

ANALYSIS OF REPLIES FROM TEXTBOOK PUBLISHERS TO LETTER (OCTOBER 1950) OF AARON SARGENT

PROCEEDINGS BEFORE THE SELECT COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE TAX-EXEMPT FOUNDATIONS, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, HOUSE RESOLUTION 217

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,

District of Columbia, City of Washington, ss:

Aaron M. Sargent, being first duly sworn, deposes and says:

The following matters, relating to an inquiry conducted on behalf of the National Society, Sons of the American Revolution, into the textbook situation, are true to my own knowledge:

I am a member in good standing of that society. During the period May 1950 to May 1951, inclusive, I served as chairman of its committee on Americanization. My duties at that time included representing the interests of said society in regard to the subversive teaching problem affecting the public schools.

On October 27, 1950, as chairman of that committee, I sent to each of the textbook publishers hereinafter mentioned a standard form of letter identical with the photostat attached to this affidavit. That photostat is a true copy of my file copy of the letter in question. The purpose was to determine the extent to which textbooks and teaching materials were then available for instructing students and adult groups in the propaganda and activities of Communist and Socialist organizations and to enable them to study the economic, political, and other effects of Fabian socialism and the social welfare state.

Attached to this affidavit at pages 4 to 7, inclusive, is a true list of the names and addresses of the various book publishers to whom the letter in question was sent.

This affidavit is furnished in connection with my testimony to the above committee respecting the replies received to that communication.

AARON M. SARGENT.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 26 day of May 1954.

[SEAL]

REBECCA M. SMITH,
Notary Public.

[Letterhead of National Society, Sons of the American Revolution]

OCTOBER 27, 1950.

AMERICAN BOOK Co.,
New York, N. Y.

GENTLEMEN: We are conducting a survey to determine what textbooks, outlines, or other teaching materials are available with reference to the following:

1. For instructing students and adult groups desiring to study the propaganda and activities of Socialist and Communist organizations;
2. For study of the economic, financial, political, and constitutional effects of Fabian socialism and the social welfare state.

Our analysis is intended to cover all grade levels and include a listing of books dealing with one or more or all of the above subjects. Please indicate whether you have any publications of this type. If so, may we have a list of titles and authors, together with circulars and other descriptive material?

Very truly yours,

[SEAL]

AARON M. SARGENT,
Committee on Americanization.

1. Ginn & Co., Statler Building, Boston, Mass.
2. The Grolier Society, Inc., 2 West 45th Street, New York, N. Y.
3. Harcourt, Brace & Co., Inc., 383 Madison Avenue, New York, N. Y.
4. D. C. Heath & Co., 285 Columbus Avenue, Boston, Mass.
5. Houghton Mifflin Co., 2 Park Street, Boston, Mass.
6. The MacMillan Co., 60 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.
7. Row, Peterson & Co., 1911 Ridge Avenue, Evanston, Ill.
8. Benjamin H. Sanborn & Co., 221 East 20th Street, Chicago, Ill.
9. Scott Foresman & Co., 433 East Erie Street, Chicago, Ill.
10. Silver Burdett Co., 45 East 17th Street, New York, N. Y.
11. Webster Publishing Co., 1808 Washington Avenue, St. Louis, Mo.
12. American Technical Society, Drexel Avenue at 58th Street, Chicago, Ill.
13. Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 35 West 32d Street, New York, N. Y.
14. A. S. Barnes & Co., Inc., 67 West 44th Street, New York, N. Y.
15. W. S. Benson & Co., Austin, Tex.
16. C. C. Birchard & Co., 285 Columbus Avenue, Boston, Mass.
17. The Blakiston Co., 1012 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
18. The Bobbs-Merrill Co., Inc., 724 North Meridian Street, Indianapolis, Ind.
19. The Book House for Children, 360 North Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
20. P. F. Collier & Son Corp., 250 Park Avenue, New York, N. Y.
21. F. E. Compton & Co., 1000 North Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill.
22. Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 432 Fourth Avenue, New York, N. Y.
23. The Economy Co., Oklahoma City, Okla.
24. Encyclopaedia Britannica, 20 North Wacker Drive, Chicago, Ill.
25. Encyclopedia Americana, 2 West 45th Street, New York, N. Y.
26. Field Enterprises, Inc., educational division, 35 East Wacker Drive, Chicago, Ill.
27. The Gregg Publishing Co., 270 Madison Avenue, New York, N. Y.
28. E. M. Hale & Co., Eau Claire, Wis.
29. C. S. Hammond & Co., 305 East 63d Street, New York, N. Y.
30. Harper & Bros., 49 East 33d Street, New York, N. Y.
31. Henry Holt & Co., Inc., 257 Fourth Avenue, New York, N. Y.
32. Longmans, Green & Co., 55 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.
33. Loyola University Press, 3441 North Ashland Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
34. The Manual Arts Press, 237 North Monroe Street, Peoria, Ill.
35. McCormick-Mathers Publishing Co., 1501 East Douglas Avenue, Wichita, Kans.
36. McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 330 West 42d Street, New York, N. Y.
37. Charles E. Merrill Co., Inc., 400 South Front Street, Columbus, Ohio
38. Newson & Co., 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.
39. W. W. Norton & Co., Inc., 101 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.
40. Oxford University Press, 114 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.
41. Pitman Publishing Corp., 2 West 45th Street, New York, N. Y.
42. Prang Co. Publishers, a division of American Crayon Co., Sandusky, Ohio
43. Prentice-Hall, Inc., 70 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.
44. Rand, McNally & Co., 536 South Clark Street, Chicago, Ill.
45. Rinehart & Co., Inc., 232 Madison Avenue, New York, N. Y.
46. William H. Sadler, Inc., 11 Park Place, New York, N. Y.
47. Scholastic Magazines, 7 East 12th Street, New York, N. Y.
48. Science Research Associates, 228 South Wabash Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
49. The L. W. Singer Co., Inc., 249 West Erie Boulevard, Syracuse, N. Y.
50. South-Western Publishing Co., 634 Broadway, Cincinnati, Ohio
51. The Steck Co., Ninth and Lavaca Streets, Austin, Tex.
52. The United Educators, Inc., 6 North Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
53. The University Publishing Co., Lincoln, Nebr.
54. D. Van Nostrand Co., Inc., 250 Fourth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

