

TAX-EXEMPT FOUNDATIONS

THURSDAY, JUNE 3, 1954

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE TAX EXEMPT FOUNDATIONS,
Washington, D. C.

The special committee met at 10:20 a. m., pursuant to recess, in Room 304, House Office Building, Hon. Carroll Reece (chairman of the special committee) presiding.

Present: Representatives Reece (presiding), Goodwin, Hays, and Pfost.

Also Present: Rene A. Wormser, general counsel; Arnold T. Koch, associate counsel; Norman Dodd, research director; Kathryn Casey, legal analyst; John Marshall, chief clerk.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.

Mr. Wormser, who is your first witness?

Mr. WORMSER. Mr. McNiece will be the next witness, and Mr. Koch will interrogate him.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give in this proceeding shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. McNIECE. I do.

Mr. KOCH. Mr. Chairman, Mr. McNiece has prepared a statement on the interrelationships of foundations, education and government, and in that statement he will attempt to trace the flow of money, men and ideas between these three groups. Whether that is good or bad or any part of it is good or bad is something we may wish to determine at the close of the hearings after we have heard all the various points of view.

I would like to have Mr. McNiece read his statement and illustrate it with the chart as he goes along.

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed.

Mr. McNIECE. Mr. Chairman there is a question of procedure I would like to raise. This report consists largely of excerpts or quotations from documents and books. I believe we have a supply of them here for reference purposes. It would expedite this hearing materially if we could continue to read those excerpts from the manuscript without interruption to take the time to find the books. We have them here, and we are ready to do it in accordance with whatever the committee's wishes are.

The CHAIRMAN. You vouch for the accuracy?

Mr. McNIECE. Yes; if any question is raised at any time we will dig up the information.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, that will be the procedure.

Mr. McNIECE. One more statement I would like to make that concerns procedure. This report, as is indicated, is the initial staff report on relationships between foundations and education. It is dated May 20, 1954, because this was originally scheduled for presentation at that date, and upon that date copies of this document were given to all members of the committee.

This presentation will concern largely, if we follow the diagram, the area encompassed by foundations and the suspended educational units in the center, and then swinging around to the left. In other words, through the field of education. Later, a section of the report will cover the relationships principally between foundations and government as shown on the chart and then just a few moments devoted to closing the triangle by swinging across horizontally through the Federal or United States Office of Education.

Mr. KOCH. Does your present report only deal with the educational matter?

Mr. McNIECE. That is right. This section of the report.

That brings up the next statement I would like to make. We have prepared and ready for distribution to the members of the committee, and the only copies we have, of the so-called Economic Report and the Public Interest. They are ready today. The short intermediate section referring to relations between foundations and the government is in the course of preparation and mimeographing at this moment, because we have included data right up to the last minute. It is supposed that they will be ready for us by noon.

I want to make that statement in explanation of the fact that the whole thing is not ready for the committee as of this moment.

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed.

**STATEMENT OF THOMAS M. McNIECE, ASSISTANT RESEARCH
DIRECTOR, SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE TAX-EXEMPT
FOUNDATIONS**

PREFATORY STATEMENT

Mr. McNIECE. From the jungle of semantics various people may derive different interpretations from the same statement. In the simplest terms possible, we wish to say that in this report, regardless of other interpretations, we intend to draw no conclusions, but rather to portray such available facts as we have been able to gather on this complex subject. This report covers but one phase of the larger work that is being done.

Furthermore, we are not criticizing change as such. Rather does the evidence which will be offered seem to show that the pattern is one of evolving collectivism, the ultimate aim of several varieties of political thought with different names and a common objective.

To explain our reference to a common objective, we wish to quote from the sources indicated a number of statements on this subject.

Report of the Joint Legislative Committee Investigating Seditious Activities, filed in New York State, 1920. I believe that was known as the Lusk committee.

In the report here presented the committee seeks to give a clear, unbiased statement and history of the purposes and objects, tactics and methods, of the various forces now at work in the United States . . . which are seeking to undermine and destroy, not only the government under which we live, but also the very structure of American society;

. . . In the section of this report dealing with American conditions, the committee has attempted to describe in detail the various organizations masquerading as political parties, giving the principles and objects for which they stand, as well as methods and tactics they employ in order to bring about the social revolution.

In every instance the committee has relied upon the so-called party or organization's own statements with respect to these matters . . .

Those (organizations) representing the Socialist point of view are the Socialist Party of America, the Communist Party of America, the Communist Labor Party, and the Socialist Labor Party. Each of these groups claim to be the most modern and aggressive body representing Marxian theories.

A study of their platforms and official pronouncements shows that they do not differ fundamentally in their objectives . . .

These organizations differ but slightly in the means advocated to bring about the social revolution . . . they differ slightly in the matter of emphasis . . .

League for Industrial Democracy: Definition of "Democracy", New Frontiers, Vol. IV, No. 4, June 1936:

The fight for democracy is at one and the same time also a fight for socialism, democracy, to be sure, rests on liberty, but its substance is equality . . .

But finally, equality is social equality. 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.

Democratic Socialism by Roger Payne and George W. Hartman, 1948, page 77.

These men are English authors.

In the socialist society of the future there will be two things in which it will be fundamentally different from the present society. One of these is collective ownership of the means of production and distribution; the other is a complete democracy under which the political, economic, social and international life will be complete democratized.

The Socialist Call (official Organ of the Socialist Party) April 1954, page 5 :

Socialists regard the capitalist system of private property relations, with its complex, disputable, sometimes unfathomable inner economic laws and relationships, as a wall that stands between humanity and its goals in economic affairs, between man and his bread and peace of mind.

THE INTRODUCTION

On page A1161 of the appendix of the Congressional Record of February 15, 1954, there appears the copy of an article by Seymour E. Harris, professor of economics at Harvard University. This article is entitled, "The Old Deal," and appeared originally in the magazine Progressive in the issue of December 1953. We are quoting the first paragraph of this article :

In the 20 years between 1933 and 1953 the politicians, college professors, and lawyers, with a little help from business, wrought a revolution in the economic policies of the United States. They repudiated laissez-faire. They saw the simple fact that if capitalism were to survive, Government must take some responsibility for developing the Nation's resources, putting a floor under spending, achieving a more equitable distribution of income, and protecting the weak against the strong. The price of continuing the free society was to be limited intervention by Government.

Stepping backward for a span of 9 years, we wish to submit another quotation, this time from the issue of October 15, 1943, of the magazine Frontiers of Democracy, the successor to an earlier one to which reference will be made later and which was called "Social Frontier," Dr. Harold Rugg of teachers college, Columbia University, was the editor of the latter magazine and the author of the article from which this excerpt is made.

Thirteen months will elapse between the publication of this issue of Frontiers and the national election of 1944. In those months the American people must make one of the great decisions in their history. They will elect the President and the Congress that will make the peace and that will carry on the national productive system in the transition years. The decisions made by that Government, in collaboration with the British and Russian Governments, will set the mold of political and economic life for a generation to come. * * * 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. On such a frontier wisdom is the supreme need, rather than technological efficiency and physical strength in which our people are so competent.

We are strong enough but are we wise enough? We shall soon see for the testing moment is now. Our measure will be taken in these 13 months. 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.

We propose to offer evidence which seems to indicate that this "revolution" has been promoted. Included within this supporting evidence will be documented records that will show how the flow of money, men, and ideas combined to promote this so-called revolution just mentioned.

The money in large part came from the foundations. Men and ideas in a great measure came from the intellectual groups or societies supported by this money and found their way into the powerful agencies of education and Government. Here in these pivotal centers were combined the professors, the politicians, and the lawyers mentioned a moment ago.

Foundations, education, and Government form a triangle of influences, natural under the circumstances and certainly without criticism in itself as long as the three entities exist and the liaison is not abused or misused in the furtherance of questionable activities.

THE ORGANIZATION CHART

The nature of these threefold relationships can be most clearly and quickly illustrated by reference to the chart prepared for the purpose and entitled, "Relationships Between Foundations, Education, and Government." Let it be emphasized again that there is no element of criticism or condemnation to be inferred from this chart. It is what is commonly considered as a functional organization chart, and its purpose is to display graphically what it is difficult to describe, to see and to understand by verbal description only.

As previously suggested, the chart is basically in the form of a triangle with appended rectangles to indicate the functional activities in their relationship to each other. At the apex we have placed the foundations. At the lateral or base angles, on the left and right, respectively, are the educational and governmental members of the triad. Suspended from the rectangle representing the foundations are those representing the intellectual groups which are dependent to a large extent upon the foundations for their support.

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 24 constituent societies, the Social Science Research Council 7, the American Council on Education 79 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.

Mr. KOCH. May I suggest that this chart he refers to should be deemed in evidence and part of the record?

The CHAIRMAN. I so understood.

Mr. KOCH. Go ahead.

Mr. HAYS. Where will it be inserted, not that it makes any difference. Will it be at the end of his statement or at the middle?

Mr. KOCH. I should think right here where he is talking about it.

The CHAIRMAN. Under the caption "Organization Chart."

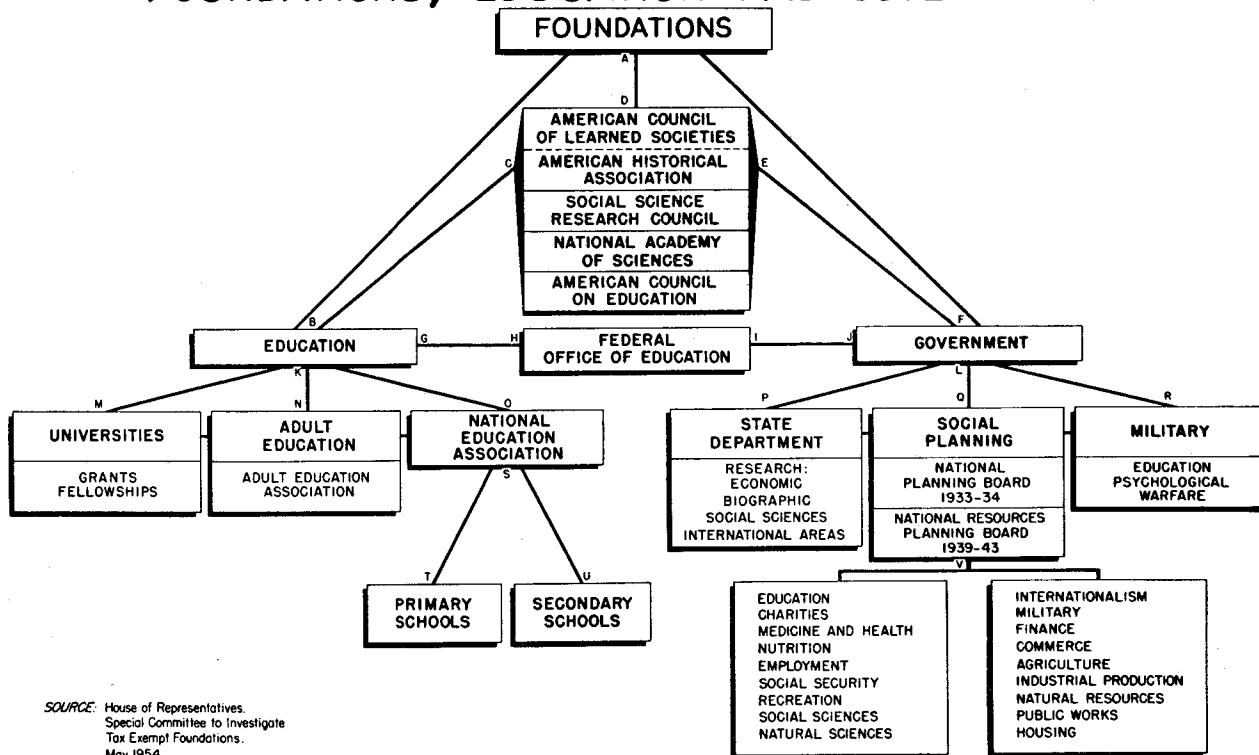
Mr. McNIECE. I would think that would be the natural place for it.

Mr. KOCH. Go ahead.

Mr. McNIECE. These types of intellectual societies 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.

For illustrative purposes, the following four societies are listed: American Council of Learned Societies, including the American His-

INTER-RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN FOUNDATIONS, EDUCATION AND GOVERNMENT



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

torical Association, Social Science Research Council, National Academy of Sciences, American Council on Education.

The four shown on the chart are enough to illustrate the relationship of such societies to the governmental and the other educational units shown on the chart. Furthermore, credit or appreciation has been expressed by both educational and governmental circles for aid received from each of these four organizations.

Below the rectangle representing education appear the various branches of the educational effort. To avoid undue complexity, no attempt has been made here or at any other points on the chart to portray any but the principal areas of operation. Under the governmental function a few divisions of activity are shown. These are confined to the executive branches of Government where the greatest changes have occurred.

INTERPRETATION OF THE CHART

The lines connecting the various rectangles on the chart symbolize the paths followed in the flow or interchange of money, men, and ideas as previously mentioned. The focal point of contacts between these connecting lines and the rectangles are lettered somewhat in the manner used in textbooks of geometry and trigonometry in order to facilitate identification and reference in describing the existing relationships. Finally, this chart as a whole will be useful in locating the areas in which we have found evidence of questionable procedure against what we deem to be public interest.

Leaving the chart for a few moments, we shall refer to certain information derived from the record of the Cox committee hearing.

INFORMATION FROM THE COX COMMITTEE HEARING

Reference to the record shows that definite orders were issued in Soviet circles to infiltrate "all strata of western public opinion" in an effort to accomplish two objectives: one, to penetrate and utilize intellectual circles for the benefit of the Soviet cause and two, to gain access to foundation funds to cover the cost of such effort. Testimony of Messrs. Bogolepov and Malkin described firsthand knowledge of these instructions. Testimony of Mr. Louis Budenz confirmed this, even to listing the names of committee members appointed to accomplish this objective. Testimony of Mr. Manning Johnson added further confirmation of these facts and in addition provided the names of certain individuals who had succeeded in penetrating or receiving grants from several of the foundations.

Evidence of actual Communist entry into foundation organizations is supplied in the Cox committee record. This testimony involves at least seven foundations, namely, 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.

Mr. HAYS. Could I interrupt there?

Mr. McNIECE. Certainly.

Mr. HAYS. I don't want to make a habit of this, because I agreed not to. I want to know if those are the only foundations that the staff found any evidence of Communist infiltration?

Mr. McNIECE. That is the only ones I found. I may have overlooked some in the mass, but it was not intentional.

Mr. HAYS. In other words, you did not find any in the Big Four or Big Three?

Mr. McNIECE. No. I think there was some varying testimony on that which will come out later.

The tax-exempt status of the Robert Marshall Foundation was revoked by the Internal Revenue Bureau and the Rosenwald Fund, which was one of limited life, was liquidated in 1948 in accordance with the date specified by the founder.

Reference to the Cox committee record shows that some 95 individuals and organizations with leftist records or affiliations admittedly received grants from some of our foundations. These were divided as follows:

Rockefeller Foundation, 26
 Carnegie Corporation, 35
 Russell Sage Foundation, 1
 Wm. C. Whitney Foundation, 7
 Marshall Field Foundation, 6
 John Simon Guggenheim Foundation, 5
 Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 15

A total of 95.

