honorable James E. Murray, contains the following attack on the Communist Party: "The American Communist group—registered party members, together with their more or less unofficial adherents—has its roots in a foreign land, and the record shows that it follows the behests of a foreign government."

It is noted that the "Statement of James G. Patton, President, National Farmers Union, submitted to the House Committee on Un-American Activities, March 31, 1950, in opposition to H. R. 7595 and H. R. 3903" appears in the public hearings on legislation to outlaw certain un-American and subversive Activities, March 21, 22, 23, and 28, 1950 (page 2353).

PUBLIC AFFAIRS PAMPHLETS, AN ACTIVITY OF THE PUBLIC AFFAIRS COMMITTEE

The Public Affairs Committee, Inc., has never been cited in any manner by this Committee or the Attorney General of the United States.

In testimony before this Committee, July 21, 1947, Mr. Walter S. Steele, Managing Editor of the "National Republic" magazine, and Chairman of the National Security Committee of the American Coalition of Patriotic, Civic, and Fraternal Societies, made the following reference to the Public Affairs Committee, Inc.:

Public Affairs Committee, Inc., with offices at 122 East Thirty-eighth Street, New York, N. Y., entered the pamphleteering field several years ago. It issues higher quality pamphlets on subjects related to those adopted for propagation by the Communist Party. Maxwell S. Stewart, former editor of Moscow News, and with other front connections, is editor of the pamphlet service. Violet Edwards is education and promotion director. Frederick V. Field, of New Masses—Communist organ—is a member of the board.

Ruth Benedict, a member of the East and West Association, and Gene Weltfish, a leader in the Congress of the American Women, have written pamphlets for the Public Affairs Committee. One of them, *Races of Mankind*, was barred by the War Department after Congress protested against its use in orientation classes of the Army, declaring that its aim was to create racial antagonism. (Testimony of Mr. Walter S. Steele, July 21, 1947, pages 40 and 41.)

The files of the Committee contain a copy of the pamphlet, "The Races of Mankind," written by Ruth Benedict and Gene Weltfish, copyright, 1943, by the Public Affairs Committee, Inc. In the Report on the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, released by this Committee, June 16, 1947, "The Races of Mankind" was described as "a eulogy of Russia's treatment of minority groups that was condemned by the War Department" (page 12).

The Committee on Un-American Activities does not maintain a complete file of pamphlets issued by the Public Affairs Committee, Inc. One of the latest publications of the group on file is a pamphlet entitled "Prejudice in Textbooks" (copyright, 1950), which was written by Maxwell S. Stewart. As shown in this source, "The Publication of the Public Affairs Pamphlets is one of the activities of the Committee, whose purpose as expressed in its Constitution is 'to make available in summary and inexpensive form the results of research on economic and social problems to aid in the understanding and development of American policy. The sole purpose of the Committee is educational. It has no economic or social program of its own to promote.' Publication of a pamphlet does not necessarily imply the Committee's approval of all of the views contained in it."

RAND SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

The Rand School of Social Science has never been cited in any manner by this Committee or the Attorney General of the United States.

A full-page advertisement of the Rand School of Social Science in the New York "Star" for September 21, 1948 gives its address as 7 East 15th Street, New York 3, New York, and shows Theodore Schapiro to be Executive Director. The files also contain several copies of the School's "Index to Labor Articles" published during 1944.

A copy of "100 Questions to the Communists," by Stephen Naft, published by the Rand School Press, copyright 1939, appears in the files, from which is quoted the following:

The following questions, addressed to sympathizers, fellow-travelers and members of the Communist Party, are put with the sincere intention not to antagonize, but rather to evoke answers in their own thoughts on the basis of their own independent sincere reasoning. * * * Therefore we hope that every honest sympathizer and supporter of Communist and Socialist aspirations, who consequently must cherish the ideals of personal and economic security, of freedom, of justice, social equality and brotherly solidarity will not only understand and appreciate our motives but will welcome these questions as an opportunity for self-criticism and self-evaluation of his attitude towards the principles dear to him. * * *

A check of the public records, files and publications of the Committee has shown no other references to Stephen Naft.

Public hearings of this Committee and the Special Committee on Un-American Activities contain references to the Rand School of Social Science, excerpts from which are quoted, as follows:

Mr. John Mills Davis, former Communist Party organizer, testified before this Committee, July 15, 1953, that the "Rand School is an anti-Communist school. It is known as a Socialist school." (Communist Activities in the Albany, N. Y., Area—Part 2, page 2474.)

The Rand School of Social Science was organized in New York in 1906. Its purpose was to instruct leaders in socialism and labor organizations. Each session the school has had enrolled over 1,000 students. Its operation expenses run from \$50,000 to \$100,000 a year. It has 6,000 books in its library. Many C. I. O. unions have contributed financially to the school. It maintains a publishing house which has printed numerous books and pamphlets on socialism.

The officers of Rand School of Social Science are Algernon Lee, president; Dr. William E. Bohn, educational director; and Henry Apotheker, manager. The instructors are Jack L. Afros, former director of the Young Circle League of the Workmen's Circle; * * * Rebecca Jarvis, formerly educational director, Women's Trade Union League; * * * Bela Low, well-known authority on Marxian economics * * *.

Rand School was raided by the Government during the war. Its leaders were convicted under the Espionage Act.

The School also operates Camp Tamiment in Pennsylvania. (Public Hearings, information submitted by Walter S. Steele in connection with his testimony before the Special Committee * * *, August 17, 1938, page 566.)

Louis Waldman, born, Yomcherudnia, Russia, January 5, 1892; * * * elected Socialist Party assemblyman, New York City, 1918; reelected in 1920; ousted from assembly, 1920; author, *The Great Collapse and Government Ownership*; member, cutters local, International Ladies Garment Workers Union (C. I. O.); lawyer; Mason, and member of Socialist Party; author, *Socialism of Our Times*; Socialist Party candidate, Governor, New York, 1930-32; board of directors, League for Industrial Democracy (radical Socialist); contributor, *Socialist Planning* and a Socialist Program; member, national committee, League Against Fascism (Communist set-up); sponsor, radical Artists and Writers Dinner Club, 1935; instructor, Rand School of Social Science (radical Socialist), New York; chairman, People's Party, 1936; member, executive committee, American Labor Party, 1938; associated with the Social Democratic Federation. (Ibid., page 648.)

Joseph Schlossberg, born in Russia, May 1, 1875, edited *Das Abendblatt*, 1900-1902, and *Der Arbeiter* in 1904-11; member of Socialist Workmen's Circle; national committee, American Civil Liberties Union; National committee, League Against Fascism; board of directors, League for Industrial Democracy; American Friends of Spanish Democracy; Emergency Peace Campaign; Rand School, extremely Socialist institution (Ibid., page 682.)

The following is quoted from the testimony of Alexander Trachtenberg during public hearings before the Special Committee on Un-American Activities on September 13, 1939:

Mr. WHITLEY. What occupations have you followed?