55. John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 440 Fourth Avenue, New York, N. Y.
56. The John C. Winston Co., 1010 Arch Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
57. World Book Co., 313 Park Hill Avenue, Yonkers, N. Y.
58. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass.
59. Yale University Press, New Haven, Conn.
60. Columbia University Press, Morningside Heights, New York, N. Y.
61. University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Ill.
62. University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, Mich.
63. University of California Press, Berkeley, Calif.
64. Northwestern University Press, Chicago, Ill.
65. University of Rochester Press, Rochester, N. Y.
66. University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, Minn.
67. Cornell University Press, Ithaca, N. Y.
68. Princeton University Press, Princeton, N. J.
69. Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, Boston, Mass.
70. University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, Wis.
71. Stanford University Press, Stanford University, Calif.
72. Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, Md.
73. New York University Press, New York, N. Y.
74. Washington University Press, St. Louis, Mo.
75. Dartmouth College Press, Berlin, N. H.
76. University of Colorado Press, Boulder, Colo.
77. University of Iowa Press, Iowa City, Iowa
78. University of California Press, Los Angeles, Calif.
79. University of Southern California Press, Los Angeles, Calif.
80. City College of New York Press, New York, N. Y.
81. Roosevelt College Press, Chicago, Ill.
82. Syracuse University Press, Syracuse, N. Y.
83. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, N. C.
84. University of Washington Press, Seattle, Wash.
85. University of Illinois Press, Champaign, Ill.
86. University of Texas Press, Austin, Tex.
87. American Book Co., 88 Lexington Avenue, New York, N. Y.
88. Hinds, Hayden & Eldredge, Inc., 105 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.
89. Simon & Schuster, Inc., 37 West 57th Street, New York, N. Y.
90. Charles Scribner's Sons, 597 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.
91. King's Crown Press, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
92. The Bobbs-Merrill Co., 468 Fourth Avenue, New York, N. Y.
93. Random House, 457 Madison Avenue, New York, N. Y.
94. E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 300 Fourth Avenue, New York, N. Y.
95. The John Day Co., 2 West 45th Street, New York, N. Y.
96. Charles H. Kerr & Co., 510 North Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill.
97. The Ronald Press Co., 15 East 26th Street, New York, N. Y.
98. Henry Regnery Co., 20 West Jackson Street, Chicago, Ill.
99. Allyn & Bacon, 11 East 36th Street, New York, N. Y.
100. Little, Brown & Co., 34 Beacon Street, Boston, Mass.
101. The Viking Press, 18 East 48th Street, New York, N. Y.
102. Doubleday & Co., Inc., Garden City, N. Y.
103. The Tower Press, Inc., 900 West Van Buren, Chicago, Ill.
104. National Education Association, 1201 16th Street NW., Washington, D. C.
105. American Textbook Publishers Institute, 1 Madison Avenue, New York, N. Y.
106. Duke University Press, Durham, N. C.
107. University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, Pa.
108. Ohio State University Press, Columbus, Ohio.
109. Vanderbilt University Press, Nashville, Tenn.
110. American Education Fellowship, 11 East Walton Place, Chicago, Ill.
111. American Book Publishers Council, Inc., 62 West 47th Street, New York, N. Y.
112. Farrar Straus & Co., Inc., 53 East 34th Street, New York, N. Y.
113. Smith & Durrell, Inc., 25 West 45th Street, New York, N. Y.
114. Social Sciences Publishers, Inc., 1966 Broadway, New York, N. Y.
115. Campus publishing division of Dorville Corp., 37 Wall Street, New York, N. Y.

PALO ALTO, CALIF., July 26, 1954.

Subject: Analysis of letters from textbook publishers.

To the Honorable Carroll Reece, Chairman, and Members of the House Committee To Investigate Tax-Exempt Foundations, Washington, D. C.:

GENTLEMEN: In testifying at your May 26, 1954, hearing, I referred to a preliminary survey conducted in October 1950 by the Americanization committee of the National Society, Sons of the American Revolution, to determine the condition then existing in the textbook publishing business from the standpoint of antisubversive teaching material. The following letter was sent at that time to a list of 115 textbook publishers throughout the country:

We are conducting a survey to determine what textbooks, outlines, or other teaching materials, are available with reference to the following:

1. For instructing students and adult groups desiring to study the propaganda and activities of Socialist and Communist organizations;
2. For study of the economic, financial, political, and constitutional effects of Fabian socialism and the social welfare state.

Our analysis is intended to cover all grade levels and include a listing of books dealing with one or more or all of the above subjects. Please indicate whether you have any publications of this type. If so, may we have a list of titles and authors, together with circulars and other descriptive material.

Very truly yours,

AARON M. SARGENT,
Chairman, Committee on Americanization.

That letter was sent to all members of the American Textbook Publishers Institute and to all other important publishers listed on the records of the California State Department of Education. It is a fair cross section of the textbook publishing industry.