It should be clearly understood that there is no significance to be attached to the numerical differences or comparisons in the foregoing list. There are too many variables involved to warrant any conclusions whatever on relative performance among the foundations listed. Among these are the differing number of grants made and the varying opportunities for thorough search or screening of the records involved.

This list does not include all the grants of this character that were made. At this time we are not concerned with the question as to whether or not the foundations knew or could have found out about the questionable affiliations of these grantees before the grants were made. The fact is, the funds were given to these people. This is the important point of interest to us. These grants were made to professors, authors, lecturers, educational groups, and so forth, and all virtually without exception were included within educational circles. It should be obvious that with the passage of time, the activity of this many people and organizations dedicated to spreading the word in the educational field, would have an influence all out of measurable proportion to the relative value and number of grants. This influence is increasing and will continue to increase unless it is checked.

PERSONNEL AND ADVISORY SERVICES FROM HIGH LEVEL

During the last 20 years and especially in the last decade, the Government has made increasing demands upon the educational world for assistance from academic groups or societies. As will be brought out later in the documented records, it is from these centralized and interlocking educational groups that much of the influence which we question has arisen.

To indicate the magnitude of these sources of influence a few matters of record may be mentioned.

The National Planning Board requested aid from the Social Science Research Council in compiling a section of one of their planning reports. A committee from the Social Science Research Council actually prepared this section of the report. The creation of this committee for the purpose is described in the annual report for the Social Science Research Council for 1933-34. The National Planning Board rendered a final report for 1933-34. On page 54 of this report is the following caption: "The Aid Which the Social Sciences Have Rendered and Can Render to National Planning, June 1934."

Immediately below this is the phrase:

Memorandum prepared for the National Planning Board by a committee of the Social Science Research Council.

In 1950, the Russell Sage Foundation published a booklet entitled, "Effective Use of Social Science Research in the Federal Services." On page 5 of this report is the following statement to which we have added some italic:

This pamphlet has been written because the Federal Government has become the outstanding employer of social scientists and consumer of social science materials in the conduct of practical affairs. *Expenditures of the Federal Government for social science research projects, either under direct governmental auspices or under contract with private agencies, and for personnel in administrative capacities having command of social science knowledge, far exceed the amount given by all the philanthropic foundations for similar purposes.*

Further evidence of the importance placed on this source of aid in governmental operations is offered in the following extracts from the annual reports of the Rockefeller Foundation wherein they refer to the granting of a total of \$65,000 to facilitate planning for adequate supply of personnel qualified for "high level work" in public affairs and education.

On page 313 of the 1949 annual report, the following statement appears:

American council of Learned Societies Personnel in Humanities. Careful planning to assure a steady supply of people qualified for high-level work is needed in public affairs as well as in education and institutional research. Considerations of national welfare have led a number of governmental agencies to ask how many specialists of particular kinds now exist, how they can be located and whether they are now being replaced or increased in number.

Another reference appears on page 412 of the annual report for 1951. It follows herewith:

American Council of Learned Societies—Personnel in the Humanities. During the last several years extensive studies have been made of the demands for and the possible supply in the United States of personnel with unusual academic training. Because of the importance of having the humanities adequately represented in such studies, the Rockefeller Foundation in 1949 made a grant of \$31,000 to the American Council of Learned Societies to permit the addition to its staff of Mr. J. F. Wellemeier, Jr., as staff adviser on personnel studies. In view of the effective work done by the staff adviser, the Rockefeller Foundation in 1951 made an additional 2-year grant of \$34,000 for continuation of this activity.

In the foregoing record from the annual report of the Rockefeller Foundation for 1949 is the very clear statement of the need for an adequate supply of personnel sufficiently qualified in the humanities for public affairs, education and institutional research. In itself

there should be no criticism of this objective. It does, however, seem to confirm that much of the influence which we are discussing comes from highly centralized sources. This naturally increases the opportunity to effectuate highly coordinated plans in all affected areas of activities and functions. Any criticism that arises should be directed to the final product or end result of this liaison. If such end results are harmful or opposed to the public interest all who have participated in the development of the situation should share the responsibility, and especially if such activities and their support are continued.

Inasmuch as the term "public interest" will be used in this report from time to time, it will be well to define it in the sense that it is used in this section of the report of the staff committee. The same conception of the public interest is used in the economic section of the staff's report. Public interest is difficult to define but for the purpose of this study, we can probably do no better than to refer to the preamble of the Constitution of the United States wherein it is stated that the Constitution is established—

in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity.

Mr. HAYS. Mr. McNiece, right there, maybe we ought to mark that passage, because I think the "promote the general welfare" clause is going to be a pretty debatable thing when we get into it.

Mr. McNIECE. I think so.

Mr. HAYS. You don't have a staff definition of that?

Mr. McNIECE. Of public welfare?

Mr. HAYS. Of general welfare.

Mr. McNIECE. I think it encompasses a great many activities which will come out later perhaps outside the pale of enumerated powers.

The last three words in the foregoing quotation impose a responsibility for the future upon us of the present. Later, as we approach the lower right-hand angle, we will have occasion to introduce formally the report on economics and the public interest. It will be tied up especially with the rectangle indicated as "social planning."

We would now like to offer the supplement, which is very brief, entitled, "Supplement to the Initial Staff Report on Relationship Between Foundations and Education."

The ensuing financial data will give some idea of the great amount of funds and their distribution made available in the educational field by a few of the larger foundations.

The statement is by no means complete. In fact it contains the contributions of only six of the larger foundations where the specific beneficiaries are named.

These six are as follows:

The Carnegie Corporation of New York
 The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
 The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching
 The Rockefeller Foundation
 The General Education Board
 The Ford Foundation (two instances only)

Great benefit has unquestionably resulted to all mankind from the contributions of these and other foundations and there is no intention to gainsay or minimize this or to detract from the credit due the foundations for these benefits.

What this investigation does seem to indicate is that many small grants have found their way into questionable hands and many large ones in points of concentrated use have been devoted to purposes that are promoting a departure from the fundamental concepts of education and government under our Constitution. That this may be recognized by those engaged in such activities is indicated by the frequent references in their own literature to the "age of transition" through which we are passing, and the responsibility that must be assumed by educators in leading the way. No one in full possession of his faculties should oppose change for the better but change for the sake of change alone may prove to be a dangerous delusion.

The following record has been summarized from the annual reports of the foundations previously named :

Associations receiving grants	Period	Amount
American Council on Education.....	1920-52	\$6, 119, 700
American Historical Association.....	1923-52	574, 800
American Council of Learned Societies.....	1924-52	5, 113, 800
Council on Foreign Relations.....	1923-52	3, 064, 800
Foreign Policy Association.....	1933-51	1, 938, 000
Institute of International Education.....	1929-52	2, 081, 100
Institute of Pacific Relations.....	1929-52	3, 843, 600
National Academy of Sciences (including National Research Council).....	1915-52	20, 715, 800
National Education Association.....	1916-52	1, 229, 000
Progressive Education Association.....	1932-43	4, 287, 800
Social Science Research Council.....	1925-52	11, 747, 600
Total.....		60, 686, 000

NOTE.—The foregoing grants follow the lines A.D, thence CB on the chart.

Specific university grants	Period	Amount
London School of Economics.....	1929-52	\$4, 105, 600
Teachers' College—Columbia University.....	1923-52	8, 398, 176
Lincoln School—Columbia University.....	1917-52	6, 821, 100

NOTE.—The foregoing grants follow the line AB on chart.

Grants by the Rockefeller Foundation (derived from a consolidated report of the Rockefeller Foundations) and the General Education Board combined to universities and including only the totals to the ten largest beneficiaries of each of the two foundations in each State of the United States :

	Period	Amount
To universities.....	1902-51	\$256, 553, 493
Total fellowship grants.....	1902-51	33, 789, 569
Total.....		290, 343, 026

According to our compilations, the Carnegie Corp. has contributed to all educational purposes, from 1911 to 1950, approximately \$25,300,000.

(These grants follow the line AB on the chart.)

These data are representative of the conditions which they disclose. It has been difficult to assemble these figures in the manner shown in

the time available. If there are any errors in the compilation, we firmly believe that they minimize the contributions.

A PRODUCT OF FOUNDATION SUPPORT

On the organization chart previously discussed, the American Council of Learned Societies is the first group listed under the "Clearing House" designation. One of the constituent societies of this Council is the American Historical Society and it is separately shown as such because it has a most prominent role in our investigation. Under this association was formed a Commission on Social Studies. Its plans and objectives can be most fairly stated by quoting from the official report of the association. The following statement appears on page 47 of the annual report of this association:

The study advocated is to comprise a collection of general statistical information, the determination of specific objectives, the organization of content, in the light of these objectives for teaching purposes, the methods of instruction and testing and of the preparation of teachers. An extensive personnel and 5 years of work were required by this plan. Means for its execution are now being sought.

The idea just expressed originated in a report in 1926 by a Committee of History and Other Studies in the Schools.

The "means" for the execution of the plan were supplied by the Carnegie Corp. In a series of six annual grants extending from 1928 to 1933, inclusive, this foundation supplied a total sum of \$340,000 to the American Historical Association for the use of the Commission on Social Studies formed to carry out the recommendations of the Committee on History and Other Studies in the Schools.

As finally completed, the report of this committee was published in 16 separate sections. The 16th and final volume of the report was published by Scribners in May 1934. It is entitled, "Report of the Commission on the Social Studies—Conclusions and Recommendations of the Commission."

It is with this final volume of conclusions and recommendations that the staff committee is concerned. It covers a tremendous field of recommendation and application actively in process as of this day. Support for this latter statement will be introduced later.

Much of this last volume is devoted to recommendations of technical moment covering content and teaching technique. These are not pertinent to our problem. Those which do apply to our study of the case are quoted hereafter under the subheadings and paragraph numbers as they appear in the book (pp. 16–20).

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE COMMISSION ON SOCIAL STUDIES

8. Under the molding influence of socialized processes of living, drives of technology and science, pressures of changing thought and policy, and disrupting impacts of social 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.

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.

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 pri-

vate 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.

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.

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.

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.

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D. CHOICES DEEMED POSSIBLE AND DESIRABLE

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 * * *

THE REDISTRIBUTION OF POWER

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.

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APPENDIX A—NEXT STEPS

1. The commission has, for reasons already given, rejected the idea that there is one unequivocal body of subject matter, one unequivocal organization of materials, and one unequivocal method of teaching which, when combined, will guarantee the realization in instruction of the broad purposes set forth above. It was not instructed to provide a detailed syllabus and set of textbooks to be imposed on the school system of the country. Had it been so instructed it would have found the mandate incompatible with its fundamental conclusion that the frame of reference is the primary consideration and that many methods of organizing materials and teaching are possible and desirable within the accepted frame.

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.

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, college 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.

4. The American Historical Association, in cooperation with the National Council on the Social Studies, has arranged to take over *The Historical Outlook*¹ (a journal for social-science teachers), has appointed a board of editors chosen in part from the members of this commission, and has selected for the post of managing editor, W. G. Kimmel, who has been associated with this commission as executive secretary for 5 years and is thoroughly conversant with its work and its conclusions. The purpose of the *Outlook* under the new management will be to supply current materials, to encourage experimentation in the organization of materials, to stimulate thought and experimentation among teachers and schools, to report projects and results of experimentation, and generally to furnish as rapidly as possible various programs of instruction organized within the frame of reference outlined by the commission.

5. The writers of textbooks may be 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, bringing varied talents and methods and arts to bear upon it. Thus the evil effects of any stereotype may be avoided.

6. Makers of programs in the social sciences in cities, towns, and States may be expected to evaluate the findings and conclusions of this report and to recast existing syllabi and schemes of instruction in accordance with their judgment respecting the new situation.

7. If the findings and conclusions of this commission are really pertinent to the educational requirements of the age, then colleges and universities offering courses of instruction for teachers will review their current programs and provide for prospective teachers courses of instruction in general harmony with the commission's frame of reference.

¹ Hereafter to be called *The Social Studies*

8. The same may be said of special institutions for the training of teachers. It is not too much to expect in the near future a decided shift in emphasis from the mechanics and techniques of methodology to the content and function of courses in the social sciences, thus guaranteeing a supply of teachers more competent to carry out the philosophy and purpose here presented.

9. A similar transfer of emphasis may be expected in the field of educational journalism, resulting in a consideration, criticism, and application of the fundamental philosophy of education formulated in this volume.

10. If the present report aids in bringing about a persistent concentration of thought on the central issues, findings, and conclusions of the commission, it will help to clear up the confusion now so prevalent in the educational world and give direction to powers now wasted in formalistic debates on methods and techniques.

11. In fine, the commission has felt bound, by the terms of its instructions and the nature of the subject entrusted to its consideration, to provide a frame of reference for the orientation of philosophy and purpose in education, rather than a bill of minute specifications for guidance. In so doing, it is convinced that unless the spirit is understood and appreciated any formulation of the latter will hamper rather than facilitate the fulfillment of the commission's offering.

It would seem that the nature of these conclusions and recommendations is expressed with sufficient clarity and force to need no further interpretation from us. It will be important, however, to show how these ideas have been put into operation and are in operation today as far as it has proven possible of accomplishment. It is our plan through the introduction of documented evidence from various authoritative sources to show how these recommendations have been channeled through the activities in education and government. While the trails criss-cross and are somewhat devious we shall try as far as is feasible to analyze the trend in education first and to follow with a similar effort in government.

Before undertaking this, it should be of interest to quote from the record to show the appraisal by the Carnegie Corp. itself of the product for which they had granted the considerable sum of \$340,000. We find no word of criticism or dissent in the following statement which appears on page 28 of the annual report of the president and the treasurer of the Carnegie Corp. of New York for 1933-34.

The conclusions and recommendations of the commission on the social studies appointed by the American Historical Association appeared in May, 1934. That the 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. The complete report of the committee will comprise 16 volumes, a list of which will be found in the appendix, page 67.

A somewhat different and more descriptive appraisal of this report is offered by Dr. Ernest Victor Hollis, in his book entitled, "Philanthropic Foundations and Higher Education." Doctor Hollis is Chief of college administration in the United States Office of Education, Washington, D. C.

The following statement is quoted from page 61 of this book:

Today they (the foundations) have a vital part in practically every type of progressive educational experiment under way in America. Possibly there has been no more radical and forward-looking study of the American scene than is presented in the sixteen-volume report of the Social Studies Commission of the American Historical Association which was begun in 1927 and very recently completed. The report demands a radical change in many of the major premises underlying our social, economic, and cultural life.

Another comment of interest regarding this report is quoted from "The Turning of the Tides", part II, by Paul W. Shafer, Member of Congress, page 30.² This was published in 1953.

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 Prof. 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."

EVALUATION OF THE EVIDENCE

Before undertaking a more detailed analysis of the influences working in the educational world, we wish to say emphatically and to have it understood clearly that our evidence is not directed toward nor does it indict our large educational staff, the hundreds of thousands of teachers and supervisors whose merit and loyalty are beyond all question. Let no one overlook this.

We are differentiating between this widely distributed educational staff and the top level centers of influence in which educational plans and policies are formulated.

