

## TAX-EXEMPT FOUNDATIONS

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THURSDAY, JUNE 17, 1954

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

The special committee met at 10 a. m., pursuant to adjournment, in room 1301, New House Office Building, Hon. B. Carroll Reece, chairman of the special committee, presiding.

Present: Representatives Reece, Goodwin, Hays, and Pfof.

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, please.

You may proceed, Mr. Herring.

### **TESTIMONY OF PENDLETON HERRING, PRESIDENT, SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL, ACCOMPANIED BY PAUL WEBBINK, VICE PRESIDENT, SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL, AND TIMOTHY PFEIFFER, ATTORNEY, NEW YORK, N. Y.—Resumed**

Mr. HERRING. I am very happy indeed that I can go forward, calling to the committee's attention the facts and principles that seem to me relevant and that I hope will be helpful in this inquiry.

There were one or two points raised by members of the committee yesterday that I would like to go back to, because there was insufficient time to develop the interesting points that were mentioned.

The first point relates to Congressman Hays' inquiry about the Soviets and their attitudes toward the social sciences and the foundations, and the second point relates to the interesting line of comment opened by Congressman Goodwin in his references to history. So if it is your pleasure, I would like to take up those two points and proceed.

I have before me, and I have copies that I would like to place in the hands of the committee, a brief memo that was prepared by a Russian specialist, a man who spends his time reading all that we can get out from behind the Iron Curtain about what the Russians are doing. He wrote this memo, and there are a few paragraphs that I think are interesting and relevant, and you have the whole thing before you. So I will just read 2 or 3 paragraphs.

This memorandum is meant to implement any suggestion to you that the Reece committee might be interested in learning something of how the general problem it has under investigation is treated and viewed behind the Iron Curtain.

In drawing up this memorandum I have not undertaken a systematic survey, but have merely drawn on my notes and on items which were easily recalled by me or my colleagues. A systematic survey of Soviet sources would yield an enormous number of violent attacks on the foundations and the accessory agencies in Communist sources.

#### FOUNDATIONS AND ACCESSORY AGENCIES BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN

By way of background the committee may be interested to know that in Communist-controlled countries the existence of organizations like the great American foundations and the accessory agencies is unthinkable. Where they existed at the time of the Communist seizure of power they were always among the first institutions to be broken up and to have their funds confiscated by the Communist dictatorship. This is because the Communists recognize that such funds and agencies are sources for centers of free thought and opinion which is always inimical to Communist rule. In the Soviet Union, for example, professors, scientists, and other scholars are not permitted to organize associations like the American Historical Association. They may belong only to trade unions and to officially sponsored governmentally organized institutions such as the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences.

Not only does the Communist world look askance at the existence of foundations and agencies of the accessory type in its own domain, but it also takes a very hostile view to those which exist in the free world and particularly those which operate in the United States.

Then I skip to the next paragraph, on page 2.

The rule of the foundations on the American scene is not too well understood by Communist propagandists, however, and they concentrate most of their fire on what the Reece committee has defined as the "accessory agencies." Our great educational associations, for example, are constantly attacked in Soviet educational journals as instruments of capitalism, spreading its ideology, teaching hostility toward the Soviet Union and toward communism, and misleading our youth by "reactionary" teaching methods. To cite another example, from odd notes at hand which could be matched many times over through a careful survey, we might consider the American Economic Association.

In a book entitled "Ideologists of the Imperialist Bourgeoisie," published by the Academy of Sciences of the U. S. S. R. in 100,000 copies, the American Economic Association is attacked for allegedly fomenting propaganda designed to incite a new world war against the Soviet Union. The members of the association are described therein as "bourgeois economists (who are) in the service of monopolistic capital" and whose theories are designed solely for the purpose of defending the American business interests of their "capitalist masters."

Then there is further data in the following paragraph, but perhaps we could skip to the middle of page 3.

#### SOCIAL SCIENCE IN THE SOVIET UNION

Since the Reece committee appears to be particularly interested in the support given by the foundations to social science in the United States, they may wish to know that in the eyes of Communist leaders social science is regarded as one of the worst and most dangerous enemies of Communist ideology and Communist expansion. Indeed, so strong is the feeling against sociology that it is not permitted to teach it as a subject in the Soviet Union. Sociology is defined there as a strictly "bourgeois" and "capitalist" science of society and is regarded by the Soviets as directly opposed to and contradicting Marxism. Consequently they forbid the teaching of sociology in Soviet Russia and have substituted Marxism-Leninism instead as the only "true" science of society. Communist hostility to sociology is reflected in the fact that the Soviet press has in recent years been full of attacks on American sociology, and in addition at least two special books on the subject have been put out by official Soviet publishing houses. One of these, issued in 1951 by the State Political Publishing House of the U. S. S. R. in 100,000 copies, bears the title "American Bourgeois Philosophy and Sociology in the Service of Imperialism"; the other, was issued in 1952 by the Academy of Sciences of the U. S. S. R. in 10,000 copies under the title "Contemporary American Bourgeois Sociology in the Service of Expansionism."

This latter is apparently a revised edition of a book by the same author published under a slightly different title in 1949, and at the time severely criticized

in a review in *Culture and Life* (Kultura i Zhizn), the official publication of the Department of Propaganda of the Soviet Communist Party. The criticism held that the author was "too easy" on American sociologists and failed to expose the full degree to which American sociologists play "the odious role of servants and lackeys to the imperialist \* \* \* capitalists of the United States." You may rest assured that on the second time around this author did not fail to drive home the point.

The individual American social scientists brought under attack in these polemical Soviet writings read like a Who's Who of American sociology and social science in general. Among them are many men who were prominent in the councils of the foundations and the accessory agencies or who have received support from them.

But I think we can skip the names of individuals, however, since one name has already been brought into the discussion, and we might turn to page 5, where at the beginning of the second paragraph, I read:

Since the name of Stuart Chase has or will probably come before the committee his name might serve for one last illustration. In one of the Soviet books cited above Chase is violently attacked as a long time spreader of "reactionary" ideas, even in the time when he was regarded as a liberal in the thirties. It is charged by the Communist press that after the recent World War he openly joined the "shrill chorus of American atom-bombists" in their "openly Fascist" attacks on world peace. Specifically, he is accused of "fulfilling the orders of monopolistic bosses" by preaching the saving of capitalism through resort if necessary to war and atomic destruction.

Since the report by the staff to the Reece committee seems concerned about the possibility that the foundations and the accessory agencies have fostered changes in the basic American way of life, it might be appropriate to conclude that this is hardly the Soviet view. On the contrary, they see American social scientists as "propagandizing the antiscientific idea of America's uniqueness" and of spreading the "false" idea that under American capitalism there are such things as "enduring prosperity" and "a harmony of interests between labor and capital."

Mr. WORMSER. May I interrupt you just to say that in this memorandum, it is stated that the Soviet Union has a hostile attitude toward United States foundations. I suppose you are aware of the fact that in the Cox committee hearings it was brought out rather conclusively that the Communists had by direct order from the Kremlin determined to infiltrate American foundations for their own purposes, and there is evidence that to some extent they had been successful. That doesn't look like a hostile attitude in that sense, does it? They are very ready to use the American foundations when they can for their purposes.

Mr. HAYS. Well, I would say that doesn't indicate any friendly attitude. They don't have a friendly attitude toward a lot of American institutions that they would like to infiltrate.

Mr. HERRING. It has been charged that they have been trying to infiltrate the American Government. I wouldn't interpret the American Government as friendly.

Mr. HAYS. If you wanted to use that type of logic, you could probably arrive at the conclusion that because at the same day the staff attacked the Kinsey report, the Soviets attacked it, and the same day the Communists attacked empirical research, the staff attacked empirical research, that the Communists and the staff are against empirical research, and if you wanted to arrive at some kind of an analogy you could say there was some sort of a liaison between the staff and the Communists.

The CHAIRMAN. I think the gentleman is in error when he says the staff attacked the Kinsey report. As one member of the committee,

I don't have much interest in the Kinsey report. Any interest that the committee might have in the Kinsey report arises out of whether that was a desirable undertaking for a foundation, which is quite a different matter. In my observation, if I may make one, with reference to the attitude of Soviet Russia toward foundations, I am not in anywise surprised, myself, because Soviet Russia is against private enterprise of all types. Everything is centered in the government there, both major industrial activities, and, of course, as we have learned, to our great regret, practically all research and ideological forces are directed by the government. So it is quite understandable that the government of Soviet Russia would not permit the establishment of great foundations which would be free of government influence.

Would you mind identifying for the record Alex Inkeles?

MR. HERRING. Alex Inkeles is on the staff of the Russian Research Center at Harvard University. He has published studies of Russian problems, and he is recognized as a leading specialist in the field of Russian studies.

The CHAIRMAN. But with reference to the question raised by Mr. Wormser, the mere fact that Soviet Russia is against private foundations, as it is against all other types of private enterprise does not mean that Soviet Russia might not be desirous of utilizing any forces in America or elsewhere which might exist, to their advantage, if it was possible to do so—without indicating that they are able to do so, that would be an illogical conclusion.

MR. HAYS. That raises an interesting question in view of what Mr. Wormser said. Does the staff have any evidence that they have infiltrated in these foundations?

The CHAIRMAN. His question was based altogether on the findings and report of the committee with which Mr. Goodwin and I worked.