Some firms said they operated in special or technical fields not within the scope of the survey. These names have been disregarded in the present analysis. There were 52 publishers who replied and were engaged in areas that should include some kind of material within the scope of the survey. The replies from this group reveal the following condition:

Number	Description	Percent
37	Nothing available.....	71.1
6	Claiming some material bearing on certain phases.....	11.6
4	Relating to civics and patriotism in general.....	7.7
2	Books on League of Nations, United Nations, and Democracy.....	3.9
3	Miscellaneous.....	5.7

The following are typical comments:

(1) *Publishers having nothing available*

"The National Education Association does not have any publications dealing with socialism, communism, and the other topics contained in your letter. We are not a publisher of materials designed primarily for use by pupils and students. Practically all of our materials are designed for use by teachers and other professional persons employed by school systems and none of them bear on the topics you have listed."

"Regret to say that we do not have a single book dealing specifically with either of the above two general objects. * * * The type of book mentioned in your letter is generally issued by a trade publisher. * * *

We are exclusively a textbook publisher and as such we publish only such books as are required by the standard curricula of the Nation." (Cites as a reference, a history on economic doctrine.)

"We specialize in the basic texts and do not contemplate publishing within the near future books which emphasize particular philosophies or ideologies."

"We do not publish any textbooks which would fit your needs in connection with the survey you are conducting described in your letter."

"We no longer publish texts on the elementary and high-school level. We have nothing of this kind on the college level."

"(We) publish no texts or teaching materials concerned with socialism, communism, or the social welfare state."

"Believe we have but one publication that would cover any of the topics outlined in your letter." (Cites a text on applied economics.)

(2) *Reporting some material available*

American Education Fellowship (formerly the Progressive Education Association) sent a list of publications including the following:

American Education Under Fire, by Melby.

Design for America, by Brameld.

A Guide to Soviet Education, by King.

International Year Book of Experimental Education.

France (New Plans for Education).

UNESCO in Focus, by Henderson.

Replies from three universities show some material at the college or adult level. The books cited cover crisis in Great Britain; co-operative movement in Canada; Russian culture; death of science in Russia; American-Russian rivalry in Far East; Christianity and communism; defense of Western Europe; Korea and foreign policy; Russian aims and America.

Two publishers referred to some material on topics such as outlawing the Communist Party; British socialism; welfare state; free medical care, and a booklet *What About Communism?*

(3) *Civics and patriotism in general*

Replies listed under this heading cite books on the Constitution, citizenship, and material of a patriotic or inspirational character.

(4) *League of Nations and democracy*

Replies from two publishers are listed. The books mentioned are in the following areas:

History of League of Nations.

The United Nations.

Democracy and You.

Federal Government and You.

(5) *Miscellaneous*

Under this heading I classify the reply of one publisher of books at the adult level citing material that would be useful for reference purposes. Another reply cites material from proceedings and magazines of various educational associations. The remaining item lists

two books by authors with known anti-anti-Communist points of view. One of these attacks the Federal loyalty and security program.

(NOTE.—Photostat copies of all letters received by Mr. Sargent from the textbook publishers queried are in the permanent files of the committee, as well as a list of the letters quoted in his analysis. Mr. Sargent in transmitting this list for ready reference by the staff, wrote under date of July 28: "I purposely left out publishers' names in order to raise no question about the fairness of the survey and to avoid being in the position of making 'an attack' on any particular interest. Use of the names of NEA and American Education Fellowship seemed justified on another ground, inasmuch as these are both organizations whose names have already been brought in on the hearings.")

In making this analysis it was not and is not my purpose to limit freedom of opinion or freedom of publication with respect to any of these books. The sole object is to ascertain whether there has been restraint of publication and restraint of trade with respect to books representing a positive and effective teaching approach to the problem of combating subversion.

It is my opinion, based on this investigation and on my own research, that there is a serious shortage of such material. I believe that this condition is due, to a considerable extent, to the policies and attitudes of tax-exempt foundations.

Dated: July 27, 1954.

Respectfully submitted,

AARON M. SARGENT.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, STATE OF CALIFORNIA,

City and County of San Francisco, ss:

Aaron M. Sargent, being first duly sworn, deposes and says:

I am the witness above named who presents the within analysis to the House of Representatives Committee To Investigate Tax-Exempt Foundations. I personally prepared said analysis, which is based on letters from textbook publishers in my possession. I am familiar with the contents of the foregoing and certify that all statements of fact therein are true to my own knowledge.

AARON M. SARGENT.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 27th day of July 1954.

[SEAL]

CLARA E. HAY,

Notary Public.

PALO ALTO, CALIF., *July 23, 1954.*

Subject: Proposed questionnaire.

HON. CARROLL REECE,

Chairman, House Committee on Foundations,

Washington 25, D. C.

DEAR MR. REECE: In accordance with leave granted at your hearing of May 26, 1954, I have prepared and enclose herewith original and two copies of my proposed Statement on Questionnaire to Foundations.

Questions in that form will, I believe, obtain vitally needed information with a minimum expenditure of time and money.

I respectfully request that the committee make this statement a part of the record.

If I can be of any further assistance in this matter, do not hesitate to call upon me.

Sincerely,

AARON M. SARGENT,
Attorney at Law.

PALO ALTO, CALIF., July 23, 1954.

Subject: Statement on questionnaire to foundations.

*To the Honorable Carroll Reece and Members of the House Committee
To Investigate Tax-Exempt Foundations, Washington, D. C.*

GENTLEMEN: On May 24, 1954, I appeared before your committee and gave testimony in response to subpoena. At the May 26, 1954, hearing I indicated that important evidence could be obtained with a minimum of time and expense by using a questionnaire to be answered under oath by responsible officers of the foundations. Leave was granted to submit an outline of the questions to be propounded, and it was understood the matter would be taken under advisement (Rep. Tr. vol. 8, pp. 835, 838). I now submit the following statement to show the kind of evidence which can be so obtained.