There is in every operating unit, be it factory, office, union, council, or association a method or fashion of work that is determined by policies originating at the top. Were it not so, the organization would soon disintegrate. So it is in the world of education and government.

Perhaps, as this pertains to the field of education, the principle and its application can be well illustrated by quotation from some observations by the Ford Foundation. These quotations, as will be noted, emphasize the importance of concentrated effort for maximum results.

From the Fund for Advancement of Education, annual report 1951-52, page 6:

In an effort to be useful at too many points in the whole system of education it could easily fall into what an early officer of the Rockefeller Foundation called "scatteration giving" and thus fail to be of any real value to education anywhere. *Given limited resources, selection was inevitable. Given a desire to be of maximum usefulness, concentration was essential.*

Referring to a survey on military education (p. 24):

This survey made clear that the effectiveness of educational work in any military location depends very largely on the degree of importance which the commanding officer attaches to it and the interest and competence of the officers conducting it. It seemed clear, therefore, that the preparation of officers to assume responsibility for education in the military services was *the key to effectiveness of orientation programs. The fund plans, therefore upon request from the Office of Defense, to support pilot projects for introducing into the programs of ROTC units substantial preparation for leadership in the kind of education appropriate in the military forces of a democracy.*

² See also Congressional Record, March 21, 1952.

From the report on the Behavioral Sciences Division of the Ford Foundation—June 1953 (p. 24) :

Accepting the diagnosis of a leading figure in the field—that “*training of a moderate number of first-rate people is in the present juncture far more urgent than that of a large number of merely competent people.*” The division took as a first step the development of plans for what came to be known as the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences.

Page 28 :

In sum, then, the Foundation's hope and expectation is significantly to advance the behavioral sciences—to *get farther faster*—through the temporary concentration at one place of the ablest scholars and the most promising younger people studying together in the most effective way that the state of the field now permits.

(Note.—All emphasis supplied.)

While we have noticed other references of similar nature and import in various places, there should be sufficient to support our view that the pattern is determined at the top. It is also obvious on slight consideration that in education as in government, the most effective megaphones and channels of communication are centralized in the same places. These thoughts should be kept in mind in the evaluation of the evidence as it will be presented.

There is another point for consideration that bears upon the excerpts which will be quoted later. Criticism is frequently made about distortion of meaning by lifting such quotations from context. This is sometimes true. In this case a consistent effort has been made to avoid such distortion and we believe we have succeeded. In any event full reference as to source is given and anyone who wishes to criticize may have access to the complete text if he wishes to be right before he comments. Furthermore, the confirming similarities of so many quotations from various sources should clearly mark the paths they follow.

Attention should be called to still another significant factor in this situation. It is the fact that most of the information submitted in these quotations appears and is available only in professional publications whose circulation is largely confined to those engaged in these professions. This results naturally in two things: One, the coordinated effectiveness within the professional groups is increased; two, relatively few of the citizenry outside these professional circles have any means of knowing what is developing and therefore of organizing any protest against it. In fact much of the meaning of some articles would be obscure to the average citizen because of the subtle approach and highly technical vocabulary.

This closely channeled flow of information should also be a concern of the trustees of the foundations. Men of unquestioned competence and integrity must often be selected as trustees for their proficiency and prestige in their chosen lines of work. They have little time in their busy lives for studious attention to the developments in the highly professional fields bearing little direct relation to their own responsibilities. If this be true, the problem posed should be searched for a solution.

In proceeding with an analysis of the application of the conclusions and recommendations of the Commission on Social Studies as

they specifically pertain to education, we wish to call attention to the emphasis given to the alleged transitional character of the present period. In addition to the previous quotations, the following excerpts also tend to confirm these views.

Page 647:

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.

That is from *Education for the New America*, by Williard E. Givens, in the proceedings of the 72d annual meeting of the National Education Association.

Mr. Givens was executive secretary of the National Education Association from 1935 to 1952. At the 79th annual convention of the American Association of School Administrators held February 14-19, 1953, at Atlantic City, N. J., the annual American education award was presented to Mr. Givens, "whose many contributions to the field of education are without parallel."

Page 125:

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.

"On the Agenda of Democracy," by C. E. Merriam, vice chairman, National Resources Planning Board, Harvard University Press, 1941.

EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP IN THE AGE OF TRANSITION

We find that the responsibilities of the leaders and teachers in the world of education are especially emphasized during this age of transition, as demonstrated in the final report, 16th volume, of the Commission on Social Studies as previously quoted on page 15.

In the midforties, the President appointed a Commission on Higher Education. Their conclusions and recommendations were reported in a series of six pamphlets in December 1947. Mr. George F. Zook, president of the American Council of Learned Societies, was chairman of this Commission.

In the Commission's reports they gave credit to the following organizations for aid received: American Council of Learned Societies, American Council on Education, National Research Council, Social Science Research Council, American Association of University Professors, and Association of Land Grant Colleges and Universities.

The following quotations are taken from the pages indicated in volume I of the Report of the President's Commission on Higher Education:

Page 6:

Education: Perhaps its most important role is to serve as an instrument of social transition, and its responsibilities are defined in terms of the kind of civilization society hopes to build.

Page 84:

Higher education must be alert to anticipate new social and economic needs, and to keep its programs of professional training in step with the requirements of a changing and expanding cultural, social, and economic order.

Page 85 :

Social forces have modified and are continuing to modify at an increasingly rapid rate, the context within which graduate schools must function, and readjustments of a fundamental nature are urgently necessary if these university units are not to block rather than advance the progress of education—and, through education, of the Nation.

With all the emphasis placed upon this age of transition and education's important part in it as typified by the foregoing quotations, and since we are deluged with the idea that change itself is progress, a note of interest is struck by another thought. It is that perhaps this agitation for and about change is only a temporary means to a different end—one of unchanging stability when certain objectives are reached.

As far in the past as 1918, the Intercollegiate Socialist for October-November 1918 published an article entitled, "The Minimum of Education," by Ellen Hayes. The ensuing quotation is the opening paragraph in that article :

Assuming the surplus wealth secured to the public for social purposes, how can a fraction of it be used educationally to promote and stabilize the common good ; and to this end, what is the irreducible minimum of education which must be guaranteed to every member of the national commonwealth ?

Volume I of the Report of the President's Commission on Higher Education also includes additional interesting comments :

Page 6 :

The efforts of individual institutions, local communities, the several states, the educational foundations and associations, the Federal Government will be more effective if they are directed toward the same general ends.

Page 16 :

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.

Page 20 :

There is an urgent need for a program for world citizenship that can be made a part of every person's general education.

Page 21 :

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.

Page 22 :

The colleges and universities, the philanthropic foundations, and the Federal Government should not be tempted by the prestige of natural science and its immediately tangible results into giving it a disproportionate emphasis in research budgets or in teaching programs. It is the peculiar responsibility of the colleges to train personnel and inaugurate extensive programs of research in social science and technology. To the extent that they have neglected this function in the past, they should concentrate upon it in the decades just ahead.

Page 23 :

Colleges must accelerate the normal slow rate of social change which the educational system reflects ; we need to find ways quickly of making the under-

standing and vision of our most farsighted and sensitive citizens the common possession of all our people.

Pages 38 and 39 :

Educational programs everywhere should be aimed at undermining and eventually eliminating the attitudes that are responsible for discrimination and segregation—at creating instead attitudes that will make education freely available to all.

Page 91 :

The detached, perceptive scholar, is still sorely needed—in increasing numbers and in all disciplines. But if higher education is to discharge its social obligations, scholars also are needed who have a passionate concern for human betterment, for the improvement of social conditions, and of relations among men. We need men in education who can apply at the point of social action what the social scientist has discovered regarding the laws of human behavior.

Page 92 :

It will be a little short of tragic if provision for social research is not included in the program of Federal support and organization planned under a National Science Foundation. Certainly the destiny of mankind today rests as much with the social sciences as with the natural sciences.

One of the members of the President's Commission on Higher Education was Horace M. Kallen who for years has been active in the educational field.

In the issue of *Progressive Education* for January–February, 1934, in an article called, *Can We Be Saved by Indoctrination?* Mr. Kallen says on the pages noted :

Page 55 :

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."

Page 56 :

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.

The milder Call says :

Teachers cannot evade the responsibility of participating actively in the task of reconstituting the democratic tradition and of thus working positively toward a new society.

The references to Mr. George Counts in the foregoing excerpts naturally bring to mind Teachers College of Columbia University and its group of contemporary professors, John Dewey, W. H. Kilpatrick, George Counts, and Harold Rugg, all identified actively for many years with educational organizations and activities of one form or another.

One of the students who graduated from Teachers College is Norman Woelfel. After attending State Normal School in Buffalo, N. Y., he entered Teachers College of Columbia University where he received his bachelor of science degree in 1923, his master of arts in 1924. After further work in study and teaching at other institutions including Johns Hopkins, he returned to Teachers College and in 1933, at the mature age of 38 years, received his degree of doctor of philosophy. His doctoral dissertation was entitled: "A critical review of the social attitudes of 17 leaders in American education."

At this point we wish to make it emphatically clear that we know of no grants from any foundation in the prosecution of this work. Other connections will be reviewed later that identify Mr. Woelfel with educational activities in a similar field.

This doctoral thesis, of which a copy is on file in the Congressional Library, was published as a book by the Columbia University Press under the title, "Molders of the American Mind." At least three printings were made which indicates a good circulation. It is based upon a review of social attitudes of 17 leaders in American education. The following excerpts are taken from the pages indicated.

The dedicatory page:

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.

Page 10:

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.

Page 26:

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.

Page 240:

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.

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.

1. The maturing of personal viewpoint by reading and discussion, by scrutiny of contemporary civilization, and by self-examination.

2. A continuing effort to clarify the vision of an educator's function in American civilization. In what degree does he carry the responsibility for controlled social evolution? To what extent is he more than a mere public servant engaged in carrying out orders issued by executives?

3. The blotting out of the "brass halo" which teachers have long suffered under. This means a will not to be affected by the slushy epithets of public apologists for existing social institutions and a will to assist youth constantly towards ready discernment of apologetics in any form.

4. Immersion into the budding native culture by steady enlargement and cultivation of professional and nonprofessional cultural opportunities available in the social environment. This is really the highest obligation of an intelligent teacher, because the value of any form of specialized professional endeavor can be gaged only by reference to the extent and depth of the individual's participation in, and appreciation of, existing social life.

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.

6. The thoroughgoing renovation of existing professional organizations of educators so that in aim and principle they shall be intelligently militant in criticism of all vested interests in society and similarly militant in support of evolving modern standards of value in all fields of human interest.

7. Amalgamation of existing professional educational organizations for the purpose of united action on all questions of broad social import at anytime before the public anywhere in the land.

8. Promotion of the spiritual solidarity of all classes of intellectuals in the interest of enlightening and possibly of guiding inevitable future mass movements within the population.

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.

10. A teacher-training program conceived in the light of the changing aims and functions of education in contemporary America. This implies the critical re-examination of all established precedents in teacher-training organization.

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.

12. The attitude of creative inquiry to be clearly recognized as essential in all people of the teaching profession. The trained specialists and the elaborate scientific technology of educational research, as conceived at present, to be made available as supplementary service agencies in the solution of the actual problems of teaching.

13. The incorporation of graduate and undergraduate schools of education into a general plan of public education, so that their resources in experts and in experimental facilities may be used effectively in continuing educational reconstruction.

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.

17. Gradual amalgamation of all cultural forces in community life, including industry, radio, motion pictures, newspapers, libraries, art galleries and museums, the theater, the opera, musical organizations, book publication, and the school itself into an educational program as wide and as continuous as life.

18. Such autonomy for every classroom teacher, from the nursery school through the university as accords with true artistic integrity. This implies that teachers shall be answerable for their professional conduct to their own professional organizations which, in turn, shall be fully responsible to the public.

19. The abolition of the present supervisory system in public education and its replacement by higher professional qualifications for teachers and by public teacher service bureaus equipped to continue on a voluntary basis the in-service education of teachers.

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.

22. Determination of all directly functional teaching aims in and during the educational process by reference to the needs and possibilities of pupils as determined by professionally qualified and socially conscious teachers.

The value of these extended excerpts might be questioned in this case were it not for the fact that so many of the suggestions conveyed in the foregoing paragraphs have their counterparts on the other side of the triangle in the field of governmental planning for the Nation.

In the January-February issue of the magazine, *Progressive Education* in 1934, there appeared an article called "The Educator, The New Deal, and Revolution," by Normal Woelfel. On the pages noted, the following statements appeared in this article.

Page 11:

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.

I would like to pause to call attention again to the phrase "in clever and undisturbing manner by a few individual leaders, no longer suits the occasion."

Page 12:

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.

I wish to state here that these quotations just given, as previously said, are from the magazine *Progressive Education*, a publication of the Progressive Education Association which has received at least \$4,258,000 from the foundations.

In October of 1934, the first issue of a new magazine appeared, entitled, "The Social Frontier." It was described as "A Journal of Educational Criticism and Reconstruction." George S. Counts was the editor and Mordecai Grossman and Norman Woelfel were the associate editors.

The first pages were devoted to editorials which were unsigned. There follows hereafter a copy of the material appearing on the cover page and after that excerpts from the editorials named on the pages noted.

Quoting the cover page we have :

THE SOCIAL FRONTIER—A JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL CRITICISM AND
RECONSTRUCTION

1776

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness (the Declaration of Independence).

1934

The age of individualism and laissez faire in economy and government is closing and a new age of collectivism is emerging (Report of the Commission on Social Studies of the American Historical Association).

In this issue: John Dewey, Charles A. Beard, Henry P. Fairchild, Sidney Hook, Goodwin Watson.

Volume I—October 1934—No. I—\$2 a year

Now quoting from page 3, Orientation :

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.

Mr. HAYS. Mr. McNiece, I have a question right there. Does that magazine still exist?

Mr. McNIECE. It ran for quite awhile, and the name of the association itself was changed subsequent to this. Then I was informed only yesterday, and I haven't had time to look it up, it was converted back to its original name. So far as the continuation of the magazine itself is concerned, I would have to check that.

Mr. HAYS. Well, if you have time during the lunch hour, would you check that?

The reason I interrupted you, I wanted you to do that for this afternoon.

Mr. McNIECE. We will try to do that.

Now, on page 7, there is an editorial called The Ives Law:

On August 10, 1934, Governor Lehman of New York signed the Ives bill. * * * According to the provisions of the law, every professor, instructor, or teacher employed in any school, college, or university in the State must subscribe to the following oath or affirmation: "I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will support the Constitution of the United States and the constitution of the State of New York, and that I will faithfully discharge, according to the best of my ability, the duties of the position to which I am now assigned."

The reaction of teachers to such a governmental measure is naturally one of resentment.

Page 8, The Ives Law:

There is grave danger that the new law will have the effects desired by its sponsors, not however, because of any restrictions inherent in the oath itself but rather because of the traditional timidity and ignorance of teachers. Yet forward-looking members of the profession can find in this oath a direct mandate for broad participation in the alteration of the now existing pattern of American society.

Quoting again from Educating for Tomorrow, page 7:

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.

Page 7, Educating for Tomorrow:

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.

It is interesting to note that Norman Woelfel, then an associate editor of the Social Frontier, who is now professor of education at Ohio State University, is now actively participating in the activities of the National Education Association.

