

TAX-EXEMPT FOUNDATIONS

FRIDAY, JULY 9, 1954

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

Pursuant to resolution of the committee on July 2, 1954, at the instruction of the chairman, the balance of the staff report prepared by Kathryn Casey, legal analyst, on the Carnegie and Rockefeller Foundations, was incorporated in the record of proceedings.

(The report follows:)

SUMMARY OF ACTIVITIES OF CARNEGIE CORP. OF NEW YORK, CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE, THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION

PREFACE

Comments made following presentation of the first part of this summary of the activities of the Carnegie and Rockefeller philanthropic trusts indicate a rather widespread misconception among foundation executives both as to the purpose of chronicling their activities in certain fields, and also as to the requirements of House Resolution 217—under which this and all other staff reports have been prepared.

While varying somewhat in phraseology and manner of presentation, the theme of these comments was essentially the same, namely: Why has the staff disregarded the many "good things attributable to the foundations?"

The best—and the only answer—is that the work of the staff, including both research and the preparation of reports, has been carried out in the light of the language in the enabling resolution by which the committee

*** authorized and directed to conduct a full and complete study of educational and philanthropic foundations *** to determine if (they) are using their resources for purposes other than (those) *** for which they were established, and especially *** for un-American and subversive activities; for political purposes; propaganda, or attempts to influence legislation.

There is no distinction here as between so-called good or bad activities of the foundations—nor is there a direction to scrutinize the activities of foundations generally and report on them—only an admonition pinpointed toward specified types of activities.

It has been with that in mind that reports and statements of the Carnegie and Rockefeller organizations have been carefully studied, as well as books written about them.

It has been with that in mind that the summary of their activities has been prepared.

II

At the same time that Carnegie and Rockefeller agencies were concentrating on the "chaotic condition" of education in the United States (discussed in I), organizations bearing the same family names were focusing attention on other types of conditions which in the opinion of the trustees required improvement. While these so-called problems covered such varied fields as public health, malaria in Africa, and exchange of profesors and students of international law, there was an indirect relationship between them, and also between them and education: namely, all of them were on the periphery—if not directly in the center—of international relations and governmental activities.

That both the foundation and the endowment did carry on activities which would directly or indirectly affect legislation is borne out by their own statements, as found in their annual reports.

That they both engaged in propaganda—as that word is defined in the dictionary, without regard to whether it is for good or bad ends—is also confirmed by the same source.

That both had as a project forming public opinion and supplying information to the United States Government to achieve certain objectives, including an internationalist point of view, there can be no doubt.

None of these results is inherent in the purposes of either of these organizations.

Attached to this are abstracts from the yearly reports of both organizations (identified as Exhibit—Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and Exhibit—Rockefeller Foundation and arranged chronologically), to which reference will be made from time to time in support of statements as to the type of activity carried out by the endowment, and occasionally short material of this nature will be incorporated into the summary. This method has been chosen because it will materially shorten the text of the summary itself, and still give the members of the committee the benefit of having before them statements made by both the endowment and the foundation.

As in part I, this portion of the summary of activities is concerned only with stating what was done by the Carnegie and Rockefeller agencies, the time of such activity, and the results, if any.

Purposes

The endowment by its charter was created to :

* * * promote the advancement and diffusion of knowledge and understanding among the people of the United States; to advance the cause of peace among nations; to hasten the renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy; to encourage and promote methods for the peaceful settlement of international differences and for the increase of international understanding and concord; and to aid in the development of international law, and the acceptance of all nations of the principles underlying such law.

To accomplish its objectives the endowment had three divisions, each having distinct fields of activity, particularly when originally established, but as will be seen some of their operations have become somewhat interwoven.

The primary objective of the division of international law was the development of it, a general agreement—accepted by all nations—as

to its rules, accompanied by establishment of better understanding of international rights and duties, and a better sense of international justice.

The division of economics and history had its program outlined at a conference at Berne which laid out a plan of investigation to reveal the causes and results of war. Many of the topics bear a rather close resemblance to effects now found in the national life.

The purposes for which the division of intercourse and education was instituted were the diffusion of information, and education of public opinion regarding, not only the causes, nature, cultivation of friendly feelings between people of different countries and effects of war, but also means for its prevention; maintenance, promotion, and assistance of organizations considered to be necessary or useful for such purposes. It was first referred to as the division of propaganda¹—a name changed at the time it was formally established.

This division from the beginning expended much more money than did the other two divisions, or the office of the secretary.

Compared with the activities of the other two divisions in these early years those of the division of economics and history were fairly routine, although with the outbreak of the First World War it was to start on what developed into some 30 volumes of the economic history of that war. While some of the economic measures which were covered in that history and in other phases of the divisions were significant in the light of the types of controls which were established in this country during the Second World War, it is really with the work of the other two divisions that this summary will primarily concern itself, since their activities were more often in the international relations, propaganda, political, and government relations areas.

The Rockefeller Foundation has a much more general and more inclusive purpose: "To promote the well-being of mankind throughout the world." There is scarcely any lawful activity which would not come within that classification, and undoubtedly some proscribed by various statutes in this country might conceivably still be construed as for the "well-being of mankind" elsewhere.