The subversive movement which emerged and gained a foothold in the Federal Government during the 1930's began many years before that time. It was directed by a radical intellectual elite and it operated by infiltration, propaganda, and smear. Radical cells were organized in Federal agencies and educational groups. The Ware cell set up by Communists in the Department of Agriculture is an example. This intrigue was exposed by Dr. William A. Wirt, who was destroyed for taking a patriotic stand. In Washington, during this period, it was the fashion to be pro-Communist. Radicals were able to infiltrate, in the name of reform, under cover of this crisis. They took advantage of these conditions to bring about revolutionary change. The people trusted their new leaders and were betrayed. Even men in high places were deceived. The mass indoctrination in education, as we know it today, developed more gradually.

This committee is vitally concerned with the extent to which foundations may have financed, aided, or protected this radical propaganda and infiltration. The part played by the Garland Fund is well known. Undoubtedly there were others. To fully explore this subject will require an exhaustive study of the history and development of the American subversive movement. Obviously, this is a long-range study. The question which can be determined now is the following:

"Has foundation support ever been given to educational projects designed to combat subversion?"

Large foundations have monopoly power. Their action in denying applications amounts to censorship where there is a discriminatory purpose in exercising this arbitrary right of rejection. Has there been such a veto against projects concerning national defense and security?

The foundations with large income and asset value are the following:

<i>Name</i>	<i>Endowment</i>
Rockefeller Foundation.....	\$321, 054, 125
General Education Board (a Rockefeller affiliate).....	140, 077, 288
Carnegie Corporation of New York.....	177, 187, 884
Ford Foundation.....	502, 587, 957
Total	1, 140, 907, 254

The combined asset value of these giant monopoly power foundations is therefore in excess of 1,100 million. These figures are based on reports filed with the Cox committee.

The Carnegie and Rockefeller Funds have operated for many years. The Ford Foundation was established more recently, but its present impact is the greatest, and its influence is highly important.

For the purposes of this questionnaire, the year 1920 is taken as a starting point. The radical group was well organized at that time. The New York Legislature had already determined, in creating the Lusk committee, that there was an active conspiracy to overthrow the Government. This committee exposed radicalism centering in particular in New York City. It filed an exhaustive four-volume report on the subject of Revolutionary Radicalism. Since the headquarters of the Carnegie and Rockefeller Foundations were located in this area, their trustees must have been put on notice even at this early date.

The Garland Fund operated from 1922 to 1928 with offices at 2 West 13th Street, New York City. It contributed \$2 million to radical groups and its board included Communists and Socialists. (See testimony of Walter S. Steele at hearings of House Special Committee To Investigate Communist Activities, 71st Con., 2d sess., H. Res. 220.)

Eastern business and financial interests favored a soft policy toward Communist Russia. In March 1926 a group of prominent men advocated diplomatic recognition. Ivy Lee, a public relations man, made a special trip and spent about 2 weeks in the Soviet Union. He then wrote books and sought to reinterpret the "Russian menace." Evidence on this will be found in the New York Times, issues of March 27, 28, 29, 30, and 31, 1926, and in the writings of Mr. Lee.

In 1926 Carnegie Corporation made a \$300,000 grant to a Social Studies Commission of the American Historical Society to review textbooks and curriculum practices. That commission in its report advocated use of the public schools to promote socialism and a collective economy. (See "Conclusions and Recommendations.")

Prof. George S. Counts, of Teachers College, Columbia University, began his Russian travels and study of Soviet education in 1929. In 1932 he advocated use of the public schools to "build a new social order."

Congress began its investigation of subversion in 1930 with the appointment of a special committee pursuant to House Resolution 220.

Our study should therefore begin with the date of the first legislative investigation of the subversive movement. As above-mentioned, this was the Lusk committee inquiry of 1920. It is possible, with a questionnaire, to obtain data such as the following:

(1) Whether at any time during the period 1920-53, inclusive, the foundations have ever supported research or education designed to

expose the conduct, propaganda, or activities of the Communist or Socialist movements in this country;

(2) Whether they have supported the work of active anti-Communists, anti-Communist organizations, or repentant Communists who have since demonstrated their loyalty and rendered valuable service to the cause of freedom by combating and exposing subversion;

(3) Whether they have supported the publication and/or distribution of anti-Communist or anti-Socialist books, pamphlets, instructional material, or other literature;

(4) The description of all projects of this nature, including names, dates, and amounts, with an outline of the nature, scope, and purpose of such projects;

(5) The total amount granted by these foundations for education and educational research in each year during the period January 1, 1920, to January 1, 1954, inclusive.

It will then be possible to determine—

(a) The total and the percentage of foundation resources spent for national defense and security;

(b) Whether the charge of discrimination against conservatives and anti-Communists, frequently laid at the door of the foundations, is true or false;

(c) The possibility of antitrust liability in the case of the giant funds with monopoly power;

(d) Whether from the national defense standpoint these foundations have earned or justified their tax-exemption privilege.

While the giant funds, such as Ford, Carnegie, and Rockefeller, have great financial power, there are other smaller foundations whose assets, in the aggregate, are substantial. With a special questionnaire, the committee may ascertain:

(1) The nature and extent of this other foundation capital;

(2) The number of such foundations having charter power to support education for national defense and security;

(3) Their willingness to exercise this power;

(4) The reasons why any foundation may be unwilling to assume this responsibility.

No infringement of civil liberty is involved in obtaining this information. The committee has the right and the duty to investigate possible violations of the Federal antitrust laws. Federal taxpayers now carry a heavy burden in the hot and cold wars against communism. If private enterprise in the field of tax-exempt foundations is unwilling to exercise its power and carry a fair share of this educational burden for national defense, it may be necessary to tax the foundations just as other corporations are now taxed. The tax revenues thus obtained would support congressional investigations and other work made necessary by this abdication of trust responsibility.