Mr. TRACHTENBERG. From 1908 to 1915 I was a student in three universities, including Yale, and after that I was invited to teach in Rand School of Social Science, and headed the research department of that institution; that was up to 1920 * * *

Mr. WHITLEY. Mr. Trachtenberg, how long have you been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. TRACHTENBERG. Since the end of 1921. * * * Prior to that I was a Socialist. (page 4864)

Mr. TRACHTENBERG. * * * Mr. Heller and myself were working together in the Rand School of Social Science some 25 or 26 years ago, he, as a member of the board of directors and myself as an instructor and as head of the public-research department. * * *

And, in 1924 we got together and organized this firm (International Publishing Company) for the purpose of publishing translations, principally of the classics; and other books of interest to the American people and we have engaged regularly in publishing activities * * * on economics, politics, philosophy, arts and sciences. * * * We publish books of our own and publish books from various other publishers, usually under our name. (page 4687)

The CHAIRMAN. Is he (Mr. Heller) a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. TRACHTENBERG. He is.

The CHAIRMAN. And has been since 1921, like you?

Mr. TRACHTENBERG. He has been a member for 40 years of the Socialist movement. * * * I have been for 33 years with the Socialist movement.

The CHAIRMAN. You broke off from the radicals and joined the Communists?

Mr. TRACHTENBERG. That is right. He helped to build the Rand School, which is a Socialist educational institution. (page 4881)

Mr. STARNES. To whom did he (Mr. Heller) make contributions?

Mr. TRACHTENBERG. To educational institutions * * * The Rand School of Social Science. (page 4883)

Mr. TRACHTENBERG. The Rand School was the primary national educational institution of the Socialist movement at that time, very, very prominent, internationally known institution. For instance, when the building was bought for that school in 1917, he was one of the heaviest contributors to buying that building from the Y. W. C. A. for the Rand School. I remember that.

Mr. STARNES. And that school is still operated?

Mr. TRACHTENBERG. That school is still operated.

Mr. STARNES. But not by the Socialist Party?

Mr. TRACHTENBERG. Yes; by the Socialist Party. * * * But not actually officially, because there have been so many split-offs, but a certain part which was formerly the Socialist Party, but not by the Communist Party. (page 4884)

Mr. WHITLEY. Have you ever known Juliet Stuart Poyntz?

Mr. TRACHTENBERG. Yes.

Mr. WHITLEY. When did you know her?

Mr. TRACHTENBERG. She went to the Rand School as a teacher, in the years when she was assistant professor, in 1915 or 1916. * * * That was when I was also a teacher in the Rand School. * * *

Mr. WHITLEY. You know of the fact that the New York papers frequently carried her name in the early years?

Mr. TRACHTENBERG. I saw that—

Mr. WHITLEY. As leading demonstrations for the Communist Party; in connection with her arrest?

Mr. TRACHTENBERG. Yes; I saw that (pages 4911 and 4912).

The International Publishers, of which Mr. Trachtenberg was secretary and treasurer, was cited by the Attorney General of the United States as "the (Communist) Party's publishing House" (Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, page 7686). The Special Committee * * * cited it as an "official publishing house of the Communist Party in the United States" and a medium through which "extensive Soviet propaganda is subsidized in the United States" (Reports of January 3, 1940, page 8 and June 25, 1942, page 18); it was cited in a similar manner by this Committee in Report No. 1920 of May 11, 1948 (page 80).

Files show no information concerning the officers of the Rand School of Social Science, Algernon Lee, Dr. William E. Bohn, Henry Apotheker, and Theodore Schapiro, mentioned on pages 1 and 2 of this memorandum.

WAR RESISTERS LEAGUE

A letterhead of the War Resisters League dated May 6, 1949, signed by George W. Hartman, Chairman, gives the address of this organization as Five Beekman Street, New York 7, New York, and states that it is affiliated with the 'War Resisters' International, Enfield, Middlesex, England, Laurence Housman, President. This letter was addressed to Members of Congress, a part of which is quoted for your information:

Specifically, the War Resisters League earnestly requests the highest-level political leadership in Washington to offer the people of the world some better protection against the chronic menace of war than that allegedly sought and provided by the North Atlantic Pact. Paradoxically as it may sound, the only real gainers from the Atlantic coalition so far have been the Communists; those advocates of force and violence as the ultimate arbiters of social conflict will not be "contained" merely by the threat to use their own favorite techniques on a bigger scale. Such precedent-bound diplomacy merely makes the supreme horror of atomic and bacteriological warfare more rather than less likely as the days roll by.

* * * Far more could be done along the lines of a Joint Congressional Resolution for universal disarmament, limited world government * * *

The following is taken from the testimony of Walter S. Steele during public hearings before the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, August 16, 1938:

The American Student Union has cooperated directly with other Communist movements in many avenues in the United States. Its last convention was held at Vassar College, December 27-31, 1937, at which time it took on a direct political tinge by resolution. The union also resolved to boycott Japan and to help the Spanish and Chinese "red" fronts. It especially favors the Nye-Kvale bills to abolish military training in schools and colleges. It passed a resolution eulogizing some of its members fighting on the Spanish "red" front. The union upheld the Mexican confiscation of American properties; it denounced American interference in Puerto Rico and the arrest of revolutionists there, demanding their release; it endorsed the World Youth Congress, to be held at Vassar in August 1938; * * * it urged the passage of the anti-lynching bill; the abolition of poll tax; it supported the Harrison-Black bills, the Southern Negro Congress, the Scottsboro Negroes. The union adopted resolutions opposing theatre owners banning Negroes in movie houses of the South. It ordered its members to cooperate in labor struggles * * * It denounced the jailing of labor agitators, and criticized colleges and universities expelling students and discharging professors for radical activities.

The American Student Union set up the United Student Peace Committee in 1938, through which it has a wider range in organizing strikes in American schools. Molly Yard is organizational secretary of this committee. Through it they claim to have influenced 17 national youth movements to become affiliated with it. These include the * * * American Youth Congress, the American League for Peace and Democracy * * * War Resisters' League * * *

On March 24, the American Student Union called a strike, at which time, according to the Daily Worker, March 22, 1938, page 5, it called on Secretary of State Hull to follow the Soviet peace policy against the "Fascist aggressor." Of course, that policy was to supply money, men, and arms to the "red" fronts, thereby injecting the country into the fracas.

The April 24, 1938, issue of the Sunday Worker published an article which stated that the Young Communist League created the American Student Union and is the "main inspiration behind the student peace activities that rocked America on April 27" (1937). (page 476)

* * * Back in 1930 there was also formed the Revolutionary Youth, an organization to contribute further to the Marxian drive in America, that was launched by Jack Rubenstein * * * and others. There has come into being since the following youth movements in the United States; not all are Communist, but most of

them are Marxian to some degree. These were: * * * Youth section of War Resisters' League. (page 593)

The American Youth Congress was conceived by Viola Ilma. Founding the congress, the purpose of which she proclaimed was for "sound intellectual, spiritual, and physical development of the youth of America," the first meeting was called in August of 1934 at the Washington Square College, in New York City.