Mr. HAYS. Just a moment, you say you are talking about Woelfel now?

Mr. McNIECE. Yes.

Mr. HAYS. And he is at Ohio State and he is a member of the NEA, too?

Mr. McNIECE. According to the NEA booklet.

Mr. HAYS. How subversive can you get?

Mr. McNIECE. One of the departments of NEA is the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development. This association recently issued its yearbook for 1953 under the title "Forces Affect-

ing American Education." Professor Woelfel was a member of the supervising committee responsible for the creation of this work.

Under the caption Culture Affecting Education the following statements appear, and this is in 1953:

Page 27:

Teachers in our schools have an immediate responsibility to their students and to the community at large to rethink their programs in terms of the necessity of social adaptation to changing technology.

Page 27:

We began our government with the rule of law—the Constitution. The federal judicial system has become its special guardian. Over the years there has been a gradual modification of the principle of property rights and of public welfare.

An illustration of a fundamental transition which is affecting our lives is the modification of the old concept of the common law. The common law in America, which is merely English law built up through decisions of the courts, has been individualistic. It has stressed protection of property and freedom of contract. Where the welfare of society has been concerned, the common law has been assumed to be sufficient to effect this through the individual. The rationale has been liberty rather than either equality or fraternity.

This trend toward a balance between the welfare of the individual and the welfare of society is in conflict with earlier assumptions. It is a trend which we cannot ignore. It presents fundamental problems for education in modern society.

Pages 36-37:

There are tensions and overt conflicts in our present society over the functions and methods of education. Men who are established at the pinnacle of success in the typical American conception can and sometimes do find themselves more interested in shaping society according to their own wishes, through the public schools, than in conforming to society's newer demands for free intelligence. The very power of their positions makes them formidable foes of any conception of education for all the people that is in conflict with their special convictions.

Through the strength of our success patterns it is quite possible for men whose lives are wholly unrelated to the process of education to come to power and to assume the role of determining what should be taught and how it should be taught. The professional educator whose business it is to know both the process and the method is not always a match for such opposition. But we should not forget that many other men, who are also at the pinnacle of success, are the firmest defenders of the public schools and the method of intelligence. In recent years, the public schools have received excellent support from just such persons. Throughout the years, such men have established foundations for the advancement of education and culture.

Directly or indirectly, the NEA is identified with an interesting situation involving an article recently published by *Look* magazine. In this issue of this magazine of March 9, 1954, an article by Robert M. Hutchins was published under the title "Are Our Teachers Afraid to Teach?" The opening statements in this article are as follows:

Education is impossible in many parts of the United States today because free inquiry and free discussion are impossible. In these communities, the teacher of economics, history or political science cannot teach. Even the teacher of literature must be careful. Didn't a member of Indiana's Text Book Commission call Robin Hood subversive?

The National Education Association studied no less than 522 school systems, covering every section of the United States, and came to the conclusion that American teachers today are reluctant to consider "controversial issues."

This article and the statement quoted above were of interest to us. A letter was therefore written to the NEA asking for information about the report on the 522 school systems. The letter in reply to our request is quoted herewith, together with our letter which preceded it.

MARCH 19, 1954.

Mr. FRANK W. HUBBARD,

Director of Research, National Education Association, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. HUBBARD: In an article in Look magazine of March 9, 1954, Mr. Robert M. Hutchins refers to a survey made by your association.

He reports that this survey came to the conclusion that teachers of economics, history and political sciences in 522 school systems, covering every section of the United States, are reluctant to consider controversial issues in their teaching.

This statement suggests the possibility of a serious handicap to education. We want to evaluate your report so that we may learn the nature of the fears to which Mr. Hutchins refers in this article.

Your report will offer us a welcome contribution to our understanding of the nature of the services rendered by your tax exempt organization to education.

With thanks for your attention,

Very truly yours,

NORMAN DODD,
Research Director.

I will now quote the reply:

NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Washington 6, D. C., March 24, 1954.

Mr. NORMAN DODD,

*Research Director, Special Committee to Investigate Tax Exempt Foundations, House of Representatives,
Washington 25, D. C.*

DEAR MR. DODD: In reply to your letter of March 19, I am sending you a copy of the report prepared by the NEA research division in June 1953 for the NEA committee on tenure and academic freedom. This report has never been printed or issued in any form other than the enclosed typewritten form.

So far as I know Mr. Hutchins did not have a copy of this typed memorandum, altho he may have borrowed one from someone who received a copy. A few typewritten copies have been sent to members of the committee on tenure and academic freedom and to a few other individuals who have written asking for copies. It is possible that Mr. Hutchins drew his information from the newspaper stories which were issued from Miami Beach during the summer of 1953 as a result of a press conference on this report. At any rate, I am not sure that Mr. Hutchins' conclusions would be exactly those of the NEA research division or of the NEA committee on tenure and academic freedom.

Cordially yours,

FRANK W. HUBBARD,
Director, Research Division.

Inference from this letter seems reasonably clear. Careful reading by the staff failed to disclose any basis for the conclusion reached by Mr. Hutchins.

Regardless of the letter quoted, the NEA had many reprints of this article. The mere existence of these reprints suggests that they must have been intended for distribution to interested parties. Whether or not they have been or are being distributed, we do not know.

We also wonder how many educators would support the concluding line of Dr. Hutchins' article:

No country ever needed education more than ours does today.

The CHAIRMAN. It is now noon. Did I understand you to say at the beginning, Mr. Koch, there is another part to follow that is to be presented this afternoon?

Mr. KOCH. Will that other part be ready?

Mr. McNIECE. It is supposed to be ready this afternoon.

Mr. HAYS. I would like to say, I think that we ought to examine this one before we hear another 50-page report.

Mr. KOCH. It can be treated in that fashion.

The CHAIRMAN. I think that would be the best way.

Mr. McNIECE. There is no essential continuity to the two papers.

Mr. HAYS. I have a short statement here, of one page, from Senator Douglas, which he has asked that we incorporate into the record immediately following the testimony of Mr. Sargent's reference to him, and I wonder if you would have any objection. If you like I would read it and it will only take a minute.

The CHAIRMAN. You can read it, by all means.

Mr. HAYS. This statement of Senator Douglas, sent to me, says:

Forty years ago when I was a graduate student at Columbia University I was a member and attended some meetings of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society, organized to study social problems, but it was in no sense a political action group. It had no connection with the Socialist Party, of which I have never been a member. The only party to which I have ever belonged is the Democratic Party. The society was purely a study group devoted to the study of socialism and other current problems. I left this organization and was not thereafter active in it.

The League for Industrial Democracy was an outgrowth of the Intercollegiate Society and included many other non-Socialists like myself. I spoke and was somewhat active at the League for Industrial Democracy study sessions for a period.

From the early 1920's on, and after a brief period in the 1930's I had only slight connection with the league's study sessions. I became wholly inactive when I was engaged in helping draft State and Federal legislation to meet the pressing problems of the depression.

Both of these were bona-fide research and discussion groups in the best American tradition. Both organizations included some of the finest persons in the educational field at that time. Both organizations were constructive in their purposes.

This dusting off of old and discredited charges is but another example of Congress' need to pass a code of procedure for guidance of its investigations.

Signed "Paul H. Douglas."

The CHAIRMAN. I see no disadvantage in that going in the record as far as I am concerned. We are glad to have it go in.

Mr. HAYS. I would like to have it in the proper place so it would have some meaning in the context.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Sargent, though, and some other interested parties, sent or gathered, from my information, and I presume the committee's, rather extensive quotations from Senator Douglas' book *The Coming of the New Party* I believe it was entitled; and I don't know whether those should be included at that same place or not.

Mr. HAYS. Well, I wouldn't want to say that they should be without seeing them, and without having Senator Douglas check them to see whether they are authentic or not.

The CHAIRMAN. That can be decided. They seem to be rather pertinent in view of the discussion that came up.

The committee will stand adjourned until 2:30 this afternoon.

(Thereupon, the committee recessed at 12:15 p. m.; to reconvene at 2:30 p. m., the same day.)

AFTER RECESS

(The hearing was resumed at 2:40 p. m.)

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.

TESTIMONY OF THOMAS M. McNIECE—Resumed

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. McNiece, the committee I am sure is appreciative of the research, comprehensive research and the splendid manner in which you have stated the results of your research, and the impartial, temperate and nice way in which the characterizations have been made.

My personal feeling is that it is a contribution to the subject which we are investigating, and as is the case with all of these presentations by members of the staff or other witnesses, it remains for the committee, in its final deliberations, after all of the hearings have been completed, to evaluate and relate the testimony or information that has been given.

But we are very greatly appreciative. And I want to commend you on your efforts.

Now, we will proceed with the questioning.

Do you have any questions?

Mr. GOODWIN. I have no questions, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Mrs. Pfof, if you have some questions, Mr. Hays is quite willing to yield to you for your questioning.

Mr. McNIECE. If I may interject a remark. Mr. Hays asked a question as to whether the magazine Progressive Education is still in publication. The Congressional Library assures us that it is. And they have in their possession the issue for March of 1954.

Mr. KOCH. What is the present title of the magazine?

Mr. McNIECE. Progressive Education. There has been a shift in the name of the publishers, back and forth, a little bit. The original volume from which we made our quotation says:

The Progressive Education Association, United States Section of the New Education Fellowship, Washington, D. C.

I understand that the magazine is now published by the American Education Fellowship, New York, N. Y., and there has been a shift of names, back and forth; but I am told that the sponsorship has not changed.

Mrs. PFOST. First of all, Mr. McNiece, I would like to ask you: We were first given this report marked "Confidential" some week or so ago and then a more recent one. Are you the author of this report?

Mr. McNIECE. Yes. That is the one I read this morning you are referring to.

Mrs. PFOST. You are the author of the one that you read this morning?

Mr. McNIECE. Yes, that is right.

Mrs. PFOST. In other words, the earlier one you were not the author of. I notice they are quite identical.

Mr. McNIECE. Oh, no, there is absolutely not a word changed. The only reason for the second issue was that by mistake certain extracts appeared twice.

Mrs. PFOST. There was repetition?

Mr. McNIECE. And in the new issue there is not a word changed except the elimination of the repeated excerpts. That was a mere mistake in arranging the material for typing.

Mrs. FROST. You did compile the original report yourself, every word of it?

Mr. McNIECE. Every word, yes.

Mrs. FROST. It is your own composition?

Mr. McNIECE. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you mean that literally—every word?

Mr. McNIECE. Unless it was a typographical error.

Mr. HAYS. Would you yield to me right there?

Did any other members of the staff, either present members or people who may have been members previously, help you at all with this, Mr. McNiece?

Mr. McNIECE. None, no one.

The CHAIRMAN. I had understood myself that this was Mr. McNiece's project, but I didn't know that he had written every word of it.

Mr. McNIECE. Of course, I didn't write the excerpts, you understand.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have any other questions?

Mrs. FROST. I have 2 or 3 little things here that I would like to ask about.

On the old report, owing to the fact that I have had the old report for a greater length of time, I have my marginal notes on the old report. And on page 15 of the old report, which would be somewhere near page 12 or thereabouts of the new report, support for this latter statement, it is under the heading of the report of the Commission on the Social Studies, conclusions and recommendations of the commission, you say:

Support for this latter statement, will be introduced later.

Now, does that have to do with the new report that we have just been handed?

Mr. McNIECE. I am still trying to find that.

Mr. KOCH. It is on page 11.

Mr. McNIECE. I might state the reason for the page differential is that the first report was turned out in pica type and the second one was turned out in elite type, and so it changed the page numbers.

Mrs. FROST. I noticed that.

You say:

It is with this final volume of conclusions and recommendations that the staff committee is concerned. It covers a tremendous field of recommendation and application actively in process as of this day. Support for this latter statement will be introduced later.—

Mr. McNIECE. Yes.

Mrs. FROST. When did you mean?

Mr. McNIECE. A part of that is in now, and I repeated that this morning, in the subsequent quotations from the various magazines, and from the quotations from some of the National Education Association publications, particularly Forces Affecting American Education, and then some of the support will also appear in a later section which, as I pointed out this morning, concerns the relationship as shown on that chart between foundations and government.

Mrs. FROST. Now, I wanted to ask you, on these letters that you have given here, Mr. McNiece, the Hubbard and the Dodd letters, just what was your reason and what do you feel that those prove—those letters?

Mr. McNIECE. Well, the letters only prove that we were interested in Mr. Hutchins' statement as it appeared in the article in *Look Magazine*, and we were concerned, as Mr. Dodd expressed himself in the letter, with the possible effect of a condition of that kind on education.

So we asked to see the report itself, and they have kindly sent it to us and we have that. We have what Mr. Hubbard himself has assured us is a typewritten copy of the report in the only form in which it was ever issued.

Mrs. FROST. I see, thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Hays has some questions.

Mr. HAYS. Before we go into your statement, Mr. McNiece, would you tell us what you have done before you came with the committee to get some idea of your background?

Mr. McNIECE. Well, it is rather a long story.

Mr. HAYS. Just generally, the last 10 years or so.

Mr. McNIECE. Well, I might say that I received a BS degree in electrical engineering from Case Institute of Technology, that is a long ways back, and later an EE degree.

Mr. HAYS. Where is that? In Cleveland?

Mr. McNIECE. In Cleveland, Ohio.

I made a few notes, perhaps it would be quickest, Mr. Hays—

Mr. HAYS. Just in your own words—

Mr. McNIECE. This runs over quite a period of years. And I had administrative charge over electrical testing and research laboratory, production, all phases including: production planning and schedules; plant accounting over approximately 25 factories, including timekeeping, payrolls, storekeeping, monthly balance sheets and operating reports; inventory control, monthly and annual budgets, and so forth; sales accounting, market, advertising and sales analysis and budgetary control; security and investment analysis; extended research in economics, especially in field of business fluctuations; world-wide economic analyses involving operating results, economic and market characteristics in various principal countries.

Approximately 5 years in volunteer "on call" work with the Department of Justice during and after World War I.

Civil Service commissioner in midwestern city.

Chairman of local school district committee including board of education created to study and report on school situation with respect to curriculum, construction and operating cost estimates and effect of possible merger with adjoining school district.

Seminar speaker at Columbia, Cornell, New York and Princeton Universities, and Stevens Institute of Technology.

Participant on programs of National Association of Cost Accountants, International Cost Accounting Conference, American Management Association, United States Chamber of Commerce, Boston Retail Distribution Conference, American Statistical Association, National Industrial Conference Board, American Mining Congress, and others.

I have been a consultant on management problems.

Articles have been published in various magazines and journals including among others:

Proceedings of American Institute of Electrical Engineers; Transactions of American Society of Mechanical Engineers; The American Architect; Chemical and Metallurgical Engineering; The Harvard Business Review; The American Mining Congress Journal; Sales Management; Commercial and Financial Chronicle; Hardware Age; and occasional papers and yearbooks of National Association of Cost Accountants.

That is only a partial list of the publications. But it is enough to indicate, I think, the field of work in which I have been engaged.

Mr. HAYS. That is a very impressive background. But you don't have or haven't had a great deal of experience in educational matters.