MR. HAYS. But there have been charges made again and again in the presence and otherwise and even in the Congressional Record that there are Communists in these foundations. But I haven't yet seen the staff bring out any evidence of it. I think it is time that the staff either said they are there and are going to bring them out, or else they say they are not there. We have these insinuations and allegations without any proof.

MR. WORMSER. I am not insinuating or alleging anything. I am referring only to the Cox committee report which showed conclusively that there had been Communist penetration in the foundations. In fact, two substantial foundations have lost their tax exemption, because they had been sufficiently penetrated.

MR. HAYS. Then they are not foundations anymore. But the ones I am talking about are the ones still in existence. Charges were made as to the Ford Foundation. Have you any evidence that there are Communists—

The CHAIRMAN. I assume you are referring to my speech. I made no such allegations myself. I made allegations that undesirable influences were to be found in the foundations, but not that there were Communists there; or that at least is as I recall my speech.

But that doesn't help us get along with the hearings.

MR. HERRING. Mr. Chairman, I think I could be most helpful by commenting on some of the things I know something about, and I

have just brought this in to sharpen our sense of contrast between our great free institutions here and the way they go about things.

The CHAIRMAN. I think that is a very fine expression you are making. There are no free institutions in Russia of any type, character, or description, whether educational, whether philanthropic, or whether industrial, financial, or any other way. There all power is vested in the Government when it desires to exercise it.

Mr. HERRING. I just wanted to nail that point down.

The CHAIRMAN. So there is nothing unusual, as I see it, in Russia taking the attitude it does toward foundations within the borders of Russia.

Mr. HERRING. Now, may I follow up with just one additional point? And then I would like to come back to the good old United States of America, if I may. But just one other point on this Russian side.

I have here an article that appeared in *Culture and Life*, this same Soviet Russian publication, the 21st of June 1949, by M. Rubenstein. The article is entitled "Science in the U. S. A. in the Service of Monopolies and Militarists." And there are just a few sentences from this article that I think are of particular interest. This is a Russian speaking now, and I am quoting:

The American press has currently been giving a great deal of lip service to the "independence" and "impartiality" of science in the United States, which allegedly is outside the realm of politics. But one needs only to become familiar with the incontrovertible facts of reality to dispel this myth of the impartiality and independence of American science and to make it more than apparent that science in the United States serves as an obedient instrument of the forces of reaction and the capitalist monopolies that are militarizing it—putting it at the service of its aggressive aims.

Then he goes on to say:

A considerable role in the American, scientific-research network is played by universities and colleges which prepare cadres for all scientific institutions and which at the same time are centers of theoretical research.

Due either to a profound fallacy or by conscious design, a widespread conception is being circulated in America that science in the universities as distinct from research work done in the laboratories of the industrial corporation is "independent" of the policies of the monopolies.

It will suffice to mention that 200 of the largest United States corporations control the governing board literally: academic councils of almost all the American universities, which, in consequence, are controlled directly by Wall Street.

And this Soviet author continues:

The monopolies' influence on the social science is displayed with cynical candor. Not only do the monopolies not object to the professors' dealing with current problems; on the contrary, they demand that this be done—but on the condition that their studies and all written and oral statements must clearly be aimed at defending the interests and policies of the monopolies. Anyone disagreeing with this policy is ruthlessly driven out and, in effect, blackballed.

And just one final sentence. I can't stand much more of this myself.

Long ago Lenin has shown that there can be no "impartial" social science in a society torn by class struggle, that in one way or another, bourgeois science always defends wage slavery.

And, quoting Lenin's work—and mark you, I suppose a reputable Russian author has to work in a quote from Lenin. So he has one, to make it legal.

To expect science to be impartial in a wage-slave society is as silly and naive as to expect impartiality from manufacturers on the question of whether workers' wages should be increased by decreasing the profits of capital.

That is from Lenin's Works, volume 19, page 3.

At present, when the United States has become the primary force in the imperialist camp, the social sciences in America have been placed completely in the service of imperialist expansion.

If anyone wants to have this, they are welcome to it.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you like to put it in the record as a part of your remarks?

Mr. HERRING. We would like to do so.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection.

(The document referred to is as follows:)

#### SCIENCE IN THE U. S. A. IN THE SERVICE OF MONOPOLIES AND MILITARISTS

(By Mr. Rubinshtein in Kul'tura i zhizn', Culture and Life, June 21, 1949, p. 4)

The American press has currently been giving a great deal of lip service to the "independence" and "impartiality" of science in the United States, which allegedly is outside the realm of politics. But one needs only to become familiar with the incontrovertible facts of reality to dispel this myth of the impartiality and independence of American science and to make it more than apparent that science in the United States serves as an obedient instrument of the forces of reaction and the capitalist monopolies that are militarizing it, putting it at the service of its aggressive aims.

Despite the extreme diversity and chaotic state of the scientific-research network in the United States, one can delineate three basic and definitive groups: Scientific-research laboratories operated by industrial corporations, the universities, and scientific institutions run by the government. Each of these groups of scientific-research institutions is completely dependent on the capitalist monopolies, and on the policies of finance capital prevailing in the United States.

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Clearly, it would be laughable to expect scientists who are directly subservient to the monopolies to be impartial toward and independent of the policies of these monopolies. It should be noted that even in the most specialized areas of research these scientists do not have the right to publish their own works unless permitted and censored by the appropriate corporation.

A considerable role in the American scientific-research network is played by universities and colleges which prepare cadres for all scientific institutions and which at the same time are centers of theoretical research.

Due either to a profound fallacy or by conscious design, a widespread conception is being circulated in America that science in the universities as distinct from research work done in the laboratories of the industrial corporations is independent of the policies of the monopolies.

It will suffice to mention that 200 of the largest United States corporations control the governing boards literally: academic councils of almost all the American universities, which, in consequence, are controlled directly by Wall Street.

The monopolies' influence on the social sciences is displayed with cynical candor. Not only do the monopolies not object to the professors' dealing with current problems; on the contrary, they demand that this be done—but on the condition that their studies, and all written and oral statements must clearly be aimed at defending the interests and policies of the monopolies. Anyone disagreeing with this policy is ruthlessly driven out and in effect, blackballed.

In carrying out the instructions of their masters, university presidents make reactionary speeches on burning political and economic issues—and then these speeches are widely circulated by the press and radio, which are in the hands of these same monopolies.

Long ago Lenin has shown that there can be no "impartial" social science in a society torn by class struggle, that in one way or another, bourgeois science always defends wage slavery. "To expect science to be impartial in a wage-slave society is as silly and naive as to expect impartiality from manufacturers on the question of whether workers' wages should be increased by decreasing the profits of capital" (V. I. Lenin, *Soch.*, vol. 19, p. 3).

At present, when the United States has become the primary force in the imperialist camp, the social sciences in America have been placed completely in the service of imperialist expansion.

In many American universities special centers for "research" have been formed which have become veritable hornets' nests of scholarly instigators of a new war. Such, for example, is the Institute of International Studies at Yale University, which has become one of the centers for American geopoliticians who propagate the idea that the whole world must become a Lebensraum for American monopolies, and who glorify the "absolute weapon" of atomic and bacteriological warfare.

American economists, who, for the most part, are in the immediate service of the capitalist trusts, are coming out more and more frequently with odious and mendacious "theories" concerning the inevitability and even the desirability of a new world war as the sole means of saving American capitalism from crises and unemployment. These economists are striving to convince the American people. In response to the demand of the monopolies, that the growth in expenditures for armaments is "stimulating a rise in business activity" and that the Marshall plan expenditures enable "unemployment to be exported" beyond the borders of the United States of America. America's bourgeois historians brazenly distort the history of the United States as well as the history of international relations in an attempt to portray American imperialists as "benefactors" of humanity.

American scholars—ethnographers and sociologists—are outdoing themselves in their efforts to repaint the Hitlerite racial theory in American colors, to poison the consciousness of the masses with this odious form of the Fascist ideology. They propagate the demented ideas of a "chosen" Anglo-Saxon race elected to rule the world, call for intensified racial discrimination, and factually justify the lynching of Negroes, annihilation of Indians, and the ruthless exploitation of colonial peoples. This dissemination of the poison of nationality differences, beneficial to the monopolies, is aided in every way by many American biologists who base themselves on the unscientific theses of the Weismann-Morgan school of genetics.

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Mr. HAYS. Dr. Herring, do you have any knowledge of Prof. Raymond Bauer at Harvard? He is also in the Russian field.

Mr. HERRING. I have met him; yes.

Mr. HAYS. He has a book called, *The New Man in Soviet Psychology*.

Mr. HERRING. I have browsed through that book.

Mr. HAYS. I would just like to read a couple of paragraphs which he has written, which continue to prove the thesis we are on here of the antagonism of the Soviets toward American-type independent research. He says:

It is particularly striking that certain criticisms made before this committee—this is a letter from Dr. Bauer—

exhibit the same fear of findings of empirical social research that prompted the Bolsheviks to repress, so much of the work of Soviet psychologists. You will find an account of this in chapter 7.

That is of his book, which I have read, and which is outlined in great detail.

Here you will see that the findings of psychologists were criticized and the work ultimately stopped, because their conclusions did not please the Bolshevik politicians.

He said:

I would recommend to you also chapter 8, which deals with one of the most drastic instances of Soviet political interference in education and psychology.

And I have also read that.