The first break to the left came several weeks before the congress was to convene, when Prof. Harvey Zorbaugh, of the Sociology Department of Washington Square College, New York City, who in the summer of 1935 served on the advisory council of Moscow State University, became irked at Miss Ilma for holding down liberal and radical organizations to a minimum representation. Professor Zorbaugh invited 12 organizations to participate in the conference, including the ultra-radical and pacifist groups, the League for Industrial Democracy (Socialist), National Student Federation, Pioneer Youth (Socialist), War Resisters' League (ultra-radical pacifists) * * *. (page 611)

* * * * *
On the sponsoring committee of the Second World Youth Congress there are a few fairly conservative individuals sandwiched in with liberals of every trend of thought. Chairman of the committee is Dr. Henry M. MacCracken. The members include Stephen Duggan, John Nevin Sayre, and Mary B. Wooley, and others, many of whom are at least considered extreme "liberals".

Two weeks before the World Youth Congress convened at Vassar College, the "rolling stone" had gathered considerable moss. According to the official organ of the Communist Party (Daily Worker, August 2, 1938, page 3), the following organizations announced their intention of participating in the "red jubilee": * * * War Resisters' League * * *

The following statements with reference to "The So-Called Fascists" and the War Resisters' International are found on pages 662 and 664 of the Public Hearings:

Long ago the Communist at Moscow set the course insofar as pacifism is concerned, for the radical forces in non-Communist countries. This course is again reiterated in the Moscow Izvestia under date of August 1, 1929. Izvestia is the official organ of the Third International and the Soviet Government, in Moscow. It says:

"While the defense of one's fatherland is not to be tolerated in imperialistic countries, in the country of the proletarian dictatorship it is one's first duty."

Consequently, it is not strange then that we find over 1,000 national pacifist movements within the United States, without a single one in the Soviet Union. * * * that most of these pacifist movements in the United States are bound up into united front groups, then into Internationals with headquarters abroad from where they receive their inspirations and instructions. * * * that we found almost without exception these organizations promoting the propaganda and public sentiment for recognition of Russia * * * carrying on an organized campaign in the United States against "fascism" but not against the more widely organized menace communism; it is not strange then that we find them demanding that we "keep America out of war by keeping war out of the world" meaning it is shown by their demands that we strain our neutrality laws to mean assistance to revolutionist and pro-Russian elements in various countries but not to anti-Soviet forces.

* * * * *
The War Resisters International is called a Communist organization which desires to bring a new social order through revolutionary uprisings. It initiated the War Resisters International Council, which comprises the War Resisters International and its sections, together with the International Fellowship of Reconciliation, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom * * * Their first international conference was held in Holland; one in Austria in 1928, where resistance and revolution were discussed. They unite for the suppression of capitalism and imperialism and would establish their new social and international order. They maintain that war resistance is a practical policy, but do not oppose war of their own making. Its American section is the War Resisters' League, whose honorary chairman in 1933 was Albert Einstein. They advise that we change our economic system and thus get rid of war. In an Armistice Day peace letter to the President of the United States they announced their "deliberate intention to refuse to support war measures or to render war service" should our Government have to resort to arms.

WORLD YOUTH CONGRESS

In Report 1311 of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, dated March 29, 1944, the World Youth Congress was cited as a Communist conference held in the summer of 1938 at Vassar College.

In the report of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities dated January 3, 1939, we find that the same organizations which were affiliated with the World Youth Congress were affiliated with the American Youth Congress (see separate memorandum on American Youth Congress).

Right-wing youth movements refused to attend the World Youth Congress which was held at Vassar. The organizers in the United States were leaders of Communist, Communist "front," and Communist sympathizing movements (p. 82).

An article concerning the World Youth Congress appeared in the Daily Worker of August 15, 1938, p. 1. According to this article—

the World Youth Congress movement originated in 1934 when the League of Nations Association called a conference of all the youth organizations that had grown up in various lands in the struggle against war. * * * The first world Congress convened in Geneva, Switzerland in the late summer of 1936, on the heels of the Italian conquest of Ethiopia and the fascist uprising in Spain. * * * In the United States, the chief center for the World Youth Congress movement has been the American Youth Congress. * * *

It was reported in the same article that fifty leading American youth organizations would be represented at the Congress, and delegates would number almost 500 from 54 countries.

WORLD YOUTH FESTIVALS

The first World Youth Festival was held in Prague, Czechoslovakia, July 20–August 17, 1947. According to an article which appeared in the Daily Worker of August 23, 1947, p. 6, seven of the delegates from the United States charged that the youth festival was dominated by Communists, and distributed a statement to that effect at the closing parade festival. The dissident group was denounced in a statement by other American delegates to the World Federation of Democratic Youth, according to this same source.

The second World Youth Festival was held from August 14–28, 1949, in Budapest, Hungary. The Committee on Un-American Activities (in Report No. 378, April 25, 1951, pp. 77 and 78) stated that the Festival was held in cooperation with the American Youth for a Free World and the World Federation of Democratic Youth. It was reported that delegates were usually led by the Soviet delegation, displaying a huge photograph of Joseph Stalin. Representatives of the Chinese Communist armies won prominent places and high honors in the festivities. The United States was represented by a delegation of 175 students. The Daily Worker of August 30, 1949, p. 5, reported that the festival closed with delegates, among them 22 Americans, pledging "to fight for a lasting peace." They were asked by Matthias Rakosi, deputy prime minister and leader of the Hungarian Communist Party, to "take an oath for world peace and to fight against the western union, which is arming the world for a new war." The West coast publication, Daily People's World, issue of September 20, 1949, p. 5, carried a reference to the Budapest Youth Festival as being "on our State Department's 'Moscow peace plot' list."

YOUNG PEOPLE'S SOCIALIST LEAGUE

The Young People's Socialist League (4th International), is the Youth Section of the Socialist Workers Party, as was shown on an announcement issued by the group for a demonstration against war; the announcement is undated but is attached to a letterhead dated November 13, 1939.

The United States Attorney General cited the Socialist Workers Party as a subversive organization which seeks "to alter the form of government of the United States by unconstitutional means" (letters to the Loyalty Review Board, released to the press, December 4, 1947 and September 21, 1948). The organization was redesignated by the Attorney General pursuant to Executive Order 10450 of April 27, 1953. The Socialist Workers Party is—

a dissident Communist group not affiliated with the Communist International nor officially recognized by either the Communist hierarchy in Moscow or the Communist Party, U. S. A. Essentially, however, both the official and unofficial groups base themselves upon the teachings of Marx, Engels, and Lenin. The Socialist Workers Party are followers of Leon Trotsky, who was expelled from the Russian Communist Party. The official Communists are followers of Joseph Stalin.

(Committee on Un-American Activities, Report No. 1920, May 11, 1948, page 141).

"The Challenge of Youth" (January-February 1938), published monthly by the Young Peoples Socialist League (4th Internationalists), reported that—

the New Year's week end saw the formal launching at an impressive convention held in Chicago, of the Socialist Workers Party, American section of the Fourth International movement. The delegates to this convention were made up of rank-and-file representatives of the left-wing of the Socialist Party who had previously been expelled for their belief in revolutionary ideas. Quite a few members of the Y. P. S. L. were included among the more than 100 regular and fraternal delegates. * * *

The convention categorically placed itself and the party in favor of the most loyal and unconditional defense of the Soviet Union, at the same time that it will conduct a relentless struggle against Stalinism. On the Spanish question, the convention reiterated the position of the revolutionists that the working class must conduct a struggle against fascism and at the same time prepare for a final struggle against the capitalist system which breeds fascism. In the spirit of internationalism, the new party affiliated itself to the Fourth International which bases itself on the revolutionary teachings of Marx and Lenin, and which alone carries on the struggle for world socialism today.