Since 1949 appropriations for the Senate Internal Security Committee and the House Un-American Activities Committee have totaled \$1,908,000. The average annual cost has been \$419,000.

Taxes were increased at least \$35 billion on account of war in Korea. There were 140,500 casualties. The total cost will never be determined.

It is the duty of foundations to be patriotic and loyal—not merely in a negative, but in a positive sense; to obey the law; to respect their exemption privilege; to comply with reasonable standards of ethical

conduct. The statement attached hereto is a reasonable standard of conduct which should be adopted by this committee.

The American people are patriotic. They pay heavy taxes. They carry their full share of responsibility in supporting and defending the Government and Constitution of the United States. Many of them have rendered military service. Some have made the supreme sacrifice.

Are the foundations patriotic or unpatriotic?

What is the attitude of the business and financial leaders who sit as trustees on the boards of these great tax-exempt corporations?

Dated: July 23, 1954.

Respectfully submitted.

AARON M. SARGENT.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,

State of California,

City and County of Santa Clara, ss:

Aaron M. Sargent, being first duly sworn, deposes and says:

I am the witness above named who presents this to the House of Representatives Committee to Investigate Tax-Exempt Foundations. I personally prepared this statement and am familiar with its contents. All statements of fact therein are true to my own knowledge.

AARON M. SARGENT.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 23d day of July 1954.

[SEAL]

LEONE FLYNN,

Notary Public.

MAY 24, 1954, STATEMENT

The investigation required of this committee is one of the most important matters which has ever come before the Congress of the United States. It concerns 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.

In discharging its responsibility and weighing the evidence, this committee must have some standard or yardstick to apply. I believe the following are the legal and moral standards which apply to this trust relationship:

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 the 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 national security, or (3) threaten the integrity of the Federal Government.

Fifth: Academic responsibility.

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.

The money administered by these foundation trustees is public money. The beneficiaries of these trusts are the American people: the parents of children in our public schools. Education is a sacred trust. A high degree of integrity is expected of those connected with it. We must consider the ethical duty of foundation trustees from that standpoint.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES: CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES

IN RE PROCEEDINGS OF SELECT COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE TAX EXEMPT FOUNDATIONS (H. RES. 217)—TESTIMONY OF AARON M. SARGENT

Inset: Excerpts from June 13, 1951, speech of Lawrence C. Lamb, member of Pasadena Board of Education (Vital Speeches, issue of August 1, 1951, pp. 625-628)

The following excerpts from an address of June 13, 1951, to the Sons of the American Revolution at Pasadena, Calif., by the Honorable Lawrence C. Lamb, member of the Pasadena Board of Education, are presented for insertion in the transcript of the committee hearings of May 26, 1954, volume 8, page 800, at line 15, viz:

As a preface let me say that I feel that it is my duty to make this report. It would be so much easier to coast through the balance of my term of office of school trustee by saying nothing and doing nothing. However, too many people are convinced that what happened in Pasadena during the past year has grave national implications, that free, public education as we know it, is imperiled; that a nationalized educational system would be a controlled system of education; that Federal aid to education would mean Federal control with its attendant political bureaucracy and regimentation. * * *

For the past 2 years I have been 1 of a crew of 5 very unhappy people engaged in riding out a storm of violent educational controversy, the fury of such proportions as has seldom been experienced in any community before, much less in Pasadena. * * *

Our educational system, like our political systems, has evolved over a period of many years and is based on the democratic principle "of the people, by the people, and for the people." Since it was purposely omitted from the Federal Constitution it is a prerogative of the State. It has its checks and balances

with ultimate authority vested in all of the people, who elect a board of lay citizens to represent them. * * *

This is what the board is for: to act, in effect, as a mirror; to reflect the thinking and actions of the superintendent to the people and the thinking and actions of the people to the superintendent. This relationship between all parties is a vital one requiring mutual confidence and respect. Any subversion or breakdown subjects the whole system to failure. * * *

What happened in Pasadena has happened in many other of the surrounding towns and school districts: Glendale, Los Angeles, Inglewood, etc. But the question is asked: If superintendents are relieved as a matter of course all around us, why then the "battle royal" in Pasadena, assuming national proportions with the focus of as much unfavorable publicity as could possibly be brought to bear? In other districts there have been divided boards, superintendent contracts paid off in advance—sometimes 2 in 1 year—superintendents have violated their code of ethics by going over the "heads of their boards" to the people, have preached democracy openly and practiced autocracy behind the scenes, yes, even boards have been submerged by ground swells of public opinion, but no national implications were involved. Why then did Pasadena, almost overnight, become involved in a cataclysm of strife, bitterness, name calling, smearing, and defamiation of character, an emotional binge of such proportions that it defies description? Why did experts fly here from their bastions in eastern cities to investigate and cross-question us? * * * How did we rate so highly that a national publishing house would send their topflight authors here to write a book portraying our Pasadena people and their representatives as villains, idiots, and stupid fools and yet the president of this same publishing house refused an interview and admitted he was not the least bit interested in hearing the "other side" from one who made the trip to New York, at her own expense, for that purpose? What power so great is it that can persuade the president of such a venerable institution as Harvard University to promulgate his verdict solely on hearsay? * * *

In answer to these questions, certain facts stand out distinctly and vividly. Pasadenans had the nerve to demand their rights. The right to adhere to the laws of the State educational code, in spirit as well as the letter, and secondly, the right to question what was being taught to their children. * * *

Our people are filled with fear and anxiety. They know that sinister influences and ideologies are seeking to subvert and undermine our national and cultural institutions. * * *

Without doubt there are subversives in the public schools of America. Where would you go to gain control of the minds of youth but to the schools? Subversive activity and influence in a school system can be so clever, well concealed, and dangerous that it often fools the better informed and responsible leaders of the community, often enlisting them as gullible non-Communist dupes. Although I am loath to believe there are any in our Pasadena schools, many of us have been the victims of commie types of intimidation and persecution. They always use the characteristic defense of smear agitation tactics.