It is ironic that progressive education in this country should have been labeled "communistic" by its critics, when, as this chapter and other sections of the book show, all traces of progressive education were violently rejected by the Communists in the period between 1931 and 1936. Finally, if you have the time and patience certain portions of the last chapter may prove rewarding, particularly pages 186 and 189—

and I am citing these in case anyone who reads this record would be interested—

and pages 191 and 196. Here—

says the author—

I have tried as objectively as possible to draw the distinctions between our own and the Soviet political systems as regards the role the social sciences play in the two societies.

And this whole book of his is an indictment of the Soviet system, because they have repressed all free and independent research of any kind.

The CHAIRMAN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HAYS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Any interest, as I see it, which has been expressed here since the study began has been toward maintaining free and independent research, independent both from government and any other great sources of power. And one of the things, as I understand, that the staff is desirous of the committee studying is whether there is too great concentration of power that directs research, so as to keep it from being free and independent, just as the learned doctor states from whom the gentleman from Ohio quotes. If there is great concentration of power, it doesn't make a great deal of difference whether it is in the government or whether it is in some outside agency. So that is one of the very questions that the committee desires to explore. And in exploring, there is not an indication of any unfriendliness whatever, but simply a disposition to learn and develop the facts.

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Chairman, I think that calls for a statement. I might say that your statement is a very heartening and encouraging thing to me.

The CHAIRMAN. That has been the very key, as I understand it, of practically all the questions that have been raised by the staff, Mr. Hays. And I am not unaware of the fact, as Mr. Herring has observed in the press, that various implications have been put on the work of the committee. But that is the very key or one of the principal keys to the purpose of the work that has gone on so far.

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Chairman, as I said, that is a very heartening thing, to hear you say that, and I am glad to hear you say it. But putting your statement up against the very bare words of the reports of the staff, the two just don't correspond. Anyone who can read Mr. McNiece's report or Mr. Dodd's report and say they are in any way friendly toward the foundations, or who can say their reports are not a very damning indictment didn't understand English the way I do. Maybe there is something wrong with the way I do understand it.

The CHAIRMAN. I regret very much that we should have to monopolize the time of the committee, including Mrs. Pfof and the very able gentleman from Massachusetts, who is a member of the Ways and Means Committee, which may ultimately have responsibility concerning legislation as to the tax-exempt status of foundations, but I don't want the wrong impression to go in the record with reference to any statement the staff of the committee has made. The whole purpose of the chart that Mr. McNiece displayed to the committee was to raise the question with reference to the concentration of power in a few places, which had over-all supervision over research.

Now, he was not stating that as a fact but simply raising the question for the exploration of the committee. And, as chairman, I would like to leave Russia and get back to the United States and proceed with our hearing.

Mr. GOODWIN. I think that is most desirable, Mr. Chairman. We have a very eminent gentleman here who is a witness. It may be that he is very much interested in discussions from the rostrum here, which I think might very well be confined to executive session. If he should be, and desires to take from his valuable time some portion of it to listen to discussions here, very well, but it seems to me that we should go on with the hearing and listen to the witness here.

Mr. HAYS. Well, Mr. Goodwin, I am in general agreement with you, but I don't think you can let any blanket statement go unchallenged, from my point of view, and I don't intend to. I am not going to let these rather peculiar statements of the staff go into the record, and then, as to any criticisms I have to make of them, make them in executive session, where nobody knows I made them.

Now, the chairman desires to end this colloquy, but he always keeps bringing in new material. Now, he brought in this chart. And I am impelled to say something about that chart, because I think that chart came about as near being nothing as anything that anybody could have spent much time on, and I am going to tell you why. It is a lot of nice, little pretty boxes with a lot of nice black lines running here and there, and according to its author it was supposed to show some sort of an interlock. Now, suppose I went over to the blackboard and made a chart and said, "That is the White House," or "the State Department." I will put in the White House, and then I will put the State Department underneath it and run a line down.

Then I will make another box, and it says, "The Kremlin," and I run a line from the State Department to the Kremlin. We have an Ambassador there. And another one says, "The Ambassador to Poland." And we run a line there, where there is a Communist government. And another to the Government of Czechoslovakia. And then I could say, "Look, we have lines running out to all these places, so there must be some kind of an interlock between our Government and these Communist governments." It is just about that factual.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have any other statements you wish to make before we proceed?

Mr. HAYS. None right now.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you proceeding with your questioning?

Mr. KOCH. Well, Mr. Herring had a few more remarks. Or I won't even restrict him to a few. He wanted to complete his oral presentation before we started questioning.

Mr. HERRING. I thought Congressman Goodwin made an interesting point yesterday that we didn't have time to develop, and if I may pick up there, I think it may add something to the problems we have under consideration.

He pointed, I thought with real discernment, to the importance of historical fact, what is historically so. And it brought to mind a little piece of American history that I think is quite relevant.

Let's go back to the Franklin Institute in Philadelphia in 1832. In those early years, with steamboats getting under way, unfortunately a good many boilers burst. Bursting steam boilers were a problem. And the Franklin Institute, in its empirical, pragmatic, down-to-

earth way, said, "What can we do about bursting steam boilers?" So they turned to a professor at the University of Pennsylvania, a professor of chemistry and moral philosophy, old Professor Bates. He was the grandson of Benjamin Franklin. And they said, "Will you try to find out why steam boilers burst?"

So he got a grant from the Government. The Secretary of the Treasury got hold of \$1,500—probably the first money used for scientific inquiry. And in American fashion: "If steam boilers burst, let's get some explanation." So they set up a little group to investigate, and they went into all the scientific aspects. And when they got through, I must confess to you that this group of scientists did come up with a recommendation for action. They did say that "maybe if we had some way of inspecting steam boilers, we might protect the public from bursting steam boilers."

So the Steamboat Inspection Service, as a result of this empirical investigation, was established in 1836, and it was the first Government regulatory agency. And I submit to you that the reason for the Government getting into regulation was not socialism. It wasn't any bursting Socialist with his ideas. It was the down-to-earth fact that sometimes steam boilers burst, and we want to know why.

So the grandson of old Ben Franklin went in there, and he found out the reason, and he said, "One of the reasons, that goes beyond the sheer chemical side, is that maybe there is a little carelessness in stoking the fire." In other words, you have got to get the human factor in there. You have to keep an eye on the people who are running the steamboats. And we have the Steamboat Inspection Service as the first regulatory agency.

And I think, Mr. Goodwin, there is an illustration where if you go back to the record, if you look at American history, if you say, "What causes these things?"—now, suppose that group had gone at it in this rationalistic fashion. The first thing you do is get an armchair, and you sit down and say, "Let's speculate about this. Why do these boilers burst?" And you go about it through doing a lot of abstract reasoning.

The steam boilers, I submit, will still be bursting. But when you look at them and you say, "How can we stop this?" and if it takes a little Federal regulation to protect the public from bursting steam boilers, the American way to do it is to get at the actual situation. And I don't want to overemphasize this thing, but I must speak with a bit of emphasis, because I think, as you say, sir, if you look at the historical development of things, you often find the reasons.

The CHAIRMAN. You intended for this memorandum from Mr. Inkeles to go in the record as part of your statement, although you only read portions of it?

Mr. HERRING. Yes, please.

(The document referred to is as follows:)

From: Alex Inkeles.

To: Pendleton Herring.

This memorandum is meant to implement my suggestion to you that the Reece committee might be interested in learning something of how the general problem it has under investigation is treated and viewed behind the Iron Curtain. In drawing up this memorandum I have not undertaken a systematic survey, but have merely drawn on my notes and on items which were easily recalled by me or my colleagues. A systematic survey of Soviet sources would yield an enormous number of violent attacks on the foundations and the accessory agencies in Communist sources.

## FOUNDATIONS AND ACCESSORY AGENCIES BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN

By way of background the committee may be interested to know that in Communist-controlled countries the existence of organizations like the great American foundations and the accessory agencies is unthinkable. Where they existed at the time of the Communist seizure of power they were always among the first institutions to be broken up and to have their funds confiscated by the Communist dictatorship. This is because the Communists recognize that such funds and agencies are sources for centers of free thought and opinion, which is always inimical to Communist rule. In the Soviet Union, for example, professors, scientists, and other scholars are not permitted to organize associations like the American Historical Association. They may belong only to trade unions and to officially sponsored governmentally organized institutions such as the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences.

Not only does the Communist world look askance at the existence of foundations and agencies of the accessory type in its own domain, but it also takes a very hostile view to these which exist in the free world and particularly those which operate in the United States. Unfortunately I have not maintained a file of the attacks on the foundations as such, but I recall from time to time having seen violent attacks on them in the press of the Iron Curtain countries. The general line has been that the American foundations are simply thinly disguised devices whereby the "monopoly capitalists" of the United States hide behind the disguise of charity and the pretense of advancing the public interest, whereas in fact they are pursuing the goals of spreading the ideology of capitalism, continuing to oppress the workers, and "buying out" the services of American scholars, scientists, teachers, etc.

The role of the foundations on the American scene is not too well understood by Communist propagandists, however, and they concentrate most of their fire on what the Reece committee has defined as the "accessory agencies." Our great educational associations, for example, are constantly attacked in Soviet educational journals as instruments of capitalism, spreading its ideology, teaching hostility toward the Soviet Union and toward communism, and misleading our youth by "reactionary" teaching methods. To cite another example, from odd notes at hand which could be matched many times over through a careful survey, we might consider the American Economic Association. In a book entitled "Ideologists of the Imperialist Bourgeoisie," published by the Academy of Sciences of the U. S. S. R. in 100,000 copies, the American Economic Association is attacked for allegedly fomenting propaganda designed to incite a new world war against the Soviet Union. The members of the association are described therein as "bourgeois economists [who are] in the service of monopolistic capital" and whose theories are designed solely for the purpose of defending the American business interests of their "capitalist masters."