Relations between the SWP and the YPSL were firmly established. The National Committee of the SWP has a YPSL representative on it; constitutional provisions provide for a YPSL representative on each corresponding Party committee or body; young socialists attaining a specified age are to (be) automatically enlisted in the party ranks; the Party stands pledged to give the YPSL its utmost cooperation, including financial aid. The relations between the party and YPSL are the greatest omen of the future successes assured our movement.

"Political Affairs" for September 1952 (pages 33-47) published a chapter from William Z. Foster's book, "History of the Communist Party of the United States," under the title, "The Formation of the Communist Party (1919-1921)." Reference to the Young People's Socialist League was made, as follows:

The youth were also a source of strength for the gathering Communist forces. The profound events which had resulted in the split in the Socialist Party and the organization of the Communist Party naturally had its repercussions among the Socialist young people. The S. P., in April 1913, after several years of preliminary work of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society, had constituted the Young People's Socialist League. The Y. P. S. L. in 1916 consisted of 150 clubs and

4,000 members. It published *The Young Socialist* and carried on educational and social work. During the war the organization, Leftward-inclined, held many anti-war meetings and made much agitation against conscription.

The treacherous attitude of the Social-Democratic leaders of the Second International, toward the Russian Revolution and the war, produced profound repercussions in the Y. P. S. L., as in other sections of the American Socialist movement. At the Y. P. S. L.'s first national convention, held in May 1919, this Left spirit in the organization found expression. The convention passed resolutions condemning the Second International and supporting the Third International. In December 1919, after the Socialist Party had split in September, the Y. P. S. L. held a special convention, in response to Left-wing demands. It thus set itself up as an independent organization, declaring for the Young Socialist International, which was then in the process of transforming itself into the Young Communist International. When the Palmer raids against the labor and Communist movement took place, the independent Y. P. S. L. disintegrated as a national organization, although some of its sections remained in existence. Wm. F. Kruse, the head of the Y. P. S. L., joined the Workers Party at its formation in December 1921, and many former Y. P. S. L. members also took part in forming the Young Communist League. * * *

The Young Peoples Socialist League supported the "Call to the (first) United States Congress Against War" in New York City, September 2, 3 and 4, 1933 (from "*The Struggle Against War*," published August 1933), and made a part of public hearings before the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Volume 10, page 6234). Delegates from the Young Peoples Socialist League attended the Second U. S. Congress Against War and Fascism, as was shown in the printed proceedings of that Congress which was held in Chicago, Illinois, September 28, 29, 30, 1934 (from Public Hearings, Appendix to Volume 10, pages I and XI).

The American League Against War and Fascism was formally organized at the First United States Congress Against War and Fascism, September 29 to October 1, 1933.

The program of the first congress called for the end of the Roosevelt policies of imperialism and for the support of the peace policies of the Soviet Union, for opposition to all attempts to weaken the Soviet Union. * * * Subsequent congresses in 1934 and 1936 reflected the same program (U. S. Attorney General, Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, page 7683).

The Congress—

was completely under the control of the Communist Party. Earl Browder was a leading figure in all its deliberations. In his report to the Communist International, Browder stated: "The Congress from the beginning was led by our party quite openly." (From Report 1311 of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities dated March 29, 1944, page 119; also cited in Reports of January 3, 1940 and June 25, 1942.)

The Young Peoples Socialist League was named in public hearings before the Special Committee on Un-American Activities as one of the organizations "cooperating in the American Youth Congress" which was held in New York City in August 1934 (Public Hearings, Volume I, page 613); later, during the same hearings, it was revealed that "two weeks before the World Youth Congress convened at Vassar College, the 'rolling stone' had gathered considerable moss. According to the official organ of the Communist Party (*Daily Worker*, August 2, 1938, page 3), the following organizations announced their intention of participating in the 'red jubilee': Young Communist League, Southern Negro Youth Congress, American Student Union, * * * Young Peoples Socialist League of America." (Public Hearings, Volume I, pages 615-616.)

The American Youth Congress has been cited as subversive and Communist by the U. S. Attorney General (letters released by the Loyalty Review Board, December 4, 1947 and September 21, 1948; redesignated pursuant to Executive Order 10450, April 27, 1953); "it originated in 1934 and * * * has been controlled by Communists and manipulated by them to influence the thought of American youth" (Attorney General, Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, page 7685; also cited in re Harry Bridges, May 28, 1942, page 10). The Special Committee on Un-American Activities cited the group as "one of the principal fronts of the Communist Party" (Report of June 25, 1942; also cited in Reports of January 3, 1939; January 3, 1941 and March 29, 1944).

The World Youth Congress has been cited as a Communist conference which was held in the summer of 1938 at Vassar College (Special Committee on * * *, Report 1311 of March 29, 1944, page 183; also cited in Report of January 3, 1939).

In an Open Letter to the American Student Union, dated November 2, 1939, the Young Peoples Socialist League (4th International), Youth Section of the Socialist Workers Party, called upon the American Student Union to—

return to an anti-war program. The YPSL broke with your organization a year ago when you openly supported Roosevelt and his armament program, the war measure of the NYA Air Pilot Schools and the foreign policies known under the general heading "Collective Security." At the same time you opposed any real opposition to war in the form of a popular war referendum and the Oxford Pledge—refusal to support the United States Government in any war it may undertake * * * For the last three years the YPSL has led campus opposition to imperialism and its wars.

"Solidarity" (published by the Young Peoples Socialist League), in the issue of July 1940, expressed the stand of the organization as follows:

Because the Socialist Party is for the workers against the owners, for democracy against depotism, it is also for peace against imperialist war. But we point out that only social ownership will do away with the most important cause of modern wars (page 2).

TAX-EXEMPT FOUNDATIONS

MINORITY VIEWS

OF THE

SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE
TAX-EXEMPT FOUNDATIONS AND
COMPARABLE ORGANIZATIONS
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

EIGHTY-THIRD CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

ON

H. Res. 217



MINORITY VIEWS

SUBMITTED BY

REPRESENTATIVE WAYNE L. HAYS
REPRESENTATIVE GRACIE PFOST

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TAX-EXEMPT FOUNDATIONS

The minority does not agree with the report submitted by the majority.¹ It not only disagrees with that report but earnestly believes that it should never be published.

Each step of the proceedings of this committee placed an ugly stain on the majestic record of the United States House of Representatives and the great tradition of the American people. The minority membership of this committee, feeling that fundamental American principles were under attack in the committee, diligently attended its meetings despite the many other congressional responsibilities that were equally demanding of their attention. The majority membership operated primarily through proxies held by the chairman.

A review of the record of the committee proceedings has brought to mind again the elemental unfairness that was the basic characteristic of this intended legislative inquiry by a committee of one of the greatest legislative bodies in the world. The minority members confess that this review first angered and then dismayed them. From the collaboration between them required to state their views, however, there has come a deep sense of the tragedy of these proceedings and the report of the staff which has been approved by the majority.