Mr. McNIECE. Well, I have absorbed a lot over a long period of years. I have worked a great deal in extra-curricula capacity on research work, with professors from Cornell, and also in an intimate work for a period of time in the study of money and inflation in countries all around the world, with a professor of long experience in the University of Illinois, Columbia, Toronto, California, and he was consultant and advisor to the Chicago Stock Exchange. I mention that only because we were intimately connected with the production of several written works, which I have not listed here.

Mr. HAYS. Mr. McNiece, I am not trying to make any reflections whatever upon your past affiliations, and certainly none should be implied from any questions I ask. But your statement has been, it seems to me, a rather serious series of charges or indictments, or whatever you care to say, against American education in general and some phases of it specifically.

There wasn't any hit or miss that you came to be in this job. Could you tell us how you first happened or how did you become or get the job with this committee and the title you have?

Mr. McNIECE. I see. I have known Mr. Dodd for quite a long period of years. We had been affiliated informally in several bits of work. As I understand it, and he could better explain this than I, but as I understand it, when he was approached in connection with going on this work, he called me to find out if I would be interested in undertaking this work with him. I told him that I wished to consider it for a moment.

Mr. HAYS. Now, had you and Mr. Dodd, had you in previous years found yourselves in agreement about some of the things that these reports of yours have set out, and have you made any informal study into this, or was this a brand new field?

Mr. McNIECE. I have been interested in this general field, let us say broader than the field of education itself, for a great many years. The interest arose during World War I.

I spent many, many hours in voluntary work "on call," as I have stated, with the old American Protective League, which was organized under laws of Congress and operated under the Department of Justice. They had chapters in all of the principal cities, if I may call them that, of the country.

We operated under the orders of the local Department of Justice agents and this was before FBI was formed. The local Department of Justice agents in the Federal Building were the chief authority under which we operated. We were assigned cases to investigate and they were numbered, and typewritten orders on which we returned written reports.

I did a good deal of investigation work in that particular field. I have always been interested ever since I was—well, let us say, got into that field of work, in problems of subversion. I have always been interested in problems and methods of education.

I had two finite and definite offers to enter into the field. And sometimes I have been sorry I didn't go into it. But I have been personally interested in the field of education and spent a good deal of time with friends who have been.

Mr. HAYS. Have you had any great informal interest in philosophy?

Mr. McNIECE. Not as a separate subject, no.

Mr. HAYS. Just as it has been related?

Mr. McNIECE. That is right.

Mr. HAYS. No particular philosopher has influenced your thinking?

Mr. McNIECE. Not at all; no, sir.

Mr. HAYS. Just as a matter of curiosity, are you aware or are you familiar at all with the works of a French philosopher by the name of Fabian d'Olivet?

Mr. McNIECE. I am not.

Mrs. PFOST. On page 10, Mr. McNiece, of your report, you say that—

Inasmuch as the term "public interest" will be used in this report from time to time, it will be well to define it in the sense that it is used in this section of the report of the staff committee. The same conception of the public interest is used in the economic section of the staff's report.

Mr. McNIECE. That is right.

Mrs. PFOST. Now, is that this report that was just handed to us a month ago, and is this the one to which you refer there?

Mr. McNIECE. That is right. There is also a repetition in there, Mrs. Pfost, of the paragraph by Seymour Harris. And these were written separately, at widely divergent times, and at the cost of repetition, I have inserted that in both reports.

Mr. HAYS. Now, Mr. McNiece, in other words, then, you came into this picture through your previous friendship and association with Mr. Dodd who had previously been hired?

Mr. McNIECE. And I was impelled to take it because of my long-time interest in the general problem.

Mr. HAYS. Understand that I am not insinuating that there is anything wrong about it, but I am just trying to get some background?

Mr. McNIECE. I fully understand.

Mr. HAYS. Because you and I know that we are not very well acquainted and I may say to you that you have expressed some views in here which if not at least radically different from mine are challenging, and I am trying to find out how you came to have them.

I want to say this: I had a series of questions which I had annotated with your original script and I got the other one lately. But I have tried to recorelate my questions to the proper page.

Now if we find sometimes that along the way we are at the wrong page, it will be only because I have made an error.

Mr. McNIECE. I am very sorry that happened. I want to take complete responsibility for that; that is my fault.

Mr. HAYS. I am just offering that by way of explanation. Ordinarily I want to start at the beginning of your statement and go through it with the items that interest me. But by having a state-

ment, you see you consumed the entire morning, and whatever you said in your statement has gone out unchallenged to the afternoon papers, so that I am going to start at the back and ask you something that I think is important that the evening papers might want to quote you on. I think it is important that we get both sides of this since the press is covering it.

I want to talk to you a little bit about this Dr. Hutchins matter. And I want to start with the very last sentence, or the last paragraph in your statement, that is, on page 45, I guess, of the new copy.

You say:

We also wonder how many educators would support the concluding line of Dr. Hutchins' article—

which you quote—

No country ever needed education more than ours does today.

I take it that you disagree with that statement?

Mr. McNIECE. Yes.

Mr. HAYS. Is that a fair assumption?

Mr. McNIECE. Yes, I think that is a fair assumption. It would be, if I may modify my statement, it would be a pretty serious indictment of education up to date, in all branches and forms, if that statement were true. I am stating that as a matter of my own opinion.

Mr. HAYS. Well now, that is fine. But I am going to try to develop a line here to see if I can't get you to agree with me that that statement might well be a good statement.

Will you agree with me that the battle that we have with communism is essentially a battle for men's minds, number one; and number two, a battle for technical knowledge so that they cannot surpass us?

Mr. McNIECE. Why certainly. I believe that the advocates of the various forms of culture, including communism and socialism and our own, all form what I consider to be normal evolution in thought and education; it is a competitive struggle to win converts. I feel we are all up against that.

Mr. HAYS. Well, in other words, then I think you and I agree generally that we are engaged in a great struggle for knowledge, and the whole faith of the world may depend upon who wins that struggle, whether we win it or whether our adversaries win it.

Would you go that far with me?

Mr. McNIECE. Well, that is more or less a hypothetical situation.

Mr. HAYS. I agree that it is.

Mr. McNIECE. Anything that I could say would only be a raw opinion, given off the cuff, so to speak, without any material thought. I do feel, and I think there was one quotation in here which I read to that effect, that we are all going to be very greatly affected by this struggle to which I see no end at the moment.

Mr. HAYS. We are engaged in a race for atomic knowledge, among other things.

Mr. McNIECE. To me that is only an incidental feature. But to that extent I would say yes.

Mr. HAYS. Which would be a very serious feature, if we lose the race.

Mr. McNIECE. It could be. But so could germ warfare.

Mr. HAYS. Those are two related fields. And they have a bearing on the future of this Nation.

Mr. McNIECE. Yes.

Mr. HAYS. Now, do you have any idea how many men have been rejected by the Selective Service because of educational disqualifications?

Mr. McNIECE. No; I do not. I should because at one time somewhere or other I read a statement, but I don't know how authoritative it was, and I don't remember it.

Mr. HAYS. Well, I don't have the exact figures at my fingertips. But, as I recall it, it is a very significant percentage.

I have seen numerous articles about it. It seems to me that perhaps it might run up to 20 percent, although I am more or less guessing at that figure. But it seems to me that it was rather a significant percentage.

Mr. McNIECE. Probably, and again this is an expression of opinion, partly as an engineer, but probably the requirements for education, as distinguished from intelligence, are a little higher today at least in the Army viewpoint than they were in the time of World War I.

Mr. HAYS. I don't think that there is any doubt about that. But I think it is significant that the Army has found that it requires a rather minimum amount of education to take a fellow in, but even so it has found that there is a significant number of people who don't have that minimum.

Mr. McNIECE. Well, my impression has been that they are calling for very high standards of education in order to supply the technical knowledge required now for all of the instruments involved in mechanized warfare.

Mr. HAYS. I agree with that thoroughly. You can't get by as an illiterate in modern technical warfare, and you have to have some knowledge of the 3 R's in order to just be able to operate some of these complicated weapons, read the instructions, directions, and so on.

Mr. McNIECE. Yes.

Mr. HAYS. Well, the thing I am driving at, I am wondering if you are not putting a critical interpretation on Dr. Hutchins' statement. Perhaps it is possible that he meant in this struggle that we are engaged in for survival that it is imperative that we have a well-educated country if we are going to survive.

Do you think that there is that possible connotation to be put on what he said?

Mr. McNIECE. I wouldn't care to theorize on what he meant. I was just giving my interpretation of what he said, and I would hesitate to hazard a guess or an estimate as to what really went on in his mind, other than what I infer from this article.

Mr. HAYS. Well, you mentioned yourself the fact that a member of the Indiana Textbook Commission called Robin Hood a subversive. And I ought to ask you first if that was one—

Mr. McNIECE. That was a quotation.

Mr. HAYS. I know it was. But you wouldn't agree with that, would you, or would you not?

Mr. McNIECE. No, I wouldn't.

Mr. HAYS. You and I can say, then, we agree that we don't think Robin Hood was a Communist.

Mr. McNIECE. I think so.

You knew, did you, that a case in court, I think in New York, had been thrown out in the last few weeks, where an application was made to bar the teaching of David Copperfield and the Merchant of Venice?

Mr. HAYS. I have read something in the paper about that, yes, sir.

Mr. McNIECE. And the courts threw that out.

Mr. HAYS. But don't you think it is rather a serious matter when a member of the highest commission on education in 1 of the 48 States comes out with a statement like that? To me that was just slightly more than appalling to think that someone would say that.

Mr. McNIECE. Well, I think that I would agree with you. I was inclined, and I saw nothing but a newspaper article about it, and my own inclination was to assume that it was more or less facetious. I knew no history of it other than what I read in a short newspaper article. I couldn't conceive of taking an attitude like that myself.

Mr. HAYS. I read quite a number of articles, since Indiana is a neighboring State to mine, and I got the definite impression this lady wasn't being facetious at all, or didn't intend to be. She was serious about it.

Now, then, what do you think, or how do you think, a teacher in the Indiana schools might feel about it if he or she were confronted with the business of textbooks with a mention of Robin Hood? Don't you think that they would be inclined to tread a little gently there?

Mr. McNIECE. Well perhaps if they fitted the characteristic that Norman Woelfel said of timidity and ignorance. I don't know. I don't believe a courageous teacher, the type that we would like to have in our schools, according to my own impression, would have any such fear as that.

Mr. HAYS. Well now let us go down the list to Los Angeles. Do you think a teacher there would have any reluctance at all to mention UNESCO, or do you think they would have a tendency just to forget that and skirt clear around it in view of what has happened there?

Mr. McNIECE. According to my conception of a good teacher, they would have no hesitation in teaching objectively. I don't believe that it is possible to educate people as they should be educated without teaching the pertinent factors with respect to UNESCO, or any other of the controversial subjects. I say they ought to be taught objectively.

Mr. HAYS. I want to say to you that you and I can agree 100 percent. But there are a lot of people in the teaching profession, unfortunately, who have to have that check every month, in order to eat. Some of them have families, and some of them don't want to jeopardize their livelihood by getting into any controversial subjects; so it seems to me that it is more than possible that in a case where you have a red-hot issue like that was in Los Angeles they just refrain.

Now, I could give you some examples from my own experience of what I hope was a courageous teacher.

I talked about social security back in 1935, and I got into quite a squabble with the school board because they said I was teaching socialism by even mentioning it.

I don't want to burden the record, but I have here two volumes of the Congressional Record of the 74th Congress, running from March 29 to April 16 and from April 17 to May 4, which are largely taken up with the debates on social security. I might tell you that fre-

quently in those debates you can hear the term "socialism," and "socialistic," and "a scheme to wreck America," and my good friend Congressman Rich, whom both of you remember very well, even has a famous speech in there "Where are we going to get the money," saying that it would bankrupt the country.

And I mentioned in my American Government classes that the Congress was debating this. Students expressed themselves about it. And I guess I said I thought it was a good thing, so I was called in in front of the school board about it.

Now, I went right ahead and I said what I thought anyway. Perhaps that is the reason I am here today, instead of teaching school. I don't know.

You will agree that a lot of times it would be the better part of valor if the teacher didn't say anything in a situation like we have in Los Angeles, wouldn't you, or some other situation?

Mr. McNIECE. I would say it would depend upon the teacher's temperament. I wouldn't admire a teacher who would feel that he was circumscribed in an effort to teach honestly by fear of public opinion. I believe that a good teacher can satisfy the public on a question of that kind. That is purely a theoretical assumption.

Mr. HAYS. But can they satisfy these people who have a tendency to tend to other people's business, who are always rushing in and raising issues—

Mr. McNIECE. I couldn't speak for them.

Mr. HAYS. Where issues don't exist, you see?

Mr. McNIECE. I couldn't speak for them.

Mr. HAYS. But that thing pervades, doesn't it, and Dr. Hutchins mentions that in his article. He even goes so far as to say that 20 colleges and universities are cooperating with State and congressional investigating groups in a blacklisting program.

Now, I don't know exactly what that would be.

Mr. McNIECE. I wouldn't either.

Mr. HAYS. But it seems to me he quotes one of the Members of the Senate as his source of that. It seems to me that that would put a good deal of fear in a teacher to say anything controversial, wouldn't it, if you thought that you might be blacklisted secretly and anonymously?

Mr. McNIECE. It is hard for me to answer that, because—

Mr. HAYS. Let me ask you this, then, just why was this article by Dr. Hutchins mentioned in your report at all?

Mr. McNIECE. It was mentioned particularly, and if you will associate it with the rest of my testimony you will see, as an adjunct or a feature of NEA.

Here we have in this communication from Mr. Frank W. Hubbard, director of the research division, a copy of a letter in which he has suggested that he is not sure that Mr. Hutchins' conclusions would be exactly those of NEA Research Division or of the NEA Committee on Tenure and Academic Freedom. That is the group of teachers for whom this study was made or in whose interest this study was made.

Now, it would seem odd to me that if, in NEA circles of that level, there was doubt about the wisdom or the logic of a conclusion of Dr. Hutchins, they would have hesitated a bit about preparing a large pile. I saw them myself, and I don't know how many there were, but I saw a stack at least that high [indicating] on their shelves personally.

That was the reason I brought the item up.

Mr. HAYS. Do you have any concrete evidence to prove that they, the NEA, prepared that, and does it say on there it was prepared by them?

Mr. McNIECE. No; but I found it on their shelves, personally.

Mr. HAYS. Now let me point this out to you, Mr. McNiece. If you would go down and search through my office, I believe you can find one of those in my shelves.

Mr. McNIECE. But would I find a pile that high?

Mr. HAYS. No, because Look magazine only sent me one. But it seems conceivable to me, since the article had a good deal of reference to the people that the NEA membership are composed of, they might have sent them a pile of it. I don't know where they got them, but I wonder.

Mr. McNIECE. I wonder why they keep them in stock and offered me one if they didn't intend them for distribution?

Mr. HAYS. Did you ask them for one?

Mr. McNIECE. No. I said I wanted material that was indicative of material they were distributing. And I have quite a few samples of their literature. They were very decent and very cooperative. I mean this is no criticism, this part of it is no criticism of NEA at all.

Mr. HAYS. Do you think they shouldn't have distributed this article?

Mr. McNIECE. I don't know that they did. I said in my testimony I was not familiar with the fact as to whether or not they had distributed it. And I said that very clearly.