The American Philosophical Association is repeatedly attacked in much the same terms. An example that is typical comes from the June 1949 issue of the official Soviet journal, *Problems of Philosophy* (*Voprosi Filosofii*). The American Psychological Association has also often been treated in much the same way. I find in my notes, for example, that the American journals *Psychological Abstracts*, the *Journal of Social Psychology*, and the *Journal of Genetic Psychology* are described in the 1951 official Soviet *Literary Gazette* (issue 106) as being merely "screens behind which lies hidden a reactionary antiscientific and antipopular propaganda. These journals, one of which is published by the Psychological Association, are further charged by the Communist propagandists with containing not science but only pseudoscience which seeks to justify "the merciless exploitation of the workers, the advent of Fascist regimes, colonial brigandage, and aggressive wars" for which the Communists hold capitalist society responsible.

## SOCIAL SCIENCE IN THE SOVIET UNION

Since the Reece committee appears to be particularly interested in the support given by the foundations to social science in the United States, they may wish to know that in the eyes of Communist leaders social science is regarded as one of the worst and most dangerous enemies of Communist ideology and Communist expansion. Indeed, so strong is the feeling against sociology that it is not permitted to teach it as a subject in the Soviet Union. Sociology is defined there as a strictly bourgeois and capitalist science of society and is regarded by the Soviets as directly opposed to and contradicting Marxism. Consequently they forbid the teaching of sociology in Soviet Russia and have substituted Marxism-Leninism instead as the only true science of society.

Communist hostility to sociology is reflected in the fact that the Soviet press has in recent years been full of attacks on American sociology, and in addition at least two special books on the subject have been put out by official Soviet publishing houses. One of these, issued in 1951 by the State Political Publishing House of the U. S. S. R., in 100,000 copies, bears the title "American Bourgeois Philosophy and Sociology in the Service of Imperialism"; the other was issued in 1952 by the Academy of Sciences of the U. S. S. R., in 10,000 copies, under the title "Contemporary American Bourgeois Sociology in the Service of Expansionism." This latter is apparently a revised edition of a book by the same author published under a slightly different title in 1949, and at the time severely criticized in a review in Culture and Life (*Kultura i Zhizn*), the official publication of the Department of Propaganda of the Soviet Communist Party. The criticism held that the author was too easy on American sociologists and failed to expose the full degree to which American sociologists play "the odious role of servants and lackeys to the imperialist \* \* \*" capitalists of the United States. You may rest assured that on the second time around this author did not fail to drive home the point.

The individual American social scientists brought under attack in these polemical Soviet writings read like a Who's Who of American sociology and social science in general. Among them are many men who were prominent in the councils of the foundations and the accessory agencies or who have received support from them. Amongst those of an earlier or older generation Ross, Bernard, and Bogardus and Ogburn are prominently named by the Soviet hatchetmen as "tools of monopoly capital." Bernard is violently attacked for allegedly having held up Henry Ford and John D. Rockefeller as being true representatives of progress. Ogburn is repeatedly castigated as the "sociologist of the atom bomb," and despite minor differences, all are held to be "apologists for imperialism"; Blumer, Reuter, Becker are a few among many others on a list of names which could be spelled out almost indefinitely. *Pravda* (July 17, 1952), for example, held Otto Klineberg, Talcott Parsons, David Reisman, and others to be agents of the American military engaged in psychological warfare against the Soviet Union and acting as learned servants of American imperialists, capitalists, and monopolists. In the same issue Harold Lasswell is described as having been "a hardened intelligence agent since the times of World War I."

In the journal *October* directed to Soviet intellectuals, F. Lundberg and Weininger have been charged with an attempt "to carry out the order of their masters, the Wall Street magnates, by shamelessly slandering the women's democratic movement \* \* \*" Lewis Mumford is also numbered among the evil sociologists of the United States, as, indeed, is former Senator Bilbo, of Mississippi, the former being accused of being a "mercenary servant of the warmongers."

Since the name of Stuart Chase has or will probably come before the committee, his name might serve for one last illustration. In one of the Soviet books cited above Chase is violently attacked as a longtime spreader of reactionary ideas, even in the time when he was regarded as a liberal in the thirties. It is charged by the Communist press that after the recent World War he openly joined the "shrill chorus of American atom bombists" in their openly Fascist attacks on world peace. Specifically, he is accused of "fulfilling the orders of monopolistic bosses" by preaching the saving of capitalism through resort, if necessary, to war and atomic destruction.

Since the report by the staff to the Reece committee seems concerned about the possibility that the foundations and the accessory agencies have fostered changes in the basic American way of life, it might be appropriate to conclude that this is hardly the Soviet view. On the contrary, they see American social scientists as "propagandizing the antiscientific idea of America's uniqueness" and of spreading the false idea that under American capitalism there are such things as enduring the prosperity and a harmony of interests between labor and capital.

Mr. HERRING. I would like to come down to the present time, because Congressman Goodwin's point as to this phraseology, "new and inexact sciences," came back to mind. And I would just like to comment on that one. And I could comment at some length on it, but I will try to restrain myself to one rather symmetrical little illustration here.

I have before me a statement that Wesley Mitchell made 35 years ago. Wesley Mitchell was one of the founders of the Social Science Research Council, and he was the man who developed the National

Bureau of Economic Research. And his successor in the National Bureau of Economic Research is now the author, Burns, that was referred to yesterday, who is the President's adviser on the Economic Council.

Thirty-five years ago, Wesley Mitchell said:

While I think that the development of the social sciences offers more hope for solving our social problems than any other line of endeavor, I do not claim that these sciences in their present state are very serviceable. They are immature, speculative, filled with controversies. Nor have we any certain assurance that they will ever grow into robust manhood, no matter what care we lavish upon them. Those of us who are concerned with the social sciences are engaged in an uncertain enterprise. Perhaps we shall win no great treasures from mankind, but certainly it is our task to work out this lead with all the intelligence and energy we possess until its richness or sterility is demonstrated.

That was 35 years ago.

Let's turn from that to a current editorial in the New York Times dated June 7, 1954.

And I will just read two brief paragraphs from it. It is entitled "Economic Geiger Counters," and the editorial says:

In the field of economics, the Geiger counters—  
we all know what Geiger counters are—

are the statistics of production, income, inventories, and the like, on which economists, businessmen, and public officials depend for signals on the health of the economy. If our economic data are sound we can gage whether we are going uphill or downhill, whether the business prognosis is good or bad. If our economic data are bad we can be lulled into complacency when action is needed or be stampeded into needless Government intervention which may do more harm than good.

Against this background it is disturbing to learn that top officials of our Government feel that many of our key economic indexes have better reputations than they deserve. Even worse studies have shown that some data in the inventories and profits field have been so far wrong at times in the postwar period that they have shown movements contrary to the actual change. Only a few months ago the wide discrepancy between two Government efforts to measure unemployment excited wide attention.

A joint congressional committee is apparently planning to look into this situation in an effort to learn what improvements are needed. On the basis of information already available, it is likely that the committee will find that much of the fault can be laid at the door of a false economy which has prevented adequate resources from being devoted to keeping our statistical Geiger counters in good shape. Economic statistics are not the dull, lifeless, unimportant ciphers too many laymen believe them to be. They are the indispensable tools for understanding the operation of our complex economy. Any congressional action to improve these tools would repay our people a hundredfold.

And I think it is interesting to note that one member of this committee is very directly concerned with the Joint Committee on the Economic Report, and maybe he is so busy working on it today that he is not here with us. But here the point I want to make is that we have developed within a generation from a time when a leading authority in the field can say, "These are premature; we don't know whether it is going to work out or not," to 35 years later, when we sit here today and see that by directing attention to an empirical study of the business cycle and going at it statistically and getting out of armchairs and getting the facts together, it has become an integral part of our Government. So that we have the Council of Economic Advisers continuing from one administration to another as a function, as a way of using this Geiger counter in determining the economic health of the Nation.

Well, if I may continue, I would like to go right ahead, then.

Keeping in mind Mr. Goodwin's point and the historical approach to this thing, it has been suggested that this stuff is new and inexact. Well, as I say, it is a big subject. It seems to me that as we look at science, science should be new, and often must be inexact. The point is that you try to go from the inexact toward the exact. It is the process that is important. And the newness is important. We don't want old sciences. We want science to ever renew itself. If you turn to cancer research, that is new, and that is inexact, and it is no less important because it is. It is the newness, it is the growth, it is the ever-changing character of science that preserves its vitality and strength.

Well, you can get scientists in different fields to hold forth on this one, but I would like to come back to the historical record again.

I have before me a foreword by the President of the United States prepared for Recent Social Trends in the United States—the report of the President's Research Committee on Social Trends. And the President to whom I refer is Herbert Hoover. I would like to read his brief letter for the record.

Hoover writes:

In the autumn of 1929 I asked a group of eminent scientists to examine into the feasibility of a national survey of social trends in the United States, and in December of that year I named the present committee under the chairmanship of Dr. Wesley C. Mitchell to undertake the researches and make a report. The survey is entirely the work of the committee and its experts, as it was my desire to have a complete, impartial examination of the facts. The committee's own report, which is the first section of the published work and is signed by members, reflects their collective judgment of the material and sets forth matters of opinion as well as of strict scientific determination.