The House of Representatives, in passing House Resolution 217 creating this committee, had a right to expect an enlightened, impartial and factual inquiry, which would inform the Congress whether legislation in this area was required. It had a right to expect an inquiry affording an opportunity for the fullest expressions of views by all interested persons, and one in which such facts as were necessary for the committee report to have substance and meaning would have been carefully and impartially gathered. A similar inquiry by the Cox committee in the Eighty-second Congress resulted in the submission of a full and detailed report which laid the foundation for a well-considered investigation by this committee.

The hard truth is that, by the manner in which the proceedings of the committee were conducted and by the self-evident bias of the majority report, the committee has failed in the most basic way to carry out the mandate of the Congress. The results of the proceedings are of no value to the Congress, and it was, therefore, a complete waste of public money.

I. PREJUDGMENT

The theme of prejudice which so singularly characterized the entire course of this committee's activities was, like the theme of doom in a tragic opera, revealed in its prelude. The following remarks

¹ This report submitted by two minority members of the committee may, or may not, be a minority report. One member of the majority has indicated that he disagrees with the report submitted by the staff and approved by two members of the committee, and that he intends to file separate views, although he assented to the submission of the staff report as a "majority" report. However, that is a problem for the parliamentarian. It is mentioned only to emphasize the unreliability of the report submitted by the "majority."

of the chairman in the House, when he called up the resolution, certainly evidenced his unshakable beliefs and his steadfast resolve as to the course the inquiry should and would take and the conclusions it should announce:

Certainly, the Congress has a right and a duty to inquire into the purposes and conduct of institutions to which the taxpayers have made such great sacrifices.

In any event, the Congress should concern itself with certain weaknesses and dangers which have arisen in a minority of these.

Some of these activities and some of these institutions support efforts to overthrow our Government and to undermine our American way of life.

These activities urgently require investigation. Here lies the story of how communism and socialism are financed in the United States, where they get their money. It is the story of who pays the bill.

There is evidence to show there is a diabolical conspiracy back of all this. Its aim is the furtherance of socialism in the United States.

Communism is only a brand name for socialism, and the Communist state represents itself to be only the true form of socialism.

The facts will show that, as usual, it is the ordinary taxpaying citizen who foots most of the bill, not the Communists and Socialists, who know only how to spend money; not how to earn it.

The method by which this is done seems fantastic to reasonable men, for these Communists and Socialists seize control of fortunes left behind by capitalists when they die, and turn these fortunes around to finance the destruction of capitalism.

II. THE "FACTUAL" BASIS FOR THE MAJORITY REPORT

The "factual" material in the record is a curious mosaic formed by the staff of the committee. It consists primarily of fragmentary quotations from a variety of published materials, larded by staff interpretations and conclusions; various charts prepared by the staff; and the testimony of nine nonstaff witnesses, two of whom were officials of the Internal Revenue Service, and one of whom, as we shall discuss later, was cut off midway in his statement as he began to destroy with facts all the staff testimony. This is in contrast to the hearings of the Cox committee, in which 40 witnesses freely testified in public hearings and were treated fairly and impartially.

Some of the statements of fact and opinion contained in the report are untrue on their face, others are at best half-truths, and the vast majority are misleading. It would unduly lengthen this report to demonstrate each and every such error in the majority report. Certainly those citizens and organizations affected can and should bring all of them to the attention of the American people in due course. It is shocking that anyone in America should be required to follow such a course, but unfortunately the majority has made it necessary.

In this connection it seems fitting to make some mention of the character of principal members of the committee staff. This group was composed of five persons. Two were members of a New York law firm engaged in legal tax work in connection with trusts. One was associated with an investment banking firm in New York. One was a former electrical engineer, and the last a legislative lobbyist. Two other staff members were dismissed on the basis of objections made as to their fitness by the minority.

III. THE DENIAL OF A FAIR HEARING TO THE FOUNDATIONS

Finally, the record shows that at the sudden conclusion of public hearings on June 17, 1954 (effected July 2 in a 3-to-2 committee vote

over protest of the minority membership that such action would deny fundamental rights to those persons and organizations slandered by the testimony of previous witnesses and by distorted conclusions inserted into the record by the staff), the chairman announced that all persons and organizations desiring to make statements for the record could submit them in writing. It is now evident that, although some of these statements have been included in the last volume of the gargantuan record, the staff either did not read them or, the more likely, deliberately ignored them in the preparation of their report.

It should be noted at this point that the report seeks to justify this denial of the opportunity for the foundations to testify in public hearings by saying that—

The foundations touched by the hearings were thus given a fair opportunity to put their best foot forward at the same time that they escaped the embarrassment of cross-examination (p. 2).

This language brings into clear focus the astonishingly cynical approach of the majority to a denial of the American tradition of fair play, and due process under our laws. This refusal to afford the most elemental rights guaranteed to our citizens is thoroughly indicative of the pattern of the entire proceedings. It is frightening to read a report of a committee of Congress which callously seeks to justify a refusal to grant equal rights under the law, and to deny one who has been accused the opportunity to testify publicly in his own defense, and which implies that the right of a person under attack to take the witness stand and to answer questions under oath is not particularly important.

It is a gratuitous insult to say that under the committee's procedures the foundations escaped the "embarrassment of cross-examination." The minority will not be a party to such an evil disregard of fundamental American guaranties. Furthermore, the minority does not believe that either the Congress or the American people will accept or tolerate that sort of procedure by any committee of Congress.

As evidenced by the testimony of Dr. Pendleton Herring, discussed elsewhere in this report, testimony in public hearing was far from "embarrassing." It was the one certain way that persons and organizations accused by the staff of this committee could destroy the deadly inferences, innuendoes and charges that hung over them.

As the matter now stands, the tax-exempt foundations of this Nation have been indicted and convicted under procedures which can only be characterized as barbaric.

A review of the course of the hearings brings out in bold relief the unfair, undemocratic treatment which has been accorded to the foundations. In the first place, the staff blindly and sullenly refused to permit the admission in public hearing of the very substantial evidence available to rebut and utterly refute the opinions, biases, and prejudices which were being used to indict the foundations. Secondly, the charges against the foundations were aired in public hearings, were televised, were given the benefit of full treatment by the press and radio, and in totality were given all of the publicity which is to be expected to come from such a controversial hearing by a congressional committee. When the staff had exhausted itself and its own hand-picked witnesses, the foundations suddenly found that they were to be denied simple justice—the right to reply in the forum in which the charges against them were made.

Every principle of our Constitution as it protects the individual in his free enjoyment and exercise of individual rights was violated. Every precedent of fair and unbiased congressional inquiry was ignored.

The counsel and staff, apparently remembering the frustration of their plans during the course of the limited public hearings by the persistent cross-examination of their witnesses by the minority, now insist with real conviction that a continuing investigation of foundations be made *sub rosa*, devoid of the frustrations of public hearings. The report states:

Should the study be resumed, we recommend that it be on a somewhat different basis. The process of investigation through public hearings is inadequate for a subject such as that of foundations. As we have said, an inquiry into this subject is primarily a research undertaking (p. 15).

In this transparent language, the staff has inserted into its report a new plea that the investigation of tax-exempt foundations be a one-sided star chamber proceeding, one in which the accused would be given no opportunity to answer publicly any charge, no matter how biased, which staff "research" might conjure up against them.