Mr. HAYS. Then exactly what, Mr. McNiece, is at issue here, the fact that they had these in their possession?

Mr. McNIECE. Yes.

Mr. HAYS. And you think that that is bad?

Mr. McNIECE. Yes, and if it should be decided that they were distributed. I feel that, if it was not in accordance with the conclusions of their body, it is very questionable as to whether they should retain either as a gift or a purchase a large supply of these and be willing to hand them out.

Mr. HAYS. What about Look magazine? It distributed them much more widely than the NEA. Do you intend to imply criticism of them?

Mr. McNIECE. We are not involved in a study of a magazine and I haven't given any thought to that at all.

I don't even know what Look magazine's policies are, because I don't follow it closely.

Mr. HAYS. I suppose that it presents both sides of any controversial question. What I am driving at: Are we getting into a position that somebody around here is setting themselves up as a censor?

The CHAIRMAN. Would the gentleman yield there?

The thing that impressed me, when you read this exchange of letters between Mr. Dodd and Mr. Hubbard, was that Mr. Hubbard's letter would indicate that Dr. Hutchins' conclusions in that article were not based upon the findings of the study which the NEA made. The article itself purported to be that.

In the concluding paragraph of Mr. Hubbard's letter, he said:

At any rate, I am not sure that Mr. Hutchins' conclusions would be exactly those of the NEA Research Division or of the NEA Committee on Tenure and Academic Freedom—

which is, I assume, the committee that made the study.

Mr. McNIECE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. I may have gotten the wrong conception of your purpose in putting the letters in, but it was my thought that you put the letters in to indicate that the NEA had not exactly disavowed but had not accepted the conclusions of Dr. Hutchins, as being the conclusions of the NEA committee that had made the study.

Mr. McNIECE. That is exactly right, Mr. Chairman. And then the secondary thought was that regardless of that inference, which I have mentioned here, they were in possession of this. I call it a stack, because I saw it, of reprints of this article, and the presumption is that they were there for a purpose. Otherwise, they would have been thrown away.

I stated very clearly that I did not know positively whether these had been placed in circulation or not, but I do know positively that one of them was handed to me without specific request.

Mr. HAYS. Well, Mr. McNiece, you have hinged this whole business about the NEA and Dr. Hutchins on one sentence, as I get it, and he says in paragraph 2 of Look magazine:

The National Education Association studied no less than 522 school systems, covering every section of the United States, and came to the conclusion that American teachers today are reluctant to consider "controversial issues."

Now that is all that he says about the NEA report that I have been able to find in a very quick sketching over of this. I may have missed something.

Now, that apparently is a statement that the NEA can either testify one way or the other about what conclusions they came to. But you can't indict the NEA because Dr. Hutchins said that, can you?

Mr. McNIECE. No.

Mr. HAYS. But you do indict them because they had a stack of this in their possession?

Mr. McNIECE. No, that isn't the point.

The subject of this study, as turned out by NEA, is the handling of controversial issues in the local school system.

Now, that is the study. And there is the copy of it in typewritten form. That was produced by the Research Division of NEA.

Mr. HAYS. I am at a disadvantage of not having seen that so I can't question you about it. But let me ask you another question along that line.

You are probably familiar with certain laws in certain States that are commonly known as teacher-tenure laws.

Mr. McNIECE. Yes. I am not specifically or statistically, but I know what that means and that there are many of them.

Mr. HAYS. What do they imply to you? What is the meaning of them?

Mr. McNIECE. They simply mean in accordance—and I have a volume somewhere, not with me—but they simply imply that according to provisions in individual State laws the tenure of office is more or less guaranteed during a term of good behavior.

Mr. HAYS. That is right.

In other words, they prevent a school board from firing some teacher because they don't like the fiancée of that teacher, or because they didn't like the fact that the teacher said he thought social security might be a good thing.

Mr. McNIECE. Firing them without just cause, yes.

Mr. HAYS. Why do you think those laws came about? Do you think some legislature just passed them because they ran out of something to pass and wanted to pass a law? Or do you think that there was a necessity for it?

Mr. McNIECE. There are two probable and possible answers to that. Either one or both of which might apply to different States under different circumstances.

One is that there were positive injustices that happened or were carried out.

The other is the same kind of fear that you are speaking of on the very controversial issues, the fear that something of that kind might happen.

And the teachers' lobbies, which are very, very strong in some States have had such measures introduced for their protection against possible contingencies.

Mr. HAYS. Well now, of course, that is all in the realm of conjecture, and that is all we can deal with there, except for one specific instance, which I will tell you about.

I happen to have introduced such a bill in the Ohio Senate in 1941. And it happens to be a law out there; it happened that it passed that year. The National Education Association nor the Ohio Education Association nor any other education association asked me to introduce the bill. I did it because of my own personal experiences in the educational field.

The Ohio Education Association did get behind the bill. There were some letters written no doubt to other members of the legislature and there was some testimony given before committees. And the bill in some modified amended, slightly amended, form became law, a bill not identical with the one I introduced, but having the main provisions.

It was introduced for the very reason back then in 1941 that Dr. Hutchins is talking about now. It was in order that no one, as I saw it, could channel, circumscribe and squeeze the education system of America into their own pattern as it is done in Russia today and as it was being done then in Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy.

You wouldn't say that Dr. Hutchins wouldn't have a right to put his opinions in writing, would you?

Mr. McNIECE. Definitely not.

Mr. HAYS. But you do say that the NEA, if his opinions happen to appeal to them, that they shouldn't make it available to their members who hadn't happened to see them?

Mr. McNIECE. I am inclined to question the judgment and not the right.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you permit another interruption along the same line as my other observation?

Again, if I summarize in my mind correctly, following up my other observation, the part of the statement of Dr. Hutchins' article which you question the judgment of the NEA in circulating is where Dr. Hutchins in his article says that—

The National Education Association studied no less than 522 school systems, covering every section of the United States, and came to the conclusion that American teachers today are reluctant to consider "controversial issues."

That is, he put himself in a position of speaking for the National Education Association and giving its conclusion of the studies which

were made; whereas, Dr. Hubbard says that he is not stating the conclusions of the committee that made the study. That is just the way I interpret it and perhaps I am wrong.

Mr. HAYS. He says, "I am not sure Mr. Hutchin's conclusions would be exactly those of the NEA." It seems to me that that is pretty careful language. I don't know what it means.

The CHAIRMAN. That is correct.

Mr. HAYS. I would like to know what the NEA found out in their study. I think it might be very illuminating.

The CHAIRMAN. For my own information, with reference to the Teacher Tenure Act, my going back to my earlier experience which of course is sometime ago, I felt one thing that encouraged the teachers in advocating the Teacher Tenure Act was to make sure that political considerations when administrations, whether municipal, county, or State, changed that their positions wouldn't be affected by the vicissitudes of politics.

I had always felt that that was one of the compelling reasons that advanced the cause of the Teacher Tenure Act.

Mr. McNIECE. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. I am sure it was down home.

Mr. HAYS. What did you say again was the cause of it?

The CHAIRMAN. That in the earlier days teachers were regarded as patronage in the same sense of the word or probably in a lesser degree, but in a similar sense, to other municipal, county or state employees. Then, as the cause of education advanced, the political angle began to recede but sometimes the teachers were apprehensive of political considerations entering into the employment of teachers or the dismissal of teachers in order to make particular dismissal in certain categories in order to make available vacancies for political friends when the county, municipal or state administration changed. Therefore, they encouraged, out of those political reasons, the enactment of teacher tenure acts.

Mr. HAYS. I think certainly that has—

The CHAIRMAN. More than the other things.

Mr. HAYS. It has an affect on it. It wasn't political politics, as such; they never entered into it very much in Ohio, since I remember the educational system. But there certainly was that fear that for political or other reasons occasionally a board member would want to push one of his friends into the school system.

The CHAIRMAN. I don't think it really enters into it very much today. But in former years I think it did enter into it a great deal.

Mr. HAYS. Now, going back to your start of your statement, on pages 1, 2, and 3. You say that you are not criticizing change as such in the very first page.

Mr. McNIECE. That is right.

Mr. HAYS. Then in that same page, almost that same sentence, you say that the pattern is one of evolving collectivism. What do you mean by that?

Mr. McNIECE. The trend toward socialism, which I have shown immediately thereafter in the form of several definitions from qualified investigators or members of parties.

Mr. HAYS. Do you consider social security socialism—unemployment insurance, and old-age pension—I will be specific, do you consider those socialism?

Mr. McNIECE. They are socialistic in nature. Old-age pensions are something for which an actuarial basis exists, in the same form of statistical computation as is made by insurance actuaries for life insurance.

There is absolutely no basis whatever for unemployment insurance. I have raised a question about the use of the term. As insurance, men tell me it is a misnomer. There is no actuarial basis for it. If you had an actuarial basis for unemployment, you would have the best little business forecaster that could possibly be developed. We have no such thing.

Mr. HAYS. Then would you advocate, Mr. McNiece, that we do away with unemployment insurance?

Mr. McNIECE. I wouldn't go that far.

Mr. HAYS. That might be a very unpopular thing to advocate, inasmuch as only eight people in the House voted against broadening the whole social security thing.

Mr. McNIECE. I understand that. I might possibly, and I would hesitate for political or any other reasons to advocate its elimination, particularly at this time, but I will go so far as to say that if a depression of sufficient magnitude hit us it might eliminate us.

Mr. HAYS. Unemployment insurance would?

Mr. McNIECE. Yes. The senate of the State of Ohio, a matter of 15 or 20 years ago when this agitation for unemployment insurance first came up, employed some outside consultants whose names I have forgotten. I was familiar with it at the time but I have forgotten it. Together with the senate committee, they explored this whole field of unemployment insurance. In a nutshell they came to this conclusion that, if a business depression of serious magnitude developed, the only possible source of money with which to meet the large and cataclysmic demands for payments would be the printing press.

All of the money that is set up of course goes into the general fund and the Government spends it and puts tickets in the drawer. If and when the time comes to pay unemployment insurance or unemployment dole, if the reserve inventory of paper money is not sufficient to meet the demand, they have to start the printing presses.

Mr. HAYS. We are getting into a discussion of economics here, aren't we?

Mr. McNIECE. Economics and finance. I am only mentioning here what the committee of the Ohio State Senate said.

Mr. HAYS. I realize I started it.

Mr. McNIECE. But I would like to observe that we are both safe no matter what comes out of this.

The CHAIRMAN. Would the gentleman yield for another observation? And I apologize.

But as I summarized in my mind the effect of the more pertinent quotations which you gave, they went toward establishing or setting up a system of economy that would do away with free enterprise. It was finally summarized by Harold Laski, in his summary of the report of the American Historical Association's Commission on Social Studies, when he said:

At bottom, and stripped of its carefully neutral phrases, the report is an educational program for a Socialist America.

Mr. HAYS. Now, we will just hop right over to page 21, Mr. Chairman, and go from there. I could hardly wait to get there anyway.

Now, then, to bring in Mr. Laski, that is an interesting thing. Now, Mr. McNiece, do you agree that Mr. Laski has been correct in his various analyses about politics and economics down over the years?

Mr. McNIECE. I am not sufficiently familiar with his writings to be able to give a qualified answer to that, Mr. Hays.

Mr. HAYS. You don't know whether you approve of them generally or disapprove?

Mr. McNIECE. In a newspaper sense, and years ago he died, I think in 1945, or 1946, or around there, in a newspaper sense I saw, when he would make some of his numerous trips over here, or statements, that I would disagree with.

Mr. HAYS. Most of his ideas, let me say, if you are not familiar with him, died before he did. Now, the question occurs to me, you wouldn't want to endorse his whole political philosophy, and how is it you quote this one quotation on page 21?

Mr. McNIECE. At the very bottom of page 21.

Mr. HAYS. And you take out there three little lines, and in fact a very short sentence, and you quote that as though that were gospel truth.

Mr. McNIECE. I am quoting that from *The Turning of the Tides*, part 2, the author of which is Paul W. Shafer, Member of Congress, and I believe from Michigan.

Mr. HAYS. Since you bring in our good friend Paul Shafer, is there another author to that book?

Mr. McNIECE. There are, I think, three parts, and this is the part which he authored.

Mr. HAYS. Who are the other authors?

Mr. McNIECE. I don't remember.

Mr. HAYS. I thought that he had a coauthor on that.

Mr. McNIECE. I think that there are two coauthors.

Mr. HAYS. I don't want to accuse Paul of guilt by association but it might be interesting if we knew who the other fellow is. If these hearings don't teach me anything else, they are going to teach me never to write a book.

Mr. McNIECE. Part 1 by John Howland Snow, and part 2, I am quoting, is by Paul W. Shafer, Member of Congress from Michigan since 1937. The original text was delivered in the House of Representatives on March 21, 1952. Then this book, I was thinking it was in 3 parts, but it is in 4 parts, and parts 3 and 4 are again by J. Howland Snow, and you were correct in mentioning a coauthor.

Mr. HAYS. I won't go into that, but anybody who is interested can find out about him. So you take this one quotation from this book of Mr. Shafer's, and of course you don't know why he took it, but anyway we get this quotation quoted as though it were gospel truth, but I think that we could probably agree if you and I studied Laski, that we wouldn't subscribe to practically anything he ever said.

Mr. McNIECE. I don't insert this in any different sense than all of the other quotations are inserted. I have tried, Mr. Hays, to avoid at this stage of the game, conclusions of my own. These, as nearly as I could make them, are factual statements and my own statements are merely introductory. That is, introductory to those quotations.

Mr. HAYS. You do intend to convey, don't you, Mr. McNiece, from your statement, the idea that there has been some sort of a plot to change the whole concept of the social sciences, or something to that effect?

Mr. McNIECE. I start out by quoting Mr. Seymour E. Harris, who suggests that thought himself. As I pointed out, this study is an initial staff report, on this phase. A second section will follow the triangle down along the right-hand side, and finally we will evolve some sort of final conclusions out of the whole study.

Mr. HAYS. Let me ask you this question: Did you have to work very hard to find these quotations? You must have had to do a good deal of searching to build this case.

Mr. McNIECE. I will say, "Yes."

Mr. HAYS. That is the answer I hoped you would give, Mr. McNiece.

Now, on page 6 you mention or you set out here some of these foundations, and the number of individuals with leftist records, or affiliations. Now, I don't know exactly what you mean by that, but we will say for the purposes of the point here, that they are people that are very undesirable, and never should have gotten grants. Would you agree with that?

Mr. McNIECE. I didn't introduce in my thought the word "undesirable". My purpose in using that phrase was to indicate from the record first that they had been cited according to the record, as belonging to leftist affiliations; and second, that the foundation representatives, whoever were testifying, in response to Mr. Keel's questions, admitted these facts in connection with this number of grants.

I simply took this record from the history of the hearings, and not the final report, you understand, but the hearings of the Cox committee.

Mr. HAYS. This may seem an irrelevant question, but it will have some bearing. What do you think of Ivory soap? Do you think that is a fair product?

Mr. McNIECE. I use it once in a while.

Mr. HAYS. You set forth that the Rockefeller Foundation has 26 bad grants, and I happen to have information that the Rockefeller Foundation has made 40,000 grants and I have done a little quick mental arithmetic here, and Ivory soap only claims to be 99 and 44 one-hundredths percent pure and the Rockefeller Foundation, according to your own testimony, is 99 and 85 one-hundredths percent pure; and they are purer than Ivory soap.