Since the task assigned to the committee was to inquire into changing trends, the result is emphasis on elements of instability rather than stability in our social structure.

This study is the latest and most comprehensive of a series, some of them governmental and others privately sponsored, beginning in 1921 with the report on waste in industry under my chairmanship. It should serve to help all of us to see where social stresses are occurring and where major efforts should be undertaken to deal with them constructively.

Signed "Herbert Hoover, The White House, Washington, D. C., October 11, 1932."

It is rather interesting, from a historical standpoint, and to give some sense of proportion about our present problems at midcentury, to go back, as I did the other day, to these volumes and browse through them a bit. And you will find there, in these volumes, some references to the fact that there were problems back there in the thirties, too. And many of those problems are still with us.

I don't want to take your time to read a whole list of the problems of the 1930's, because we have got our hands full at the present time. But they had their problems. And—

even a casual glance—

we read, in this foreword to the social trend study—

at some of these points of tension in our national life reveals a wide range of puzzling questions. Imperialism, peace or war, international relations, urbanism, trusts and mergers, crime and its prevention, taxation, social security, the plight of agriculture, foreign and domestic commerce, governmental regulations of industry, shifting moral standards, new leadership in Government and business, and the stanch status of womankind, labor, child training, mental hygiene, the future of democracy and capitalism, et cetera.

But one last sentence here :

Democrats, statesmen, and servants and propagandists have attacked these problems, but usually from the point of view of some limited interest. Records and information have been and still are incomplete and often inconclusive.

But Herbert Hoover, that great social engineer, was a man who said, "Let's have a look at the record." And these volumes were prepared under his sponsorship. And Congressman Goodwin, I submit to you, that having a little historical sense about the past and about the continuity in these things is a way of—well, it helps one's blood pressure a bit perhaps.

MR. GOODWIN. That is very, very interesting, and I think very illustrative, too, sir.

MR. HERRING. Well, now, Mr. Chairman, there are a variety of things I could turn to. I want to keep constantly in mind, if I may say so, the fundamental point that the chairman raised a few minutes ago. I would leave this room satisfied indeed if I could help to clarify that problem, because if it is a serious problem in your minds, let's have a look at the facts and see if we can develop it. Maybe a few minutes on that would be helpful testimony.

Let's start with the fact that in this great country of ours we have 1,700 colleges and universities spread across the breadth of the Nation. We know how they came into being. Some of them are great State institutions. I needn't rehearse the story there. The churches started great private benefactions. But you see the story, all over the country, of these institutions. They weren't developed from a Paris or a Berlin in accordance with a ministry of education in a national system. They grew up like the wheat on the prairies. They grew up out of our native soil. They grew up because—well, you could start with Harvard, if you like. I keep William and Mary in mind, too. There was the importance of training the clergy in the old days, getting an enlightened clergy. There was a practical need. And our great land-grant colleges were started. This is a subject I fear I get a little eloquent on, because it is such a dramatic and beautiful piece of American history, I feel.

THE CHAIRMAN. Would you permit a little interruption there? I want to associate myself in my very feeble way with your eloquence and deep feeling about these colleges and universities. And there is no apprehension on anyone's part so long as the colleges and universities are used as the medium for the research. There will be no dangerous concentration then. It is when the generating force is centered in other agencies, which haven't risen up in the same way that the colleges and the universities have, and use intermediary agencies as the channel that gives rise to apprehension; if you will just permit that, in order to keep the direction clear.

MR. HERRING. I just wanted to start with the grassroots and take a historical direction in this, so that we could see the broad sweep of American life.

MR. HAYS. Right there, Doctor, isn't it true that the colleges and universities are always the generating force in any research, or always at least the propelling force, and that the most that any foundation has done has been to simply provide the fuel, the gasoline, for the engine, you might say, the money, which in this case is the fuel, to see

that these fellowships could be granted and that the colleges and universities could have the funds available to have people to do research? Isn't that the way it has been handled?

Mr. HERRING. That is right. We start with this magnificent development in our country.

Now, within those institutions, you have the professors. And let me mention a point that we sometimes forget.

We have a system in American education, of tenure. When a man has proved his capacity, he is given an appointment with tenure. That means you can't fire him. He has a job that is a secure job. It is at a modest salary, but he has independence. And I don't know any group of citizens that have the same degree of independence, because they have this economic support. They are secure in their jobs, and they are expected to express their opinions and to develop their thoughts and to teach their students to the best of their ability. And our great tradition is: Leave them alone to do that job.

So the tenure on the economic side is shored up with the great principle of academic freedom.

So here again, in our practical way, we have both the practice of tenure and the principle of academic freedom. So that means you have, then, men who have, in a sense, these privileges to exercise their thoughts and to contribute to the education of the youth of the country and to the furtherance of knowledge.

Now, these men have their own interests. The chemists get together with the chemists and the sociologists with the sociologists.

As I indicated in my opening statement, they often get together regionally. We are a great people for getting together. And they get together on their professional matters, just as in all other walks of life, in chambers of commerce and Rotary clubs and so on, congenial people get together.

All right. Let's build up from that. In the fields with which I am familiar you have these associations of historians and economists. They get together in the sense that once a year they meet here in Washington or somewhere else where there are appropriate hotel accommodations, and they read papers and talk, and some of the younger men look for jobs, and they renew old friendships, and they have their annual conventions. And the other thing they do together is to sponsor and publish a learned journal, where the articles can be published and the books in the field reviewed.

Now, this is a part of the great associational activity of the United States. D'Toqueville, when he came here in the middle of the 19th century, looked around, and he saw this rich associational life—no monolithic state. The problem was to give the Government enough leeway at times to do some of the minimal jobs. The problem here of the associational life of the country was of the essence of freedom.

Well, the same pattern holds for industry and labor, and so on, this freedom to associate and to share common interests.

Well, now, without going into a long history of the foundations, we know that as wealth accumulated, around the turn of the century, a great industrialist such as Andrew Carnegie faced the problem of what to do with his wealth, whether to follow the European pattern of just willing it all to his descendants. That, obviously, is in the feudal tradition. But over here this peculiar, unique American phenome-

non, the foundation, started off most dramatically, most importantly, with Carnegie, and a few years later with the Rockefeller Foundation.

The point that is so important here is to see that you have a large and diverse group of people, with great independence of mind, and with their own interests; and the foundations want to advance some aspect of social welfare.

Now, in our great foundations, the terms under which they operate are very broad. The advancement and dissemination of knowledge, or the welfare of mankind. The problem is: How do you move from that broad mandate into something tangible, something particular? Who is going to do what? And the problem of the foundation officer and the problem of the foundation trustees is to go from these broad objectives of human welfare down to something particular, specific, defensible, understandable, something that will advance the broader purposes.

Now, the foundations have a problem, in exercising judgment, and in deciding, with their limited resources, which of the various opportunities for investing some of this money in good ideas and social purpose can be selected. So that you have on the one hand people who have various things they want to do in their own research and their teaching, and on the other hand you have quite limited foundation resources.

As I was saying, I think one of the important points brought out in the inquiry thus far is that there are a great many foundations in the United States, some six or seven thousand, I believe. I was scarcely aware there were that many. But here again, I want to talk out of my own experience. And over the years of the council's life, we have received support, grants, from about a dozen or so foundations. In other words, the number of foundations with an interest in the social sciences is a very limited number of foundations.

So let's get that sense of perspective into the picture.

Mr. KOCH. Could you at this time name the principal ones? I was going to that later, but why don't we get it now? The principal contributors to your organization.

Mr. HERRING. Well, I filed that with you, and you have a list of all the money we have gotten from all the sources.

Mr. KOCH. I do not have a list here.

Mr. HERRING. Yes. Well, I have it before me. I have before me: "Summary of disbursements under appropriation, by donors, from June 1924 through April 30, 1954," and that goes back to the beginning of the organization. I have 24 items on this list. If I pick out the principal ones, which are the ones you wanted—

Mr. KOCH. And would you mind then offering the list as part of the record? Mine doesn't go up beyond 1951.

Mr. HAYS. I suggest, Mr. Chairman, that the witness offer the list and make it part of the record, and if there are any specific questions, they can be asked, but I don't think we want to take the time to read all these statistics.

Mr. KOCH. No; we don't. I agree with you. I just thought he could mention a few of the important foundations, and not go into dollars and cents.

Mr. HAYS. I think it would be well to have the entire list incorporated into the record at this point, and then the witness can make any comments he desires.

Mr. KOCH. All right. You offer the entire list, and then just mention the top five that you can think of that have contributed.

Mr. HERRING. In looking over this list, I see the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial, the Rockefeller Foundation, the Carnegie Corporation, the Julius Rosenwald Fund, the General Education Board, the Ford Foundation. Does that Suffice?

Mr. KOCH. That is all right.

Mr. HERRING. So we herewith offer the list for the record.

Mr. GOODWIN (presiding). It may be admitted.