If you notice this same procedure is used against the regents of our great State university where topflight educators complain that loyalty oaths restrict their academic freedom". * * *

As to free public education on the national scene, in light of what has happened to us here. I am not so optimistic and I prophesy that we will, with increasing frequency, hear of similar situations like Pasadena's, where the "enemies" of education dared to criticize ineptness, fadism, and the tolerance of leftist antics in their school systems. * * *

Our powerful national lobby and pressure educational organizations with their altruistic sounding titles, impressive personalities, and who consider themselves sacrosanct in the field of education, must beware that they do not become guilty of the same despotism they attempt to lay at the door of others. With foundations and war chests of millions at their disposal it is very easy to forget that children come first. As an example let me read you an excerpt from the New York Times, May 12, 1951:

"WAR ON ILLITERACY IN WORLD IS URGED—HEAD OF UNESCO PROPOSES TO ITS UNITED STATES UNIT A 12-YEAR PLAN AT A COST OF \$20 MILLION

"The United States Commission for UNESCO today voted support of a resolution, which will be rephrased to incorporate suggestions made from the floor, for the purpose of backing up the public-school system in cases such as that of Willard E. Goslin, forced to resign as superintendent of schools of Pasadena,

Calif. The resolution was offered by Willard E. Givens, executive secretary of the National Education Association."

A photostatic copy of this speech as printed in the August 1, 1951, issue of *Vital Speeches of the Day*, is attached hereto.

Dated: July 22, 1954.

Respectfully submitted.

AARON M. SARGENT.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, STATE OF CALIFORNIA,
City and County of San Francisco, ss:

Aaron M. Sargent, being first duly sworn, deposes and says:

I am the person who appeared and gave testimony in the above entitled matter on May 26, 1954. The excerpts to be inserted at volume 8, page 800, of the transcript of said hearing are true copies and the photostat attached hereto is a true reproduction of the speech in question as above described.

AARON M. SARGENT.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 22d day of July 1954.

CLARA E. HAY,
Notary Public.

My commission expires April 17, 1956.

WHY THE "BATTLE ROYAL" IN PASADENA

"The schools belong to the people, not the board, nor the educators, nor the students"

(By Lawrence C. Lamb, member, Pasadena Board of Education, Pasadena, Calif., delivered to the Sons of the American Revolution, Pasadena, Calif., June 13, 1951)

As a preface let me say that I feel that it is my duty to make this report. It would be so much easier to coast through the balance of my term of office of school trustee by saying nothing and doing nothing. However, too many people are convinced that what happened in Pasadena during the past year has grave national implications, that free, public education as we know it, is imperiled; that a nationalized educational system would be a controlled system of education; that Federal aid to education would mean Federal control with its attendant political bureaucracy and regimentation. I am not an alarmist, do not scare easily, but do believe that to be forewarned is to be forearmed.

For the past 2 years I have been 1 of a crew of 5 very unhappy people engaged in riding out a storm of violent educational controversy, the fury of such proportions as has seldom been experienced in any community before, much less in Pasadena. As I have always maintained, I am not an educator, and do not pose as an expert. Mine is an attentive ear and an open mind. As such I was elected to the Pasadena School Board 2 years ago as a representative of all of the people in our school district, without the aid of any party or political group. I am strictly free and independent and have scrupulously maintained this relationship by avoiding identifying myself with pressure groups. I have tried to extend the same courtesy and attention to all.

Now that our recent tax election has passed, insuring our educational program for the forthcoming year, a great weight of concern has been lifted from our minds. The success of the election here was basic to our local situation as it clearly demonstrated and proved beyond a doubt that our people, parents, businessmen, taxpayers alike, are intelligent, anxious to support their public schools and have confidence in our present school administration—as overwhelmingly so as they repudiated the administration of a year ago. Now many questions can be answered without danger concerning the events of the past year here. John Quincy Adams once said, "There is nothing so powerful as the truth and often nothing stranger." As to the events relative to our former school administrator, that the board of education trustees after much consideration would

deliberately choose without reason, the course of action they did, so perilous to their personal interests and integrities, is unthinkable. That there might have been considerations, other than personal ones, inimical to our educational program and philosophies, few people were aware of at the time. It's rather a long story, so we will begin by showing how our educational system of free public schools is legally constituted.

Our educational system, like our political systems, has evolved over a period of many years and is based on the democratic principle "of the people, by the people, and for the people." Since it was purposely omitted from the Federal Constitution, it is a prerogative of the State. It has its checks and balances with ultimate authority vested in all of the people, who elect a board of lay citizens to represent them. Thus being responsible to the people this board is charged by law with certain duties, chiefly policy and finance. Although education is considered a State function, that the schools belong to the people of each community is attested by the fact that these people organize themselves within local school districts, each with its own board. To support their school districts, the people tax themselves ad valorem, with some aid coming from State educational appropriations. This gives the people every right, as long as they are paying the bill, to decide what their schools should be. "The schools belong to the people, not the board, nor the educators, nor the students, but to all the people."