The question is as fundamental as this: Of what value are the Bill of Rights and our traditional concepts of due process of law if a committee of the Congress of the United States is to be permitted to deny those rights to our citizens?

Further, the record and the report are devoid of any of the facts concerning the great and lasting contributions which the foundations have made to almost every phase of modern life. This shining record of achievement, which the most uninformed citizen would agree should be considered by the committee as a matter of simple "fireside equity," is flatly ignored, with the statement that the committee's objects were only to consider "the errors committed by these private groups."

J. L. Morrill, former vice president of Ohio State University, now president of the University of Minnesota, has pointed to the record of the foundations in these words in a letter to the committee staff, which was never included in the record:

If the best defense against democracy's enemies is to make America a better place in which to live and to place human welfare first, American foundations have rendered service far beyond the actual sums they have contributed to higher educational institutions. Thus, indirectly, the foundations can be credited with a significant role in the never-ending battle against democracy's enemies. And at this point I should like to add one fact of vital importance: In all our dealings with foundations and with their representatives, we have never found evidence of any motivation other than a sincere and patriotic desire to further scholarship in the best American tradition.

IV. THE NATURE OF THE PUBLIC HEARINGS

The unfolding of the dedicated purpose of the staff and its deep-seated antagonism toward foundations were made plainly evident early in the hearings, and it is clear that the staff and not the committee members operated and controlled the proceedings at all stages. This self-evident opposition to foundation activity may well be characterized as pathological in the light of the excesses committed by the staff throughout the proceedings.

A significant example of the predisposition of the staff to reach conclusions under the spur of their own biases may be found in the response of the assistant research director, Mr. McNiece, to the fol-

lowing three passages which Mr. Hays read to him before revealing the author of the quoted language, indicating that they were taken from context:

But all agree that there can be no question whatever that some remedy must be found, and quickly found, for the misery and wretchedness which press so heavily at the moment on a very large majority of the poor. The ancient workmen's guilds were destroyed in the last century and no other organization took their place. Public institutions and the laws have repudiated the ancient religion. Hence by degrees it has come to pass that workingmen have been given over, isolated and defenseless, to the callousness of employers and the greed of unrestrained competition. And to this must be added the custom of working by contract and the concentration of so many branches of trade in the hands of a few individuals so that a small number of the very rich have been able to lay upon the masses of the poor a yoke little better than slavery itself.

Every effort must therefore be made that fathers of families receive a wage sufficient to meet adequately ordinary domestic needs. If in the present state of society this is not always feasible, social justice demands that reforms be introduced without delay which will guarantee every adult workingman just such a wage. In this connection we might utter a word of praise for various systems devised and attempted in practice by which an increased wage is paid in view of increased family burdens and a special provision made for special needs.

For the effect of civil change and revolution has been to divide society into two widely different castes. On the one side there is the party which holds the power because it holds the wealth; which has in its grasp all labor and all trade, which manipulates for its own benefit and purposes all the sources of supply and which is powerfully represented in the councils of the state itself. On the other side there is the needy and powerless multitude, sore and suffering, always ready for disturbance. If working people can be encouraged to look forward to obtaining a share in the land, the result will be that the gulf between vast wealth and deep poverty will be bridged over, and the two orders will be brought nearer together.

The following colloquy then ensued:

Mr. McNIECE. Commenting for a moment, before making a reading of this, the share of the land reference reminds me very much of one of the paragraphs quoted from the findings of the Committee on Social Studies, as supported by the Carnegie Foundation and the American Historical Association.

Mr. HAYS. I gather you disapprove of that, is that right?

Mr. McNIECE. Because I disapprove of communistic and collectivistic tendencies. *All of these [meaning the quotations]—I do not know your source—are closely comparable to Communist literature that I have read.* [Emphasis ours.] The objectives cited parallel very closely communistic ideals or socialistic ideals. If working people can be encouraged to look forward to obtaining a share in the land—in the smaller areas—I should say rather in the areas of less concentrated population, I know from firsthand information that it is the desire and the attained objective of many workingmen to own their own properties.

I distinctly remember reading in the papers—that is my only authority for it—that at one time some of the labor union leaders were advising their workmen not to become property owners, because that tended to stabilize them and make them more dependent on local conditions. I don't know how you would reconcile the divergent points of view.

Mr. HAYS. If you are through with those, I would like to have them back so I can identify them.

The first and last were from the encyclical of Pope Leo XIII on labor. The middle was from the encyclical of Pope Pius XI.

You have given a very practical demonstration, Mr. McNiece, of the danger of lifting a sentence or paragraph out of context, because you have clearly labeled these as being in conformity with the communistic literature that you have read.

Mr. McNIECE. Yes, and I repeat that * * *.

As Mr. Hays pointed out (hearings, pt. I, p. 607), the Catholic Church is one of the bulwarks against communism in the world. No one in possession of his senses would call the Catholic Church or its leaders communistic. It was left to the committee staff to compare statements of the leaders of the Catholic Church with Communist

writings. In this testimony, we were given the clearest insight into the workings of the minds of the committee's staff.

In the early meetings of the committee the general counsel, Mr. Wormser, advanced the proposal that the inquiry be made without public hearings and without seeking the testimony of interested persons, suggesting instead that the staff be directed to devote its time to independent study and inquiry, the results of which would be brought to the committee when concluded. It apparently never occurred to Mr. Wormser, a member of the bar, that such a proceeding, in a matter so sensitive, inevitably conflicted with constitutional guaranties of free speech and violated every American principle that individuals and groups, subjected to accusations in the course of an inquiry, be permitted to defend themselves.

It was not until May 10, 1954, that a public hearing was held. For 3 days that month the stand was occupied by Mr. Aaron Sargent, a San Francisco attorney, whose testimony can fairly be said to be a representation of the basic theme of the staff testimony of Mr. Dodd, Mr. McNiece, and Miss Casey.

Some insight into Mr. Sargent's political and economic thinking was revealed when he stated that the United States income tax was part of a plot by Fabian Socialists operating from England to pave the way for socialism in this country; that the judicial power of the United States Government has been undermined by court packing; that subversive teaching in our schools is a tax-exempt foundation product and that it has resulted in the greatest betrayal in American history; that the foundations are deliberately stimulating socialism; that the Rockefeller, Ford, and Carnegie Foundations are guilty of violating the antitrust laws, and not content with these perversions, that the Spanish-American War was more or less a picnic. (Eleven thousand Americans died in that "picnic.")

Such was the nature of the testimony on which the committee report has been based. Although the tax-exempt foundations submitted detailed factual documentation in refutation of the charges made against them, the report is silent with reference to all of those facts.

The only testimony which brought solid facts into this arena of bias and prejudice was that of Dr. Pendleton Herring, president of the Social Science Research Council. Unfortunately for the foundations, however, the staff had no intention of permitting facts and logic to be introduced into public hearings. For it was midway in Dr. Herring's testimony that the chairman adjourned public hearings for all time to come.