(The list referred to is as follows:)

*Summary of disbursements under appropriation, by donors, through Apr. 30, 1954*

	<i>Disbursed</i>
Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial.....	\$2, 340, 512. 22
Rockefeller Foundation.....	6, 120, 935. 05
Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr.....	15, 559. 06
Russell Sage Foundation.....	113, 551. 66
Carnegie Corporation of New York.....	2, 111, 575. 58
Commonwealth Fund.....	5, 000. 00
Mr. Julius Rosenwald.....	50, 000. 00
Mr. Revell McCallum.....	1, 489. 55
Julius Rosenwald Fund.....	68, 407. 88
Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching.....	10, 000. 00
Maurice and Laura Falk Foundation.....	3, 000. 00
General Education Board.....	242, 182. 37
Spelman Fund.....	67, 500. 00
W. E. Upjohn Unemployment Trustee Corporation.....	23, 745. 65
Committee of Trustees on Experimental Programs.....	76, 326. 19
Scripps Foundation for Research in Population Problems.....	3, 332. 21
The Grant Foundation.....	11, 583. 63
American Philosophical Society.....	7, 500. 00
The John and Mary R. Markle Foundation.....	181, 137. 47
U. S. Bureau of the Census.....	128, 219. 86
Ford Foundation.....	396, 392. 19
Twentieth Century Fund.....	150, 000. 00
Rockefeller Brothers.....	8, 042. 86
Total.....	12, 135, 993. 43

Mr. HERRING. The picture I am trying to get before you then in terms of my own experience is the fact that there are a limited number of these foundations with an interest in these social-science fields. And let me survey briefly for you this problem of the relations between an organization such as the council and the foundations.

In the first place, the foundations make substantial grants directly to universities.

A point that I want to emphasize, in order again to get some sense of proportion into this thing is this: Our best estimate is that probably about \$12 million from foundation sources goes annually to social-science research, broadly construed. The Council has funds that amount to about one-tenth of that. Now, I wish Mr. Reece were here, because I think this relates to a problem on his mind. We are one of many organizations. We are a part of this great associational life of the United States. And we have a special focus on the advancement of research. There are many other organizations dealing with many other problems. We have our problem, our interest, our focus, and we have these resources.

Now, I would like to offer this as an exhibit. I wouldn't want to burden the record with this, but we could pass it up to you. Here is

A Directory of Social Science Research Organizations in Universities and Colleges, prepared by the committee on organization for research, Social Science Research Council, June 1950; and in this publication you will find listed the names and addresses of 281 organizations conducting or financing research in the social sciences in 104 universities and colleges. And here are their names and addresses. And I think this a fairly concrete illustration of the fact that we are dealing with a great many organizations, and here are the ones in the universities that are concerned with this field.

Mr. GOODWIN. You are not offering these for the record, but just by reference?

Mr. HERRING. Yes; just as an exhibit, Mr. Chairman.

(The document referred to was filed for the information of the committee.)

Mr. HERRING. The Social Science Research Council has demonstrated its capacity over a 30-year period as a highly responsible group to consider the leads, the ideas that individuals have, and their research ability, their possible significance for the advancement of the field. The council provides an opportunity for specialists, working at the growing edges of knowledge, to identify new leads, to appraise existing state of knowledge, to work out concrete next steps, to evaluate research holding out the most promise. That is where we focus our attention.

Maybe one way to get the matter before you more vividly would be to offer an illustration. Let's take the history of an idea and how it goes through our procedures.

A few years ago, one member of the council, a member of our board of directors, who was trained both in psychiatry and in anthropology, came to me, and he said, "I am very much interested in"—

Mr. GOODWIN. We will recess at this point and will resume, subject to the call of the Chair, I should say in about 8 or 10 minutes.

(Short recess.)

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will resume.

If you will permit a diversion before you proceed with your testimony, Mr. Adams, who had expected to be called in this morning, has prepared a statement, which has been given to the press. If there is no objection, that statement will be admitted into the record to appear at the conclusion of the statement and questioning of Mr. Herring; and then Mr. Adams will appear and take up from there.

Mr. KOCH. Could we ask Dr. Adams whether that is agreeable to him?

The CHAIRMAN. I had so understood. That is agreeable with Dr. Adams.

Mr. ADAMS. Mr. Chairman, I am at your disposal, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. HERRING. Mr. Chairman, when we broke for the recess, I was about to embark on a description by way of illustration of how an idea that is brought up by an individual research man is discussed and developed, and so forth. But I think rather than pursuing that, I would just like to say that with reference to this general point we were discussing, namely, the problem of whether there is control of research, the problem is rather one of recognizing a good idea when you see it, deciding whether to encourage a man with one idea or not.

It is not a matter of control. It is a matter of recognizing and assisting.

So that I think, since the time goes by so rapidly here, it might be better for me to pause at this stage, because I could go on for quite a while, and say to you that if there are questions the counsel would like to raise, or anybody else, it might be better, and then if I have further ideas I could bring them in. But I would like to complete my visit with you today, so that if there are questions you want to raise, I want to be sure we allow ample time for any questions.

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed, Mr. Koch.

Mr. KOCH. Mr. Herring, first let me point out what my problem and Mr. Wormser's problem is; that is, to get the benefit of your points of view—and, of course, we have already covered a lot of it—as to these criticisms or suggestions that have been raised by previous witnesses.

I want you to know that there was no intention on our part to make any charges. Frankly, I don't think we have a right to. We have a right to bring before the committee, who are the judges, such criticism or arguments as have been made, and we now welcome your help in helping us try to appraise whether some have merit or whether they have not.

Now, in that connection, I would like to review the particular points that we are concentrating on, so that when we ask you questions: and I am going over your statement—you will have those in mind and can give me whatever you like.

For instance, we have, as you have heard before, the possible concentration of power caused by united or concerted action on the part of the larger foundations, thus tending toward conformity or a threat to a free interplay of ideas. Always listen to the "possible" part, because that has been mentioned by people who come as professors of eminent universities. It has been raised, and there is the possibility, as far as I am concerned—and certainly until all the facts are in I wouldn't attempt to appraise the matter as to whether that is on the road to control or it isn't.

Then the possible creation of an elite group of social scientists who are called upon from time to time to advise the Government on problems of importance in their field. And then, of course, whether certain types of social-science investigations are not the proper subject of grants; that is, the results might be too questionable, or the particular thing is too hard to appraise or too hard to control. You will recall that that type of criticism has come before the committee.

Then, of course, and you mentioned it before, but I will come to it later, the presence of an interlock of directors and administrative heads among the various foundations, which might lead to uniformity and ideas or concerted motion in favor of certain types of action.

And finally, even if nothing has been done by the foundations in the past which was detrimental to the public, is there a latent power in the foundation setup which, falling into hands less respectable than those of yourself and the many others we have identified as the heads of the foundations today, if that power gets into bad hands, would be of danger to the public? And if so, is there anything we can do to protect ourselves?

Mr. HAYS. Are you asking those questions en bloc?

Mr. KOCH. No, Mr. Hays. I wanted to point out the particular specific questions I am going into in an attempt to cover those points.

I am certainly not asking him now to give us an answer on that. But those are the questions I feel he can be very helpful to us on, and those are the things I feel eventually the committee will have to appraise.

So with that in mind, I will go into your statements, and certain of the questions won't follow the order of these general propositions.

Now, I am referring to your introductory statement, Mr. Herring. Near the bottom of the first page there is this sentence:

In view of the references to collectivism, I am sure that we share of a feeling of caution concerning governmental intervention and control over education and research.

Now, if that control might be something other than governmental, but still control, we would likewise be concerned about that, wouldn't we, Mr. Herring?

Mr. HERRING. That is right. There is no question about that.

Mr. KOCH. Now, let's skip to page 4. A little bit more than half way down on page 4:

I know of no reliable method of analysis for establishing cause and effect relationships between such ideas and what has happened in our recent history.

Now, for my help, do you believe that as a general statement we cannot establish a clear causal relationship between an idea and what has happened?

Mr. HERRING. Well, I think problems of historical causality are exceedingly difficult ideas to work with. I recall we had a committee on historiography, and one of the problems discussed by that committee was the problem of causality. What causes what? This group of eminent historians went into that at some length, and just made the point that we tend often to be much too superficial in attributing causal relationships. You can offer interpretations. It goes back to Congressman Goodwin's point again, that there are certain historical facts. You can say a certain thing happened on a certain date. But as Congressman Hays pointed out when they discussed this matter: How do you get at any one definitive final causal statement? There are these matters of interpretation.

Mr. HAYS. Well, you might ask this question. Back in the 1930's, I very well remember that there were farmers with pitchforks out threatening tax collectors, and notably in the very conservative State of Ohio. Do you know whether there is any way you can figure out whether any idea caused them to go out there, or the economic conditions of the time?

Mr. HERRING. That is right. I get my sensitivity by associating with historians, who are even more sensitive about it. But how can you get at these sweeping generalizations? It is said, for example, that a decline in the production of wheat would cause certain political repercussions. That is a sweeping assertion that is made. The historian has to go to the place of wheat at a certain place at a certain point in time and see whether it was that price of wheat at that point in time that bore some relationship to this hypothesis as to cause.

The CHAIRMAN. Insofar as we members of the committee can restrain ourselves, I am inclined to think that it would make for expedition and orderly procedure if we were to let the counsel conclude his questions, and then we will have ample opportunity to raise any questions that we want to raise. That does not mean that we should not interrupt, but I am just throwing out a caution in that respect.

Mr. HAYS. I will try to abide by your wishes, Mr. Chairman, but I fear that it is going to be very difficult for me at times to restrain myself.

The CHAIRMAN. But the depression and pitchforks against tax collectors is not now particularly pertinent.

Mr. HAYS. It is very pertinent, if you will read from the portion on page 4, as to whether or not you have any—

reliable method of analysis for establishing cause and effect relationship between such ideas and what has happened in our recent history.