The board of education, being lay citizens, must and should delegate all functions to professionals trained in their respective fields. The most important position to be filled is the office of superintendent of schools. This person must be well qualified in the elements of administration and education, not solely in one or the other but in both. As an administrator here he has control of many millions of dollars to be spent annually either wisely or unwisely. As his educational philosophies are to be used in the education of the children of the people of this district, they have an inherent right to know and understand them. This is what the board is for: to act, in effect, as a mirror; to reflect the thinking and actions of the superintendent to the people and the thinking and actions of the people to the superintendent. This relationship between all parties is a vital one requiring mutual confidence and respect. Any subversion or breakdown subjects the whole system to failure, and results in failure for the administrator and suspicion and hostility on the part of the people, who have no choice but to take it out on the board who hires the superintendent. Therefore, one does not have to use much imagination to see that any strong-willed superintendent could put over his own program if he were able to subvert or divide his board or undermine and weaken it into a virtual rubber stamp. Brilliant but unscrupulous educators, with their dynamic speeches in educational jargon, have no trouble selling their people first, who, preoccupied with the business of life, sincerely want to believe but who cannot spare the time to check up on the speaker's statements. Usually they sound quite reasonable and harmless yet within them may be implications noticed only by a few of the astute. Surely, we all want good schools; we all want peace, too; but do we all have the same price in mind? The policy of going over the heads of the board to the people, by the superintendent, although fine at first, eventually bogs down when the people fail to keep up with him and his enervated board is not there to mediate and interpret for him.

So it was that what happened in Pasadena has happened in many other of the surrounding towns and school districts: Glendale, Los Angeles, Inglewood, etc. But the question is asked: If superintendents are relieved as a matter of course all around us, why then the battle royal in Pasadena, assuming national proportions with the focus of as much unfavorable publicity as could possibly be brought to bear? In other districts there have been divided boards, superintendent contracts paid off in advance—sometimes 2 in 1 year—superintendents have violated their code of ethics by going over the heads of their boards to the people, have preached democracy openly and practiced autocracy behind the scenes, yes, even boards have been submerged by ground swells of public opinion, but no national implications were involved. Why then did Pasadena, almost overnight, become involved in a cataclysm of strife, bitterness, name calling, smearing, and defamation of character, an emotional binge of such proportions that it defies description? Why did experts fly here from their bastions in eastern cities to investigate and cross-question us? Why did telegrams in criticism of the board's action arrive from almost every national teachers' and administrators' organization? Why did the national periodicals, such as *Life* and *Time* portray the martyrdom of an individual without taking the trouble

to get the facts on both sides of the question? How did we rate so highly that a national publishing house would send their top-flight authors here to write a book portraying our Pasadena people and their representatives as villains, idiots, and stupid fools and yet the president of this same publishing house refused an interview and admitted he was not the least bit interested in hearing the other side from one who made the trip to New York, at her own expense, for that purpose? What power so great is it that can persuade the president of such a venerable institution as Harvard University to promulgate his verdict solely on hearsay? Yes; even Winchell as well as other newspapers and periodicals parroted his example with the same unscientific approach. And lastly, why was it that the original report of the National Education Association Commission for the Defense of Democracy was ready for release last April and has not to date made its appearance?

Well, I can remember not so long ago how we used to listen patiently and smile indulgently when some crackpot would suggest that Pasadena's school system was being made a guinea pig for the Nation. Our smile has become a wee bit wry now. Is it possible that Pasadena which always prided itself on having the very best of everything, and which combed the whole country for the top-flight administrator, was sold a bill of goods? Is it possible that our board, goaded, harassed, and frustrated with administrative errors and failures, too numerous to mention, inadvertently upset a timetable? That perhaps in our blundering way we fired the heir-apparent? Is it possible, after all, that there is a blueprint for nationalization of our schools with its attendant regimentation and slight fee for handling?

In answer to these questions, certain facts stand out distinct and vividly. Pasadenans had the nerve to demand their rights. The right to adhere to the laws of the State educational code, in spirit as well as the letter, and, secondly, the right to question what was being taught to their children. In the first instance, the board was required to take action to correct; in the second case, involving philosophies of education, only the citizens took issue with the program, the board assuming the position of arbitrator. Here is where the term "progressive education" came in.

Again stating that I am not a technician on educational philosophies, that I believe in modern methods and I realize that times are changing I would like only to reflect here some of the thinking that others have made known to me on so-called progressive education.

In the first place war times are not normal times. Our people are filled with fear and anxiety. They know that sinister influences and ideologies are seeking to subvert and undermine our national and cultural institutions. Iconoclasts have succeeded in tearing down and destroying many of our ancient monuments and landmarks. Individualism and self-determination concepts are being discredited and debased as selfish and not sympathetic to the welfare of society. In many quarters such watchwords as thrift and private enterprise are blacklisted. No wonder then are our people confused by the cannottations of "teaching the whole child," "learning what we live," and "no indoctrination for good or bad." Some believe that in taking possession of the "whole child" schools invade the realm of the home and church, further weakening them where their influences should be strengthened; that individualism stems from the home and that complete socialization of the child at school would level and submerge individualism and personal initiative. They say it is hard to be an individual now that we are caught in the whirlpool of "isms." Nazism—putting the race first; communism—the class first; and with fascism, the state taking precedence over the individual. All we come out with is a social-security number. This was certainly not the idea of our Founding Forefathers had in mind. Also where will we expect to find moral and spiritual values if the home is superseded? There has been a great lessening of emphasis on these values in our training institutions lately and with the Bible practically shut out of our schools, some people attempt to stigmatize them as godless.

Next, "to learn what we live" is most discouraging. None of us are quite satisfied with our lives. What then must we expect from children subjected to this materialistic age and bombarded by movie, television, and funny book containing the suggestions of every conceivable type of crime? Should they not be spared even from the example we set for them in our bars and night clubs? Never has secular knowledge reached such new heights and human folly such new lows. "Art for art's sake," "business for business' sake," and "education for education's sake." And lastly, not being able to "teach for good" raises many an eyebrow. Just how can we expect our children to enjoy "the good life"

without being able to identify it to them in terms of high ethics and principles, is a mystery to most. Naturally, our children must adjust themselves to present conditions but the increasing ratio of penal and mental institutions does not speak so well for present systems.