Dr. Herring destroyed the charges made by the staff of an alleged "interlock," the "tight control" of education and research by a "highly efficient functioning whole" made up of the foundations and the learned societies, with undue emphasis on empiricism. He pointed out that the Social Science Research Council received financial support from only 12 of the estimated five or six thousand foundations in this country; that the foundations contribute approximately \$12 million annually to social-science research, only one-tenth of which is available to the council; that there are some 40,000 persons in the United States who could be classed as social scientists and that approximately 40 percent of these were scattered among the 1,700 colleges and universities of the country; that the other 60 percent were engaged in

nonacademic work with business organizations and government; that while there were hundreds of fellowships in social science offered each year by the colleges and universities of the Nation, the Social Science Research Council had only 150 such fellowships at its disposal; that the council granted its fellowships on a nationwide competitive basis and that the emphasis on choosing the successful candidates was on individual ability instead of the type or subject of the research; that there were some 281 formally organized research institutes in 104 different colleges and universities in the country.

An examination of these undisputed figures should convince even the most cynical observer that there is not and could not be any "tight control" exercised by any group, however powerful. The very idea of exercising a tight control over some 40,000 individuals engaged in social science work is in itself ludicrous. When it is considered that more than half of this number are engaged in business or governmental enterprises which are entirely independent of academic or foundation guidance or support, the idea becomes even more ludicrous. And when one takes into consideration that the Social Science Research Council is only one of many organizations conducting or financing social science research, and that it has only \$1,250,000 annually with which to conduct its work, it becomes evident that the idea is "psycho-ceramic," or, in more commonplace usage, crackpot.

Dr. Herring defined empiricism as follows:

To approach a problem empirically is to say: "Let's have a look at the record." To employ the empirical method is to try to get at the facts.

He pointed out that the empirical method of getting at the facts rather than indulging in mere speculation was a deeply ingrained American tendency which had come down to us as a heritage from the Founding Fathers; that—

empiricism tends to be more in the American tradition than rationalism.

He also pointed out that empiricism was totally incompatible with communism and that the Communists "object to it most violently."

He quoted from certain documents to support his contention that the Communists were bitterly hostile to foundations, the learned professional societies and to our work in the social sciences. As to the latter he had this to say:

The social sciences stand four-square in a great tradition of freedom of inquiry which is integral to American life, to the Anglo-Saxon tradition of self-government, and to the concern with the individual fundamental to both western civilization and its ancient heritage stemming back through the Renaissance to the Classic world and to Judaic-Christian concern with human dignity.

Concerning the alleged overemphasis on empirical research Dr. Herring said:

In my opinion, there is not an overemphasis upon empirical research. In my opinion and experience and observation, quite the reverse is true. I observe a strong human tendency on the part of a great many of us, as individuals, to see what we choose to see and to believe what we want to believe. I observe a readiness to speculate, to guess, to haphazard opinions, and to come to judgments on the basis of very inadequate evidence. It is my observation that this is a very human tendency, if not indeed a common human weakness. This tendency is found in all walks of life. It becomes a matter of high moment in policy decisions and in the formation of public opinion.

Dr. Herring's testimony restored some measure of reality and perspective to what had become so much an Alice-in-Wonderland pro-

ceeding in which the verdict was rendered before the evidence was considered.

We are dealing here not with an inquiry in the traditional sense in which this legislative body operates. This was not an investigation in which the purpose was to gather facts, to evaluate them, and then to arrive at fair conclusions on the basis of those facts. Instead, we are presented with an inquiry in which facts have played no part. The committee's activities were in single purpose directed at justifying conclusions arrived at even in advance of the enabling resolution of the House of Representatives.

The minority cannot emphasize too strongly the abhorrence it holds for such a procedure and indeed the abhorrence which the House of Representatives and the American public will hold for the whole unfortunate transaction when the majority report is published.

V. THE REPORT

The consistency of the dedicated prejudgment of the staff and the real control of the proceedings which it maintained is (aside from the many other examples cited in this report) made further evident by the fact that, from the conclusion of the hearings on June 17, 1954, to the present, the staff has secluded itself to prepare the majority report. There has been no consultation or communication with the minority, and presumably no direction or observation of the preparation of the report by the majority. This report truly has been written in "a dark cellar." The staff went further, and in violation of congressional procedure tampered with and altered the "corrected" copy of the hearings which were submitted by the minority, in some instances changing the context and meaning of questions by minority members.

In view of the manifest unfairness of the proceedings, it might be assumed that the report prepared by the staff would seek to overcome the basic unsoundness of its contribution by preparing a temperate document, short in length and impartial in tone. But, like the theme of doom in a Wagnerian opera, the basic resolve to justify the initial prejudgment of condemnation of foundations is expressed and reexpressed in this enormously lengthy report. Where the record contained no facts to support some particular conclusions, a type of staff "judicial notice" has been taken of facts and conclusions drawn from these facts, from whatever source has seemed convenient.

The great body of the press of the Nation has condemned the committee for its shocking excesses and its denial of elementary fair play. As a result, the press has been attacked in the majority report along with all others who dared to disagree.

Even before the issuance of the report, the chairman of this committee made an unwarranted attack on three of the Nation's leading newspapers, the New York Times, the New York Herald Tribune, and the Washington Post and Times Herald. In a statement inserted in the Congressional Record, the chairman accused these three great newspapers of deserting their traditional principles of honest and unbiased presentation of the news. Not content with that reckless assertion, he deliberately linked the names of these newspapers with that of the Daily Worker in an effort somehow to imply guilt by innuendo even though not one iota of evidence was ever presented in support of this poisonous attack.

The report picked up where the chairman left off. It went completely outside of the record to accuse the Reid Foundation of possible illegal practices, with no other point in mind than that this foundation, so the report states, owned stock in the New York Herald Tribune. The fact that the Herald Tribune (in common with a myriad of other newspapers) criticized the manner in which this committee proceeded may have some bearing on the malice evidenced by the staff toward this great newspaper.

From the New York Herald Tribune the report moved to the New York Times, using the following language:

The presence of Mr. Sulzberger, president and publisher of the New York Times, on the board of the Rockefeller Foundation is an illustration of this extension of power and influence. (Mr. Sulzberger is also on the board of several other foundations.) We do not mean to imply that Mr. Sulzberger directed his editors to slant their reporting on this committee's work, but his very presence on the Rockefeller Board could have been an indirect, intangible, influencing factor. At any rate, the Times has bowed to no other newspaper in the vindictiveness of its attack on this committee. In its issue of August 5, 1954, it gave 856² lines of laudatory column space, starting with a front-page article, to the statement filed by the Rockefeller Foundation. The following day, August 6, 1954, appeared one of a succession of bitter editorials attacking this committee. (p. 33).

Even more important, the report included in its findings the following statement:

7. The far-reaching power of the large foundations and of the interlock has so influenced the press, the radio, and even the Government that it has become extremely difficult for objective criticism of foundation practices to get into news channels without having first been distorted, slanted, discredited, and at times ridiculed (p. 17).

To the minority, there is an integral relationship between the majority's refusal to accord the foundations a public hearing and its broadside attack on the press of the Nation. For, those who would abuse the rights of the individual fear the press and rail against the right of the press to report the facts and to criticize wrongdoing.