Now, if you can think of a more pertinent example, Mr. Chairman, I would be glad to have it.

There may be one coming up in November, if you want to go out and be a prophet, about the price of wheat, as somebody has mentioned, and what may happen next November. There might be a very interesting possibility for some research there.

Mr. GOODWIN. You will have some others under strong temptation to make speeches here if you continue.

Mr. HAYS. My best political advice, Mr. Goodwin—and I wouldn't care to offer it to you, but to anyone coming from a district in New England, where there isn't much wheat raised—would be just to stay out of that wheat argument and try to get elected on some other ground.

Mr. KOCH. Now, Mr. Herring, isn't it part of the claim of the social scientists, particularly those that specialize in the empirical research, that by observing the behavior of man and what is going on in society, one can establish such a cause-and-effect relationship?

Mr. HERRING. I am very glad you raised that question, Mr. Koch, because it gives me a chance to explain a point.

Mr. HAYS. Right there, would you mind repeating the question? I didn't hear the first part of it.

Mr. KOCH. Yes. Isn't it a part of the claim of the social scientists, especially those that are specializing in the empirical research, that by observing the behavior of man and what is going on in society, one can establish such cause-and-effect relationship?

Mr. HAYS. Thank you.

Mr. KOCH. Now, will you help us out?

Mr. HERRING. Take your own language, Mr. Koch: Observing the behavior of man and what goes on in society. Social scientists do not attempt to observe the behavior of man. "Man" is an abstract. You can observe the behavior of Mr. Koch.

Mr. KOCH. I would rather you would not. But go ahead.

Mr. HERRING. You can analyze the words he uses. You can observe his gestures. You can give him certain tests. You can measure his I. Q. with a fair amount of certainty. In college, if you take scholastic aptitude tests, you would find over the years that those tests would indicate pretty clearly whether you are going to be a pretty good student or not.

The important thing to nail down here is that this empirical work doesn't operate at this range of generality about man and society. It deals with men that you can observe, doing things that you can observe, and then figuring out if there is some way, in this particular instance, with respect to the particularities, under which hypothesis can be adumbrated with reference to the observed behavior. It is not man in the abstract.

Mr. KOCH. Isn't it possible then for the social scientist to know as well whether I am going to explode, as whether Mr. Franklin's boiler is going to explode? Those scientists have a much easier job to check on the social effects, don't they, in the physical sciences?

Mr. HERRING. I am much impressed with advances that have been made in fields dealing with human tensions and mental illness. It is one of the most important problems before us at the present time. As a matter of fact, it was the illustration I was going to offer earlier, because I think it is so important.

We have in our hospital beds in this country about half a million mentally disturbed patients, and the problem of what to do with that great burden of the mentally ill is not only a problem of a human sort. It is a terrific tax problem. It is one of the great drains on our resources.

Mr. HAYS. Yes, but, Dr. Herring, I am trying to be helpful, and I don't think you are quite specifically getting at the question Mr. Koch asked. I will rephrase it in my own words as I see it. Maybe I am not, either. What he is saying, I think, is that you can put a pressure gage on a steam boiler that will tell you within a few degrees of the probability that that thing will explode if it goes beyond a certain range, but you can't put any gage up to a human brain to tell you at what point it is going to be so overtaxed that it becomes necessary for the possessor of it to become a patient in one of these beds.

Mr. KOCH. That is right. And by merely counting the number of patients in the hospitals and also finding out that so many came from the slums and so many came from the union of first cousins, that still won't tell you the whole story. I mean, you may have to go into their religious background, the background of the patients, and what not. And so that is the problem. How accurate can they be in the social sciences?

Mr. HERRING. Well, you haven't even started to ask the questions that have to be gone into. You haven't even scratched the surface. If you want to get involved in psychoanalysis, there is just no end to the matter of what you go into. But the point that I would defend here and try to explain to the committee is that when you are faced with a problem such as mental illness, you want to use every device that you can think of for understanding the character of the mental disorder. But obviously you haven't gotten very far if you have just counted the number of sick people you have. But you want to understand all you possibly can about their personalities and their development as individuals and their family relations and the whole history. And you want to go beyond those superficial matters and get some understanding at a deeper level of them as human beings. And what I wanted to say was that I think that a very encouraging amount of work is going forward in trying to penetrate further and further into the nature of human personality.

Mr. KOCH. Now, on page 5, Mr. Herring, at the bottom, with respect to this sentence:

The staff has tried to call into question the efforts of the very individuals and institutions who are devoting their resources and energies to the increase and dissemination of knowledge and the protection of the American way of life. The picture that has been presented to the committee does not accord with my own observation and experience.

Well, now, you wouldn't claim, however, that the social scientists have a monopoly on the dissemination of knowledge and the protection of the American way of life?

Mr. HERRING. Not for a moment.

Mr. KOCH. I imagine to a very minor extent the lawyers may have their ideas, the ministers theirs, and you don't claim that you have a monopoly on the part of your social scientists?

Mr. HERRING. Not for a minute.

Mr. KOCH. Page 6:

We are told, in effect, that a few organizations constitute an efficient integrated whole, tending to work against the public interest.

Would you agree with me that if we were to find that there are a few organizations who constitute an efficient integrated whole, and further find that they are harmless, or even beneficial—do you, as a political scientist agree it is against public policy in the United States to let such an efficient integrated group become too powerful?

Mr. HERRING. Well, as a political scientist, if you want to drape that cloak around me, which I haven't had the privilege of wearing professionally and actively, I would, going back, be very hesitant indeed to offer any unconsidered horseback judgments on a highly hypothetical question. So don't rouse my professional instincts here with that kind of a question.

If you phrase it, perhaps, in more down-to-earth terms, and say, "As a man in the street, what do you think of," whatever it is, I will try to give you a horseback judgment.

Mr. KOCH. You go around with a lot of people who have probably voiced their opinions on matters of this sort. If you have no opinion whatsoever, we, of course, will skip it. But if you have, it is a problem that interests me, and if you have an opinion, I would respect it, even though you don't.

Mr. HERRING. Well, now, let's get it clear. "A few organizations constitute an efficient integrated whole." Well, I don't know what they are and never heard of them, and if you can name them to me, I can respond. But I can't give any answers in general about unnamed organizations. So you name them, and I will respond.

Mr. KOCH. No. The theme is this: And as I say, whether the facts support it, I am a long way off from deciding. But there evidently is this fear expressed that through the social-science group we may be creating an elite group of social scientists, who are very capable men and are very honorable men, but they are so capable that when we have problems in government, the Government, being busy as it is, the Congressman, et cetera, would naturally run to the experts.

Now, if it is only one group, without a competing group, and that one group isn't elected by the people, isn't removed by the people, isn't appointed by governors or presidents, would you say, and I am speaking merely as a matter of good government, that that might be an unwholesome situation?

Mr. HERRING. In the first place, I don't know who the "we" is; whether you are using an editorial "we" or speaking for the staff or the committee, or these disgruntled people. So, first, tell me the "we." But in the second place, who are these few, this elite? I don't get it.

Mr. KOCH. I said "if there were."

Mr. HERRING. Well, if your question is "If there is a bad elite, and they get power and handle it badly, would that be bad?"—

Mr. KOCH. No. My question is: If there is a good elite, and it gives excellent advice, is it still a matter of good government to have those people give advice which is eagerly sought, though they are not elected by the people?

Mr. HERRING. I didn't know that we carried our history back to Plato.

Mr. KOCH. I didn't know I was talking on that subject.

Well, what would Plato say if you didn't seem to want to say it?

Mr. HERRING. Plato came out in favor of guardian kings, but he hedged around it with a lot of philosophical safeguards so that it worked out pretty well.

If what you are trying to ask me is if I would approve of the Government in the United States of America by some unnamed elite of intelligent, well-meaning people, I would say: I prefer the Congress of the United States.

Mr. KOCH. Well, Plato might not agree with you, but I do.

Mr. HERRING. The more I have studied the Congress over the years and observed them, the more impressed I am that it is a great country. And I don't share a good many of the animadversions that go around. Now, as to these few organizations, I don't know what few organizations you are talking about here.

Mr. HAYS. Are you disagreeing with this praise of the Congress, Mr. Koch?

Mr. KOCH. That is not a charge that has been made by the staff in their report, that there was a bad Congress.

Mr. HERRING. I don't know whether you are agreeing with Plato.

Mr. KOCH. I would never take him out of context.

Mr. HAYS. I don't believe I have quoted from the Bible today, and at this time I think it would be a good place to quote from the Bible, the Book of Job, chapter 15, verse 2: "Should a wise man utter vain knowledge, and fill his belly with the east wind?"

The CHAIRMAN. I think that has but little place here, but we are very glad to have it in the record, to indicate the gentleman's wide expanse of knowledge.

Mr. HAYS. I will admit I can't quote the Bible verse by verse, but I am sure that verse had a very distinct application to the particular hypothetical question in mind. And I would recommend to the chairman of the committee that he might be able to take the Book of Job and recall some more applicable verses in it.

The CHAIRMAN. When I quote from the Book of Job, I quote on the basis of my own reading of it.

Mr. HAYS. Perhaps if the gentleman is insinuating that I got the verse from someone else, I might go further with that insinuation and say: Is he trying then to make some excuse for the fact that he hasn't participated very much in the questioning so far?

You have a staff of 16. They ought to be able to furnish some questions.