Mr. McNIECE. That is your testimony and mine together. I think the testimony at the time of the Cox committee showed some 29,000-plus grants, and not 40,000, by the Rockefeller Foundation, and anyhow, as I pointed out—

Mr. HAYS. Even if it is only 29,000, and I think my figure is more near accurate, they are still better than 99 percent pure.

Mr. McNIECE. That isn't the point I have tried to make clear.

Mr. HAYS. The point, let me ask you this before you go on, and I don't mean to interrupt you. But would this be a fair assumption: If the Rockefeller Foundation came in here and said, "Yes, we frankly admit that we have made 26 bad grants," or 56, or whatever the number is—and I am using the number 26 because it appears in the testimony—"and we are sorry we did it, and had we known then what we know now, we wouldn't have done it"; do you think the Rockefeller Foundation ought to be pilloried because out of 40,000 grants it has made 26 which somebody says are suspect? And I will go along and agree with you that they are.

Mr. McNIECE. I have not in any case, in any line in this book, attempted to pillory any foundation. I am merely reporting facts, as they occur.

Mr. HAYS. I want to make it clear that that word is just a word that occurred to me, and let us say that then they ought to be criticized. I don't want to put any words in your mouth, or make any implications that wouldn't be right. Do you think it is quite fair to pick out these 26, and "sure it is bad, and we hope they never do it again," but don't you think we might be casting an unfair reflection on Rockefeller by stressing the 26 and forgetting the 40 thousand less 26 others, or 36,974?

Mr. McNIECE. I don't think so, Mr. Hays, and this was not drawn up with any such thought in mind. I am not so much interested in the history of the past, as I am of evolving some kind of plan of care for the future. I really believe that some unknown proportion of these grants were made undoubtedly before we had any record of leftist affiliations, so called, and citations from the various governmental boards.

I have been sufficiently familiar with the progress of that work through the years to believe that a goodly number of these were made before there was any record that could be consulted. I am not offering this as a point of criticism, but evidence that caution should be exercised, and I have said "at this time we are not concerned with the question as to whether or not the foundations knew or could have found out about the questionable affiliations of these grantees before the grants were made. The fact is that the funds were given to these people. This is the important point of interest to us."

Mr. HAYS. I grant you it is an important point of interest.

Mr. McNIECE. And it has an exploding and growing and expanding force through the years.

Mr. HAYS. You think it has a growing force?

Mr. McNIECE. Why, of course, as these men continue to expound their theories.

Mr. HAYS. Well, now, Mr. McNiece, 26 out of 40 thousand couldn't have a very explosive force; what about the other 39,974? What are they going to do, just fizzle out? And aren't they going to be firecrackers that go off or are they duds?

Mr. McNIECE. I am not talking about 46 out of 40 thousand; I am talking about this number of men, 95 people on the loose, that are free to expound these theories, many of them to growing youths whose experience hasn't been sufficient to give them judgment to weigh.

Mr. HAYS. Well, now we are going into where I would like to get. You say these men are on the loose, and you say their theories are bad. And, of course, we are talking now in sort of an Einstein's theory of relativity, because I don't know who they are; and you talk about socialism and we have got to try to define it and we got into the field of economics which we could stay here from now to doomsday and perhaps never come up with any final conclusion that either you, I, or anybody else in the room could agree on.

So just where are we? We have had changes in this country, surely, and we had a depression. And out of that depression came a demand of the people in a democracy for change, and to try to improve and to try to pass some social legislation which would at least if not prevent the same hardships and effects, minimize them in the future.

Now, are we taking the position that that is bad, and if so what are we going to do about it?

Mr. McNIECE. At this point particularly, I am simply offering what evidence I can find on the subjects which I have investigated on the assumption that this evidence would be used by the committee of the House in formulating its conclusions. I did not, at least at this point of the game, assume that I am supposed to suggest conclusions.

Mr. HAYS. Don't you think that your report, if anybody read it and took it seriously, would certainly suggest certain conclusions?

Mr. McNIECE. I think the weight of the evidence might suggest them, but I am not suggesting the conclusions at least until I get through with the presentation.

Mr. HAYS. But you admitted a little bit ago, didn't you, that you had to work pretty hard to come up with some of these quotations.

Mr. McNIECE. I have had to work hard to read all, and find all of this varied assemblages of books and pamphlets.

The CHAIRMAN. May I interrupt here? There is quoted here the list of people of subversive character that was mentioned before the Cox committee, which you mentioned incidentally. But I didn't understand or I wasn't impressed that that was your major theme, it was more or less incidental. I understood that you were discussing primarily the grants that had been made to some citizens and organization of different types, who in turn had used the money to make these studies and reach conclusions you felt might very well be in conflict with our usual concept of this.

For instance, on page 13, just to quote one of them :

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—

and so forth.

You quoted the results of the studies for which these donations or contributions from the various foundations had been used, and you were putting that before us for the consideration of the committee. As I saw it, the mere fact that you threw in and quoted the number of subversives who had received grants was more or less incidental to your major theme.

Mr. McNIECE. That is absolutely right, Mr. Reece. I also made a statement distinguishing between small and large contributions.

Now, in connection with the hearings of the Cox committee, in naming these 95 individuals my only thought was that that fell into the category of miscellaneous small grants that had been made, and the large grants which to me are far more important, which takes up the main part and the real burden of this testimony, were through the intellectual and other organizations indicated on that chart. That is the major point of emphasis.

Mr. HAYS. Well, Mr. McNiece, if you had worked as hard as you worked on this, and I have inside information that you did work very hard, to find good things that the foundations have done, don't you think you could have come up with a far more impressive volume and a far more liberal number of citations and so on and so forth?

Mr. McNIECE. I haven't any doubt of that.

Mr. HAYS. In other words, you did try to put into this report all of the bad things they have done.

Mr. McNIECE. No; not all of the bad things.

Mr. HAYS. Most of the bad things.

Mr. McNIECE. Mr. Hays, from my point of view, 2 bad eggs spoil an omelet made of 12. We are looking for the cause of the bad ones. We want to eliminate those and attempt, if possible, to point out certain things, at least which I individually believe have gone on without the knowledge of trustees and which I have tried to point out. That the trustees of busy foundations, or busy men—

Mr. HAYS. You say 2 bad eggs will spoil an omelet of 12. I suppose 2 would also spoil an omelet of 16?

Mr. McNIECE. From my point of view; yes.

Mr. HAYS. I think we both know what we are talking about. I hope you are not spoiled. Now we have heard a good deal of talk here about changing the social outlook from the usual concept. Now we can go for a long time debating about interpretations, and I suppose that you will agree with me that the social legislation of America has considerably changed in the past 2 decades; wouldn't you?

Mr. McNIECE. Oh, definitely.

Mr. HAYS. From the usual concept, we will say, of 1932?

Mr. McNIECE. Yes.

Mr. HAYS. To 1952 or 1954?

Mr. McNIECE. Yes.

Mr. HAYS. You wouldn't want to go back to 1932; would you?

Mr. McNIECE. I might wish to selectively, but I wouldn't want to eliminate "selectively."

Mr. HAYS. Well, in other words what you are saying is if you want to go back by yourself, you will go but you don't want to take the rest of us with you.

Mr. McNIECE. Only if you wanted to go along, I believe in freedom choice.

Mr. HAYS. Let me say to you that I will make my position clear: I don't want to go along.

Now, I am serious about something here and I am wondering, perhaps, if there is something the matter with me. I come from a long line of Republicans and some of them held pretty prominent offices in Ohio, and by all of the normal force of events I would have been a Republican, and I thought I was one up to about 1929 or 1930. And then I began to do some thinking, and I suppose this environment that I was in—what are we going to call Ohio State? A bad environment or a good one? You are on record as saying it is all right.

The CHAIRMAN. Ohio is all right.

Mr. HAYS. How about Senator Bricker's university?

The CHAIRMAN. So far as I know, it is all right.

Mr. HAYS. Perhaps the environment had something to do with it, but suddenly I began to have a different political and social viewpoint. I have to plead guilty to being for bank deposit insurance, and social security, unemployment insurance, and old-age pensions, and all of those things. At that time people were saying they were socialistic.

Now, do you say they are still socialistic today or not?

Mr. McNIECE. Well, I would say that they are socialistic in trend, but you don't have to travel all of the way to the end objectives of socialism just because you take a few features out of it.

I have heard the statement made many times in the past that our whole educational system in this country is socialistic. But I wouldn't advocate doing away with our educational system.

Mr. HAYS. In other words, then, in effect you are admitting here in testimony that some parts of socialism might have been all right, is that right?

Mr. McNIECE. No, I haven't admitted that.

Mr. HAYS. Didn't you say to take the best parts of it?

Mr. McNIECE. I might if I were thinking of it in that connection, but I haven't thought of it in that connection.

Mr. HAYS. Then, in other words, what I am driving at, Mr. McNiece, when you toss around—and I am not pointing a finger at you any more than perhaps at myself, or other members of the committee—the word “socialism,” it could have as many different meanings as there are people in this room, couldn't it?

Mr. McNIECE. Well, I have talked with a few Socialists, and I have read a bit of their discussions, and I would say that they differ—and by “they” I mean Socialists—they differ as much in their party as Democrats and Republicans differ in their individual parties, and there isn't any one particular line of reasoning and thought on which all members of the socialists or anyone else agree.

Mr. HAYS. Is there anything in the Socialist Party that would prevent a socialist from being a good loyal American?

Mr. McNIECE. I would say not of the type, let us say, of Norman Thomas.

Mr. HAYS. You agree with President Eisenhower, that he is a good, loyal American, and he said so the other day according to the newspapers, because I was a little surprised. I got the impression from being around here 6 years that something was wrong with him. I don't know Mr. Thomas.

Mr. McNIECE. I don't know him either, but I wouldn't assail him on the basis of lack of knowledge.

Mr. HAYS. I don't mean to impugn him at all, but I am wondering if you and I can come to any kind of an agreement on that.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you permit an interruption?

Mr. HAYS. Would you let me finish my thought and then I will be glad to.

What I am driving at is this: Because a man is a socialist or calls himself a socialist is that any reason why he couldn't be a loyal American? You see some people down here—I will try to explain what I am driving at—some people say socialists and communists are one and the same and I have always been led to believe that they aren't. Some people tried to give the term “socialists” a dirty connotation, and I am wondering if it has that in the public's mind? I am wondering if that is justified?

Mr. McNIECE. I would say unquestionably from my own observation and experience that some socialist objectives, to use your word, have a dirty connotation. My own feeling is that a Communist might be defined as a Socialist in a hurry.

Until the Communists came into this country more or less officially in 1919 there was a very close affiliation between the Socialists and the IWW—the International Workers of the World. The Communists, when they did come into the country, alined themselves very closely with the Socialist Party. They were not divorced until grad-

ually, several years later. Tractenburg, who was named by Mr. Budenz under oath as one of the active Communist leaders in this country, appointed to the committee to infiltrate or penetrate our cultural associations here, including foundations, was originally a member of the Socialist Party in this country. It is so recorded in the publications of the International Socialist League. I have seen the names there myself.

Now, there are others, and other members prominent in the Socialist Party in those earlier days who divorced themselves from the party and joined the Communist circles when the Communists became active in this particular country.

Mr. HAYS. But you don't differentiate between the two except one of them is in a bigger hurry than the other one.

Mr. McNIECE. Again, I would say I would have to make an additional differentiation, just as I would between different groups in the Republican or Democratic Parties.

There are some Socialists who wish to go the full distance insofar as complete public control of all productive facilities are concerned. They have identical objectives with the Communists except they are going to be a little more patient and instead of attaining those objectives by revolutionary methods, are willing to battle for a long time through the ballot box.

Only recently Norman Thomas has said that we have gone further on the road toward our objectives, or toward socialism, I have forgotten the exact quotation, "than I would have dreamed possible a few years ago without Socialist victories at the polls."

Mr. HAYS. Now, then, we had a social security bill passed here this week, and everybody but 8 Members of the House voted for it. Are all of us—and I am one of them, and I don't know about the other members of the committee—is every one of us who voted for that except the 8, are we Socialists?

Mr. McNIECE. I would certainly not define a Socialist by any such pretext as that, definitely not.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you permit an interruption, with the Congressman's permission?

Without characterizing Mr. Thomas, whom I have known for 35 years, and for whom personally I have a very high regard because certainly he is honest in presenting his position, and there is no deception about where he stands—

Mr. HAYS. Are you not afraid of being investigated for saying that?

The CHAIRMAN. But he is a Socialist. I am not a Socialist myself, whatever else I might be, that is something I am not. And here, as I get it, is the heart of socialism. We talk about various pieces of legislation that might in some degree impinge upon or advance the authority of the Government in some degree over the people and, of course, practically every governmental action does that to a degree, and might to that extent be characterized in a degree of socialism.

But in this conclusion of the Commission on Social Studies, on page 12, it sets out there what I consider to be pretty much the heart of socialism:

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 * * *

* * * the age of individualism is closing, and that a new age of collectivism is emerging.

As to the specific form which this "collectivism" 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 * * * and will represent a composite of historic doctrines and social conceptions yet to appear.

Socialism here is indicating its final accomplishment will either do away with private property, or, in legal phraseology "entail" the preservation of private property—extending and distributing it among the masses. Now, that is characterizing socialism in the sense of the word in which I have felt it exists, and that is embodied in the conclusions of one of these studies that was foundation-financed.

Mr. McNIECE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much.

Mr. HAYS. You, I hope, facetiously accused me of diversionary tactics, and now that is all right. You are sort of getting diversionary here with me and going from place to place, but that is all right, I will just divert with you, and let us go over to that.

The CHAIRMAN. I am just trying to keep things pointed up.

Mr. HAYS. That is a difference of opinion, isn't it? I will divert and go over to page 12 with you.

Now Mr. McNiece, in the conclusions and recommendations of the Commission on Social Studies, you cite this as their conclusions. Did the whole membership of this Commission sign this report, or did anybody sign it, or do you know?

Mr. McNIECE. No, I think I mentioned that in here somewhere. There were 14 members of the original board. Nobody resigned from it. Out of the 14, 10 signed the final report, and 4 did not sign it. They did not offer any dissident statement, and nobody knows why that was done. I have covered that in the next section, where I get into the planning end of it.

Mr. HAYS. Was the then superintendent of the schools of the District of Columbia among the members of that commission?

Mr. McNIECE. He was among the members of the commission that refused to sign, or did not sign at any rate.

Another one was Charles E. Merriam, to whom I devote considerable attention in the next section of this report, and another one was Edmund E. Day, now deceased. Merriam also is deceased. Edmund Day was president of Cornell University. I have forgotten, but I may be able to find it here, the fourth member. It is Ernest Horne.

From the record itself, Frank A. Balleau, who was formerly Superintendent of Schools here in the District of Columbia, and Edmund E. Day, and Ernest Horne, and Charles E. Merriam declined to sign.

Mr. HAYS. Now, then, going on to page 12, I want to quote again one sentence there, and I would like to ask you to take a mental jump back 20 years to 1934:

The leaders in public affairs supported by a growing mass of the population are demanding the introduction into the economy of ever wider measures of planning and control.