History teaches us that we must be alert to any incursion on our basic freedoms. Here we are confronted with the two specters of a denial of a fair hearing and an effort to intimidate the press for reporting and commenting upon that denial. The minority condemns this and fervently hopes that the majority even at this late hour will recant and vote to issue no report.

In the report, facts have been distorted and quotations from writings have been taken out of context. Apparently, only those witnesses (excepting the two witnesses from the Internal Revenue Service) who possessed the qualifying bias of the staff were invited to testify, but for the rare and refreshing case of Dr. Herring, whose testimony we have discussed.

The other 8 nonstaff witnesses included, in addition to the 2 representatives of the Internal Revenue Service, 2 retired and 2 employed professors and 2 lawyers. These two members of the bar had no special qualifications other than their own bias, which strangely coincided with that of the staff.

The report outstrips the record in its bias, its prejudgment, and its obvious hatred for the object of its wrath—the principal private foundations of the Nation.

² Parenthetically, it may be noted that the small-mindedness of the staff is well portrayed by the fact that it took the time to count the lines which a newspaper devoted to a foundation report. A more colossal waste of the taxpayer's money than line counting we can't conceive!

The only concession made by the staff in the interval between the public hearings and the report was the abandonment of the staff's pet theory of the great Fabian Socialist conspiracy of foundations, colleges, and universities, and agencies of the Federal Government to take over America. Quite probably it has now dawned upon the staff that this theory would have made malefactors out of the Congress of the United States—for the Congress passed all of the social legislation condemned as the end result of this "conspiracy," including such programs as social security and Federal aid to education, the enlightened programs for labor and agriculture, the protection of bank deposits and security markets, and a host of others, which strengthen the whole fabric of our society and its economy.

The theory of conspiracy was abandoned, but a charge of a special sort of monopoly was substituted—a monopoly of the educated "elite." The fruit of this monopoly is, so the staff concluded, control by the foundations of the avenues of intellectual exploration which otherwise would not be explored as evidenced by the fact that foundations have given substantial financial support to empirical research and to research in the social sciences.

The staff's report would seem to recommend to the Congress that all foundations should be denied their tax-exempt status unless they shall, in the field of the social sciences, adhere to principles which the staff supports. The following sets forth the lines of censorship suggested by the staff:

They (the trustees) should be very chary of promoting ideas, concepts and opinion-forming material which runs contrary to what the public currently wishes, approves and likes (p. 20).

We assume that the staff would recommend that this censorship be exercised by the Commissioner of Internal Revenue; a role, by the way, which the Commissioner in public testimony properly rejected.

The excessive length of the report is, in itself, an index of the unseemly effort of the staff to reach a predetermined conclusion, for if the conclusions stated were valid, then a positive, incisive, and brief statement of facts would be sufficient to support them.

It must be remembered that even though the Congress soundly rejects and repudiates the majority report, as it should, the report will stand forever in all its spuriousness as a "majority report" of facts and the sober conclusions of a majority of the members of a duly constituted committee of the House of Representatives of the United States and will be quoted by every fear peddler in the Nation as incontrovertible fact.

In addition, the real mischief in these proceedings rests in the effect which they may have on the future conduct of the tax-exempt foundations. If, as a result of this inquiry, the foundations shall surrender to timidity, then the aim of those who would destroy the effectiveness of the foundations shall have been accomplished. Truly, the integrity of the foundations will hinge on the manner in which they meet this challenge.

VI. WHAT THE REPORT SHOULD BE

It is unfortunate that the minority report, limited as it must be to the record, and the majority report, is compelled to place major emphasis upon the errors of both. However, these errors are so basic

and shocking that it is of public importance that they be identified so that every citizen of the land can know what has occurred.

There is little that the minority at this point can recommend as to what the report should contain that can give any real guidance to the Congress in this sensitive area, for there are no reliable facts in the record made up by the staff.

The minority recognizes that foundations are favored by State and Federal tax laws. Even if they were not, however, they have a high duty of public responsibility. This responsibility, however, does not divest such foundations of the rights guaranteed by our Constitution. Inherent in such guaranties is the proposition that Government may not dictate, directly or indirectly, what the officers of such foundations should think or believe or how they shall exercise their trust responsibilities. Government cannot interfere with the lawful operations of these private organizations in any manner. The fact that some or all Members of Congress might disagree with all or a part of the acts of a foundation does not alter the constitutional protection against this attempted invasion of their private rights under the guise of the taxing authority.

The majority report should, in all fairness, state at least the following:

1. The purposes of the resolution were not carried out.
2. The proceedings were grossly unfair and prejudged.
3. The record which was constructed by the staff is not reliable.
4. If there is a necessity, in the public interest, to inquire into the validity of the tax-exempt status of foundations and other charitable institutions, then a new inquiry must be authorized to seek all the facts and to give all interested persons an opportunity to be heard. In truth, such an investigation, made in conformity with the great tradition of congressional inquiry, is the only way in which Congress can be properly advised of the facts in this area—and in which the foundations can be relieved of the cloud of suspicion placed upon them by the majority report.

VII. CONCLUSION

The proceedings and the rendition of the majority report are both tragic events. The minority members are filled with a sense of deep sorrow in the contemplation of the monstrous nature of both.

The minority members have discussed long and soberly this dark reality, and they have concluded that the cloud of fear so evident in all phases of our national life in recent years has enveloped this committee staff, and that these proceedings, under their guidance, are only a part of a greater and more ominous movement under the direction of a group who would use the deadly evil of fear for their own purposes—purposes which would, in their realization, destroy American constitutional liberty. In this reality, the minority invites the militancy of all Members of Congress and all citizens of this free land to root out now and forever this evil and those who nurture it.

The proceedings and the majority report evidence the tragedy of the men and women of the committee's staff who, having lived and prospered under freedom, yet do not believe in due process and American fair play; who fear the thinkers and those who dare to advance the new and the unaccepted; who believe that universal education for our

people can be risked only if the teachers and their pupils accept their doctrine and are shielded from the mental contamination of other thoughts and beliefs. They would deny the right of individuals to seek truth without limit or restriction.

Happily, the staff is representative of only a small and unhealthy minority in the Nation. The fear-sickness of this group leads them to brand as conspiratorial and un-American the citizens and organizations who support the great liberal tradition in our society including such well-known persons as Edward R. Murrow, Paul Hoffman, Senator-elect Clifford Case, of New Jersey, and Senator Paul Douglas, of Illinois, and such highly respected organizations as the Federal Council of Churches, the Parent-Teachers Association, the National Education Association, the Anti-Defamation League, and some of the most prominent newspapers and publishers in the land.

This tragic event evidences the decay which has resulted from the cynical disillusionment of the minds of free men and women. These unhappy citizens have forgotten the touchstone of America's greatness—freedom. The American faith is one which accepts the right of free people to make mistakes and believes that a free people, despite its mistakes, will sustain and advance with wisdom the common good.

If there is an element of good to be found in these proceedings, it is the challenge to high leadership. Leadership at every level of society from the smallest community to the White House must find ways to strengthen those among us in this free and vigorous land who have lost faith in freedom. We must rehabilitate those who somehow have forgotten that America's individual and collective strength in a tortured and straining world is, and has always been, in the supremacy of a positive faith in freedom; not in the nursing of doubts and fears.

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GRACIE PFOST