I want you to understand one thing. With the exception of one staff member, any help I get, Mr. Reece, is purely voluntary. Somebody furnished me with about 30 editorials, very critical of you and this committee, from some of the most prominent papers in the United States. I can't afford a clipping service. I don't have a staff to clip them. But somebody, thank God, volunteered to send them to me. I expect to use them from time to time.

The CHAIRMAN. In answer to the implications that you have many times made, the Chairman doesn't consider the staff as his staff. They have given him no questions. He has asked for no questions. He has asked for no personal service from the staff, and I am sure Mr. Goodwin hasn't. The only member of the committee that has a member of the staff assigned to him personally is the gentleman from Ohio, and I am glad that the committee is in a position to do that. I think it is all right. But at times I do have some question whether the committee rostrum up here ought to be made a clearinghouse for people who have personal interests involved in the audience, to have their views transmitted to the record, and take up the time of the witnesses that might be appearing.

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Reece, you can question it all you please, but this committee rostrum will be a clearinghouse at any time I feel like making it one to get at the truth or to make any pertinent observations I want to make. And I want to say to you right here and now that it is going to be a little difficult without that to get at the truth, because if there was ever a loaded staff report, the ones we have had from this staff have definitely been loaded. And it is significant to me that out of 30 editorials I have in my possession, starting with the New York Times and going down to one editorial that was requoted in numerous papers, from Twin Falls, Idaho, to Lima, Ohio, and Attleboro, Mass., there hasn't been one single editorial in any newspaper that I have come across that hasn't been critical of the staff report. Now, maybe the staff is right and everybody else in the United States is wrong, including me, Mr. Reece, but I am willing to take my chances.

The CHAIRMAN. As the chairman said initially, he is undertaking and I am satisfied the majority of the committee is undertaking to make an objective study. I am satisfied that the staff has no other purpose in mind except to help the committee make an objective study. But influences outside of the committee do not have the responsibility for the work of the committee. While we are very glad to have the views of the editors of the various papers, they are not matters of great concern so far as determining the direction of the study is concerned.

Mr. HAYS. It is very indicative, however, of how far the gentleman has been able to impress the reliable editors of the country with his objectivity. And without burdening the record with any more at this point, I might just quote from the Denver Post of May 7. The lead editorial says:

We must keep an eye on Mr. Reece.

Mr. GOODWIN. Mr. Chairman, might I inquire if anybody knows where we were at the detour?

Mr. KOCH. With the wind from the east.

The CHAIRMAN. By all means, I think we should continue. I am satisfied that the witness who is now appearing before us does not feel that he has been harassed, as have some witnesses with whom the gentleman from Ohio has disagreed. He is not going to be harassed. He is not going to be unduly burdened, I am satisfied, by anyone. And I join in the wish of the gentleman from Massachusetts that we might proceed without unlimited interruptions.

Mr. HAYS. Well, I will have to make a little statement before that. Of course, the gentleman isn't going to be harassed, and of course he isn't going to be picked on, because he is the first witness who has

come before this committee who had a sensible statement. And you can't pick any flaws in it, or any very significant ones, and if you could, you would be undertaking to do it. Now, let's face the facts. That isn't the reason he isn't going to be harassed much. In other words, in plain down-to-earth language, he isn't dealing in that little phrase that I like so much, psychoceramics. That is high-class English for "crackpots."

The CHAIRMAN. Before we deal with the facts, they will have to be presented, and the gentleman from Ohio is not presenting the facts. The witness is dealing with factual matters.

Mr. HAYS. He certainly is. That is what I am trying to say, that he is the first witness who has dealt with factual matters. I agree with you, Mr. Chairman, on that.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Ohio is not the only one interested in facts, and I will put the reputations of the other members of the committee up with that of the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. HAYS. You don't have to come to the defense of the other members of the committee. Let them speak for themselves. I am sure they are interested in the facts, some of them. The gentleman from Massachusetts has indicated that he is interested in getting at the facts, and I wouldn't even say but what the chairman may have had a change of heart.

The CHAIRMAN. He has not had a change of heart, he has been interested in getting the facts all the time. The gentleman from Ohio is just incapable of visualizing and analyzing a situation when he sees it.

Mr. HAYS. Oh, I am capable of analyzing the kind of people that you have gone out and dragged up and dredged up. And, Mr. Reece, you must have had to dredge to find Mr. Sargent, and I could mention 1 or 2 more. You really had to dredge. You went way down with your dredge to get them. They are not reliable, responsive. [The chairman used the gavel.] Go ahead and hammer. I will keep right on talking when you get through.

Mr. GOODWIN. Now, Mr. Chairman, if the gentleman from Ohio indicates that he is not going to respect the gavel, as he just indicated, I am going to bring up here the question of whether or not these hearings are being conducted according to the rules of the House of Representatives, which are the rules of this committee.

Mr. HAYS. Well, I have brought that question up before and been overruled.

Mr. GOODWIN. I am rather tired of this. We have an eminent witness, who must, I suspect, or he may in his innermost consciousness, be coming to the realization that he spoke a little too early in his praise of Congress, if this is an example of the way congressional hearings are conducted.

Mr. HAYS. I heard you say you are getting tired. Do you know what I am getting tired of? I am tired of you taking one position in public with pious speeches and then running to me in secret and saying, "You know whose side my sympathies are on." Why don't you act like a man?

Mr. GOODWIN. Now, Mr. Chairman, I am going to ask for the rules of the House, and I am going to say that the gentleman from Ohio is out of order. He is impugning the motives of the chairman and the members of this committee.

Mr. HAYS. You wouldn't say I am not telling the truth, would you?

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman is out of order. He has impugned the integrity of every man about whom he has talked.

Mr. HAYS. No, Mr. Chairman, don't make the statement that I have impugned the integrity of every man I have talked about.

The CHAIRMAN. The other members of the committee.

Mr. HAYS. No, not the other members of the committee.

In the first place, I haven't talked about any other members of the committee than two.

The CHAIRMAN. Whether you impugn my motives is immaterial.

Mr. HAYS. I wouldn't try to impugn your motives. Your motives have been clear from the beginning. Anybody who read your diatribe in the committee would know what your motives are.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will proceed. Or, if not, we will have a motion to proceed.

Mr. HAYS. I suggest that we recess for lunch. It is past 12 o'clock. Maybe by 2:30, or so, we can get our motives straightened out.

The CHAIRMAN. I would regret to have the impression go out that the committee was incapable of orderly procedure, and if the gentleman from Ohio wants to create a situation which brings about such a course of action, of course, it is his responsibility and not that of the committee.

Mr. HAYS. Well, now, Mr. Chairman. What are you getting at now? Do you want to proceed for another 20 minutes, or do you want to adjourn now, or do you want to try to impugn my motives? Just let me state that I wasn't the one who dreamed up the idea of spending \$150,000 of the taxpayers' money for an Alice in Wonderland investigation which came out with the verdict before it heard the evidence. You did that.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, it is generally known that I was the author of the resolution. If you think there ought to be a witness brought in to establish the fact that I authored the resolution in the House, I would be very glad to have a witness called to that effect. But it is my responsibility, and I am pleased to admit it without its being brought into evidence.

You may proceed.

Mr. KOCH. We had been talking about the unknown elite, and then you said something with respect to the unknown social scientists.

They have dedicated their lives to research or teaching, or both. They have an extraordinarily high sense of civic duty and respect for truth.

Are you putting them up a little higher than the others in your statement there?

Mr. HERRING. There is my statement, Mr. Koch.

Mr. KOCH. It wasn't your intention, then, to set them up above anyone else?

Mr. HERRING. Clearly not.

Mr. KOCH. All right. On page 7, the first sentence of the first full paragraph:

This development was possible in the United States—  
comparing it with Europe—

because of our greater willingness to experiment. Our expanding universities could give opportunity to research men who wished to explore new leads.

Well, of course, in addition to that is the fact that in America the magnetic power of money made experimenting and research more possible here than in some of our starving European governments; isn't that true? I mean, the fact that there was a lot of money available here might have provided some cause for that greater research over on this side.

Mr. HERRING. You certainly can't build a cyclotron without money; and research is costly.

The CHAIRMAN. Some of the members have noon engagements. If there is no objection otherwise, the chairman will recess the hearing until 2 o'clock to meet in this same room.

(Whereupon, at 12:10 p. m., a recess was taken until 2 p. m.)

#### AFTERNOON SESSION

(The hearing was resumed at 2:15 p. m.)

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.

The chairman wishes to make a statement.

The chairman feels very deeply the responsibility which he has to protect the witnesses who appear before the committee, the employees of the committee, and the members of the committee, and to maintain the dignity of the committee, the dignity of the House, and to uphold the rules of procedure of the House and of the committees which operate under the procedures of the House. In view of the very unfortunate incident that happened this morning, following similar incidents, coupled with the fact that Mr. Goodwin cannot be here at this time due to another very important engagement which has developed, and also to give time to reflect upon this very serious situation that confronts the committee, the committee will stand in recess until 10 o'clock Tuesday morning.

(Whereupon, at 2:15 p. m., the hearing was recessed until 10 a. m., Tuesday, June 22, 1954.)

NOTE.—*On Friday, June 18, 1954, the chairman notified the members of the committee that matters requiring his absence from the city had arisen, and the hearings scheduled for Tuesday, June 22, 1954, was postponed until Thursday, June 24, 1954. At the request of Mr. Wayne Hays, a member of the official delegation leaving June 24 to accompany the body of Mr. Farrington to Hawaii, the chairman again postponed the hearings until a later date.*