Do you think that that statement has any validity or not, historically?

Mr. McNIECE. I am inclined to believe that it does have a historical basis.

Mr. HAYS. I think so, too. Now, where were we before we got pointed up here?

The CHAIRMAN. While he is searching his records, some reference was made a while ago about getting in a hurry. I was looking through your testimony to find one of these reports where they used it. They were speaking about one method of educating the children, and ultimately getting the great masses educated in this collectivist type of thinking, and somebody said that they were too slow and they were in a hurry, and that was the phrase I was looking for.

Mr. HAYS. Now going back to page 6, you listed these 95 individuals, and you say that—

these grants were made to professors, authors, lecturers, and educational groups and so forth, all virtually without exception were included within educational circles. It should be obvious that with the passage of time, the activity of this many people and organizations—

and I assume you mean all 95 of them—

Mr. McNIECE. That is right.

Mr. HAYS (reading).

dedicated to spreading the word in the educational field would have an influence out of all measurable proportion to the relative value and number of grants.

How many people would you say would be in the educational field, Mr. McNiece?

Mr. McNIECE. Are you talking about the—

Mr. HAYS. You used the term, and I don't know.

Mr. McNIECE. I am asking you what you mean by people in the educational field, do you mean all of the teachers of the country; is that right?

Mr. HAYS. I would think so, yes, and superintendents.

Mr. McNIECE. I would think the NEA estimate is approximately 500,000 teachers in the schools.

Mr. HAYS. Wouldn't you agree with me, Mr. McNiece, that that is a sort of an insult to the intelligence of 500,000 teachers, to say that 95 people can influence them in some sort of collectivist trend?

Mr. McNIECE. No, I wouldn't say it was an insult to them at all, because those 95 people, more or less, are not spending their time solely in trying to influence teachers. They are also spending their time at their own working levels, wherever they may be. I have pointed out in another section here somewhere, that it is from the hard core of policymaking levels that these things come, and I quoted evidence to show that that thought in one form or one word or another is recognized in the educational field. That is, to get further faster; I think that phrase was used in one of the Ford Foundations' reports—

The CHAIRMAN. That is what I was looking for.

Mr. McNIECE. Yes, it is necessary to concentrate—

Mr. HAYS. Now, Mr. McNiece, wouldn't you say that down through the years, the American people, the teachers and the whole American public have had hundreds and thousands and tens of thousands of ideas put before them, since the inception of this Republic; the Populists and the Greenbacks and the Know-Nothings, and the political philosophies without end, and you certainly wouldn't, or would you, argue that in this plot psychosis theory that you seem to set forth, that

you believe the majority of Americans can't be trusted to make an intelligent choice from all of these ideas that are put out? That they are going to be sort of herded like sheep into something that they don't want to go into?

Mr. McNIECE. I cannot be sure of this statement because it falls into the class of hearsay, but I have been told that there is a very large proportion of the teachers in the public schools of the United States who are greatly opposed to this effort, let me say, of the central core toward collectivist teaching. I have even been told that a large number of them would rally, if they had the opportunity, around another influence.

Now, as I have told you, it is hearsay on my part.

Mr. HAYS. What influence are you talking about?

Mr. McNIECE. I am talking about—

Mr. HAYS. Is it NEA? Are you talking about an influence now? Let us name names, and is this influence the NEA or what is it?

Mr. McNIECE. I am not naming names, except in the form of associations, out of which these movements are developing. There they are, in that central block of rectangles, suspended from the foundations, and then they have spread out through the whole web or fabric of the institution, into government and also into education.

Mr. HAYS. What has spread out?

Mr. McNIECE. This collectivist influence that we are talking about, that is the main theme of this report.

Mr. HAYS. Well, now, just exactly, can you define this collectivist influence for us, and that is another term that is tossed about here.

Mr. McNIECE. I think it is defined by the excerpts themselves, and the educators themselves have used it. If I look through this book—

The CHAIRMAN. Does this have effect on page 40, Education for Tomorrow:

We submit to the membership of the NEA that its roll in 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.

Mr. HAYS. Now we are going over to page 40.

The CHAIRMAN. I thought that kind of pointed up there.

Mr. McNIECE. Page 23 is the one that you were looking for.

Mr. HAYS. He was quoting from page 40, and let us settle this page 40 deal first. And now what is this from on page 40, Mr. McNiece? Could you tell us what that is?

Mr. McNIECE. Yes, that is from the editorial, it appears almost exactly the center of the page, page 7, Educating for Tomorrow. That is from the Social Frontier, a journal of educational criticism and reconstruction.

Mr. HAYS. What do these names, Charles A. Beard, Henry P. Fairchild, and John Dewey, and Sidney Hook and Goodwin Watson have to do with the whole ball of wax?

Mr. McNIECE. I quoted from the title page of the magazine.

Mr. HAYS. And they are associated with it, and thereby if this is bad, they are involved; is that right?

Mr. McNIECE. I didn't want to give only part of the page, and I even gave the price of \$2 a year.

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Wormser, could we get you to take the stand for about a minute right here?

The CHAIRMAN. Just a minute.

Mr. HAYS. I have some questions right along that.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Wormser is not a witness and the committee will decide whether he shall be called or not. I don't want to proceed in such a fashion. We don't want to follow—

Mr. HAYS. I will ask him the question without taking the stand.

The CHAIRMAN. We don't want to follow the procedure of some of the other committees of just yanking anybody that happens to be around, before the committee as a witness. We want an orderly presentation here, and it might very well be that Mr. Wormser should in due time be qualified, and testify as a witness, but at this period at least he is our counsel.

Mr. HAYS. Well, let me say, Mr. Reece, he is your counsel.

The CHAIRMAN. He is the committee's counsel.

Mr. HAYS. And I have no objection to you calling him the committee's counsel, but I will state right here in public that I don't have any private line that I can pick up the phone and without even dialing a number have it ring down there and get Mr. Wormser whenever I want him. And so if he is a committee counsel, the minority ought to have that same setup, oughtn't they?

Will you answer a couple of questions for me, Mr. Wormser, without being under oath, and I think that you are an honorable man.

Mr. WORMSER. Thank you.

Mr. HAYS. And let me say, Mr. Chairman, that you are the one who wanted everybody sworn here in the beginning and I was only trying to play your game according to your rules.

The CHAIRMAN. If he is going to testify, I want him sworn, too.

Mr. HAYS. Let me ask you this, this Sidney Hook—and I don't know him, do you know him?

Mr. WORMSER. Yes, sir.

Mr. HAYS. Do you think he is a Communist?

Mr. WORMSER. I have no idea. I don't think he is.

Mr. HAYS. Did you consult with him at all about how to run this investigation?

Mr. WORMSER. No, I had a conference with him and two other professors at New York University at the request of Dean McGee of the School of General Education.

Mr. HAYS. About this Reece committee investigation?

Mr. WORMSER. One aspect of it, one particular aspect of it. Which I would be very glad to discuss with you if you would wish.

Mr. HAYS. Did he give you any specific advice that we could find useful here?

Mr. WORMSER. Well, yes; I suppose he did. The particular thing that I was interested in was the criticism that the foundations had overemphasized empiricism. I discussed that with Dean McGee, and with Chancellor Held, of New York University. Subsequently, Dean McGee was the dean of the faculty on the periphery of which I have a position and suggested it might be interesting to talk to three of his professors. Sidney Hook was one, and I have forgotten the names of the other two.

We had a very interesting informal discussion on empiricism, in the course of which I learned a great deal.

Mr. HAYS. Now, then, let me ask you this: Do you think Sidney Hook's name being associated with John Dewey here is any reflection on Mr. Hook?

Mr. WORMSER. Well—

Mr. HAYS. Apparently, I get it he is one of the authors of this thing, of this horrible thing Mr. Reece is reading from.

Mr. WORMSER. Mr. Beard talked to me at Columbia, and I had the highest respect for him, and Sidney Hook spoke on the same platform that I spoke in my hometown of California a week apart, and I respected very much what he had to say. I have no personal criticism of Professor Hook at all, and I like the man. I know very little about his points of view.

Mr. HAYS. I am glad to hear you approve of Mr. Beard, Professor Beard. In other words, just the fact that here are their names and associated with these bad ideas, they are still pretty nice people.

Mr. WORMSER. Are you asking me the question? I was devoted to Professor Beard and that was no characterization of his beliefs.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't agree with all of his beliefs?

Mr. WORMSER. I certainly do not.

Mr. HAYS. I am glad to hear you say that. I would hate to think that you would agree with all of anybody's beliefs. That is the whole crux of this hearing: Are we trying to sit here and say that we are going to decide what people believe in or not?

The CHAIRMAN. Certainly not. I will come on the stand myself on that point.

Mr. HAYS. I may ask you to take the stand before we are through.

The CHAIRMAN. Since I referred to getting somewhere in a hurry, I found the quotation.

Mr. HAYS. What page are we going to now?

The CHAIRMAN. Back on page 23. It is in reference to the report of the behavioral sciences division of the Ford Foundation, published last year. [Reading:]

In sum then, the foundation's hopes and expectations significantly to advance the behavioral sciences—to get further faster, through the temporary concentration at one place of the ablest scholars and the most promising young people studying together in the most effective way that the state of the field now permits.

Mr. HAYS. Is that bad?

The CHAIRMAN. It is the concentration angle of it.

Mr. HAYS. We are going to get Ohio State to be a subversive organization yet, because I had a coach out in track there and it was his slogan to get the further faster. I used to run the half-mile, and he didn't think I got far enough fast enough. You know something, I think the Ford Foundation or whoever did this stole that phrase, anyway, because I think that that thing goes back—to get there "fustest with the mostest"—which I have always thought was a pretty good sound, military concept.

The CHAIRMAN. Just to get there first helps a lot.

Mr. HAYS. What I want to know now, is that there isn't anything wrong with getting further faster, is there?

The CHAIRMAN. It depends on which direction you are traveling.

Mr. HAYS. Well, now, I think that points up a very interesting thing and without bringing politics into this hearing, and it hasn't

come in yet, I know, if we get there faster in November than you do, that is going to be bad from your point of view, isn't it?

The CHAIRMAN. It wouldn't be very gratifying. In one of my speeches, if I remember correctly, one time I used the phrase, "It is not the length of the step that counts in life, it is the direction," and so that is what I am interested in.

All we are trying to do, in making this study, is to find out the direction and not the speed with which this movement, without characterizing it, may be advancing.

Mr. HAYS. Well the whole thing, doesn't it boil down, Mr. Chairman, to a sort of debate about what is for the public welfare? Some of these people, Mr. Wormser has testified here informally giving his opinion that Professors Hook and Beard are pretty nice people. You don't think that they are subversive?

Mr. WORMSER. I didn't say that I agreed with their opinions, Mr. Hays.

Mr. HAYS. I understand that, but do you agree they have a right to have their opinions?

Mr. WORMSER. Of course.

Mr. HAYS. Since we are pointing this up, I don't see any point in trying to go page by page, and we will hop in wherever we feel like it, let us look at page 12. We were talking about that a little while ago, weren't we? I believe we agreed that that sentence I read that—

the leaders in public affairs supported by the growing mass of the population, are demanding the introduction into the economy of ever wider measures of planning and control—

and you agreed that that was pretty sound.

Mr. MCNIECE. That the leaders are, or were; yes.

Mr. HAYS. Mr. McNiece, if these conclusions here which you have cited, and which some of the group didn't sign, if they are the honest conclusions of the people who did sign it, and you and I may not agree with it, certainly I don't agree with everything in there, and as a matter of fact in retrospect, looking back 20 years I might not agree with a great deal of it—but is there anything wrong with their saying it?

Mr. MCNIECE. Anything wrong with what?

Mr. HAYS. With saying this is their conclusions in 1934?

Mr. MCNIECE. Again I question the judgment of men who are represented, and especially in the Carnegie appraisal afterward, as leaders in their field. I certainly question them, even under the stress of chaotic conditions, many of which thoughtful people, based on precedent and analysis, would know were temporary. It would assume we were entering into an age of transition.

Mr. HAYS. In other words, you are questioning their judgment in saying this.

Mr. MCNIECE. But not their right to say it.

Mr. HAYS. That is right. Well, now, then, what would you have teachers and people in the educational field do, just remain silent and not express any opinions about anything?

Mr. MCNIECE. That isn't inferred in any of the testimony I have given.

Mr. HAYS. Well, the inference is—in fact there is more than in inference—you are questioning their judgment in saying this, and now

I am asking you first what is wrong with it. Then you said that you thought it was bad judgment, but you didn't question their right. So it seems to me that the question automatically follows "What would you have them do?" Anybody who makes a statement about anything runs a risk 20 years later of having someone look at it in retrospect and say, "Boy, what a lousy prophet he was."

You wouldn't have everybody keep still for fear they would look bad 20 years hence?

Mr. McNIECE. Your statements are very categorical statements. I think we have to admit that in the verbatim transcript. Some other groups refer to the period, and to these policies, as experimental, but as we get further and further down the line to the working level, we find that these so-called experimental ideas are being impressed on the great mass of the population through both Government and education.

Mr. HAYS. Could I finish? I have about two more related questions here, if you don't mind.

Now, Mr. McNiece, a lot of things that people said in 1934 have been proved wrong by the years, and the years have a way of taking toll of ideas as well as individuals. A lot of those things have been proven wrong. You have gone back and based a good deal of this document on things 20 years or more ago.

I am wondering if perhaps the New Deal and the Fair Deal, which has been mentioned here, contrary to what it has been accused of, hasn't killed a lot of this business that you are talking about, because a lot of it is less evident now than it was in 1934 or else you would have cited now instead of 1934, wouldn't you?

Mr. McNIECE. We have brought virtually all of these flows—if I may use the word in that sense—up to date in what I expect to be the final version of my participation in this. In other words the economic report will indicate that the same trend is more or less continuing, the trend which starts back in 1934.

Mr. HAYS. Let me say to you, and I will not ask you any more questions, Mr. Reece and I have agreed that it is probably time to adjourn for today, that perhaps you ought to change the title of that next one before you bring it in, because when you put the word "economics" in it you begin to cast some doubts on it right off, don't you?

It reminds me of the story a little bit, about when I went back to this university that has been mentioned here a few times, this summer, or early spring—it was along in April or March. I hadn't been out to Columbus for a long time and I was asking about various professors that I had remembered when I was there. Some of them were dead and one I particularly asked about whom I won't mention, an economics professor, and I said to this friend of mine "Whatever happened to him?" And he said "Well you won't believe it, but he is still around and he is still teaching economics."

And I said "Well that is amazing," because it has been longer than I like to think, and he seemed like an old man then, and he said "Well, the most amazing thing is that he is giving the same 10 questions in final examinations that he gave when you were here."

And I said "Well, the boys ought to be getting pretty good grades in economics, better than I did, because they have had a good many years to learn the answers to the questions."

And he said, "That is just the point; the old cuss has changed the answer every year."

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will meet tomorrow through the courtesy of Mr. Hays' committee, at the Banking and Currency Committee room, 1031, in the New House Office Building. That will be at 10 o'clock.

(Whereupon, at 4:30 p. m. the hearing was recessed to reconvene at 10 a. m. Friday, June 4, 1954.)