Totalitarianism is our public enemy No. 1 of today. Many of the ideological "isms" are not so dangerous per se except wherein they insist on being totalitarian. Each would destroy all other competing "isms." That is what makes them dangerous. They can't stand competition. Could it be that we face this same type of enemy in education—totalitarianism? When anyone who has the nerve to question faddism, unsatisfactory teaching methods, ill-disciplined students, and the crackpot antics of school executives is smeared as an enemy of public education, is it not time to alert the people who own the schools? Also those who have reason to be concerned about subversive and communistic influences within our schools get the same treatment—smear attacks and intimidation. Without doubt there are subversives in the public schools of America. Where would you go to gain control of the minds of youth but to the schools? Subversive activity and influence in a school system can be so clever, well concealed, and dangerous that it often fools the better informed and responsible leaders of the community, often enlisting them as gullible noncommunistic dupes. Although I am loath to believe there are any in our Pasadena schools, many of us have been the victims of commie types of intimidation and persecution. They always use the characteristic defense of smear agitation tactics.

If you notice this same procedure is used against the regents of our great State university where topflight educators complain that loyalty oaths restrict their academic freedom. Anyone who will take the trouble to read the book supplement of the June 1951 Reader's Digest entitled "Eleven Years in Soviet Prison Camps" may well wonder what price freedom, academic or otherwise. In my opinion, their complaint is nothing else but the age-old apathy of the employee to take orders from the boss. Of course, they are perfectly willing to reach into the public purse, but these petty inhibitions irk them. All of us need to reaffirm our faith in the things that made America great; it is good for us. It is possible to change faith overnight. Recently one of our fine local educators expressed surprise that the law required a minister to take the oath before he could collect an honorarium for his commencement speech. Why should a minister be immune? Isn't he human, an American and entitled to the same privileges as any of the rest of us? Very frankly, I would be willing to reaffirm my faith daily as a prayer of thanksgiving for the blessings I receive in this free land of ours.

Therefore, these reports that the loyalty oath make our teachers nervous, uncertain, and fills them with anxiety only fill me with amusement. Any teacher who is worried has a very good right to be, as every honest teacher knows he is safe and secure by his tenure and his rights as a citizen, which every one of us will fight to keep secure for him.

Concerning the book *This Happened in Pasadena*, we must not give all the discredit to author Hulburd. He only compiled it. Several of the writers we know of live right here in Pasadena, some within our schools and some outside. They will never be molested. They will only have to live with themselves. One, an official of one of our local civic organizations, when making a speech before a service club here, was so brazen as to publicly lament and deplore the unfavorable publicity the book occasioned here and at the same time virtually recommended the book. Hypocrisy is not to be found only in low places.

As to our educational program here in Pasadena I believe the future looks brighter and clearer. Never again do we have to be a national battleground. Let us never again buy a pig in a poke. Let us search and develop our talent within our own system which we know intimately and they know what we want. That a man has no honor in his own country is an exploded myth. Truly, we want the best; but whose word are we to take for what is the best? It is true that some very good board members have been expended here for the best interests of our schools, people whose allegiance to our children transcended all personal considerations. Who chose to retire rather than prolong any controversy that might possibly jeopardize the recent tax election? To them I bow in deep respect as only another board member could appreciate the poignancy of their position. Time will reveal them as exemplary public benefactors. To avoid the sacrifice of others, perhaps our successors, I have given considerable thought and attention, especially, to our board routines and procedures. I feel there could be a marked improvement by identifying in print a simplified code of board policies and rules which when circulated, would not only be informative to our people but would be of inestimable value to our new board members. I am busy now on this codification and believe it will eventually be a valued contribution.

As to free public education on the national scene, in light of what has happened to us here, I am not so optimistic and I prophesy that we will, with increasing frequency, hear of similar situations like Pasadena's, where the enemies of education dared to criticize ineptness, faddism, and the tolerance of leftists antics in their school systems. True, public education has always had its enemies, and always will, but we must keep open the market place of competitive thought and opinion. Our powerful national lobby and pressure educational organizations with their altruistic sounding titles, impressive personalities and who consider themselves sacrosanct in the field of education, must beware that they do not become guilty of the same despotism they attempt to lay at the door of others. With foundations and war chests of millions at their disposal it is very easy to forget that children come first. As an example let me read you an excerpt from the New York Times, May 12, 1951:

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"It calls upon citizens throughout the United States to oppose attacks on public education; and upon education projects in furtherance of the ideals of this Nation and the purposes of UNESCO. A National Education Association investigation in Pasadena had shown that a redistricting had brought a block of Mexican children into two new junior high schools, which was protested by a school development council."

Please note that the article is not even correct. It was not a block of Mexican children; neither did it involve two junior high schools; nor did the school development council protest it. However, for propaganda purposes it may have been more expedient to use them. It should be remembered that the power to oppress others always contains within it the seed to destroy itself.

In closing let me say that controversies concerning educational practices and systems demand research, technical information, legal and financial experience. No one group or faction can meet a local situation that is troublesome and solve it effectively. It calls for a pooling of effort of all segments of the community. It is a time for clear thinking without animosities and petty jealousies. A time when we can meet together as good citizens.

In May 1903, Theodore Roosevelt said this of the qualifications of a good citizen:

"I ask that we see to it in our country that the line of division in the deeper matters of our citizenship be drawn, never between section and section, never between creed and creed, never, thrice never, between class and class; but that the line be drawn on the line of conduct, cutting through sections, cutting through creeds, cutting through classes; the line that divides the honest from the dishonest, the line that divides good citizenship from bad citizenship, the line that declares a man a good citizen if, and always if, he acts in accordance with the immutable law of righteousness, which has been the same from the beginning of history to the present moment and which will be the same from now until the end of recorded time."