Before 1929, as mentioned in the earlier portion of this summary, the Rockefeller Foundation confined its activities primarily to the fields of medical education and public health, with some attention being given to agriculture. Except in the sense that activities in each of these fields were carried on outside of the United States, they had relatively nothing to do with "international relations," but in the light of later activities of the foundation in connection with "one-world" theories of government and planning on a global scale there seems little doubt that there is at least a causative connection.

The activities of the foundation are now (and have been for some time) carried on by four divisions: Division of medicine and public health, division of natural sciences and agriculture, division of social sciences (including a section entitled international relations), and division of humanities.

It is impossible to discuss the activities of the endowment and the foundation entirely by subject headings, because one merges into the other, and therefore they will be discussed in relation to the following: International relations, governmental relations, political activities, and propaganda.

¹ Finch History.

As mentioned earlier, the primary interests of these organizations were in divergent areas, but from 1929 the activities of both the endowment and the foundation were along more or less parallel lines—although again the descriptive phraseology of the endowment is usually much more direct than that of the foundation as will be seen by quotations from annual reports of each organization.

Because of the characteristic similarity, graphically illustrated by the chart at the end of this summary, the activities of both organizations from 1929 on will be discussed together. However, since the endowment's program began prior to that time, details of it will be included first.

Endowment activities—1911-29

The endowment was dedicated to achieving world peace and in doing that it utilized every method it deemed appropriate and effective. One method chosen was international law—and it immediately set about to establish a coordinated national system of instruction throughout the country in that subject. The 1930 yearbook, page 108, refers to a meeting of international law and international relations professors who met “in conference in order to discuss and to agree upon the best methods to reach and educate the youth—primarily of the United States—in the principles of international law and the basis of foreign relations.”

In addition to international law, another method selected by the endowment as a means of achieving international amity, was what throughout the years is referred to in such terms as “education of public opinion,” “development of the international mind,” “enlightenment of public opinion,” and “stimulation of public education.” This last phrase it may be noted was used by Alger Hiss in his Recommendations of the President, pages 16 and 17 of the 1947 yearbook, in which he also recommended “most earnestly” that the endowment's program for the period ahead be constructed “primarily for the support and assistance of the United Nations.” At times these phrases were coupled with “diffusing information” or “dissemination of information” but more frequently they were not. This part of the endowment's work was not confined to the United States—it also selected material to be distributed abroad through various means, and circulated foreign pamphlets on various subjects in this country.

There is little doubt that the endowment regarded its work as educational and as fostering world peace—and there is equally little doubt that the work was in the international relations field, and consistently of a propaganda nature. For example, as far back as June 1917 it cooperated with the Academy of Political Science on a National Conference on Foreign Relations of the United States, the stated purpose being “to organize a campaign of education among the people of the United States on the international situation then existing.”

Again in 1926 the endowment sponsored a conference on international problems and relations—the aim being to “create and diffuse in the United States a wider knowledge of the facts and a broader and more sympathetic interest in international problems and relations.” Several of the topics assume significance in the light of later events—“International cooperation in public health and social welfare” and “Economic adjustments.”

Viewed in the light of what the endowment did then and later in its campaign of education, and "to create and diffuse * * * a wider knowledge" as well as the agencies it chose to carry them out, these early ventures seem rather significant.

Throughout the years the reports cover such subjects as international relations clubs, international mind alcoves, international relations centers, international economic cooperation, exchange professors, international visits, and the like. Its relationship with the American Association of International Conciliation continued until 1924 when its activities were merged with those of the division. According to Dr. Finch that organization was selected by Dr. Butler as "the chief propaganda agency of the division" (p. 446 of Finch History).

The endowment was really just getting started when the First World War raised serious obstacles to its work abroad. However, before that event it had selected as "agencies of propaganda" (a name later discarded) various of the peace societies, in which Mr. Carnegie had been intensely interested.

However, some projects of importance were underway. The division of international law had surveyed the situation existing with regard to the teaching of that subject in colleges and universities in the United States, and by the time war broke out in 1914 compiled a tabulation showing the professors, instructors, and lecturers on international law and related subjects during the collegiate year 1911-12.

The immediate result of this was placing the subject of fostering "the study of international law" on the agenda of the American Society of International Law in 1914, at the request of the endowment.

From that beginning grew the great influence of the endowment in this field's increased facilities for the study of international law, uniform instruction differentiation between undergraduate and graduate instructions, and inclusion of a host of "related" subjects. According to the Carnegie Endowment History by Dr. Finch, a check by the division on the effects of its efforts showed the material increase both in number of hours and the enlargement of classes which he estimates as 45 percent from 1911 to 1922, and a still further increase by 1928. He also mentioned that in 1928 there were six former holders of the endowment's international law fellowships teaching in foreign universities (p. 319 of the Finch History).

Fellowships in international law

At the recommendation of the American Society of International Law (made December 1916) the endowment established fellowships for the study of international law and related subjects. There were 5 awarded annually to graduate students holding the equivalent of a bachelor's degree and 5 to teachers of international law or related subjects with 1 year of previous teaching experience.

A total of 212 fellowships were awarded from 1917 to 1936 (about one-sixth being renewals), of which 128 were to students and 84 to teachers. Dr. Finch states that while complete records are not available, information in the files and in Who's Who as well as personal contacts show that two-thirds entered the teaching profession and he then continues (pp. 323 et seq.) :

As the years went by, most of these teachers improved their positions. Some became senior professors or heads of departments. Three became university

presidents: Colgate W. Darden, Jr., is president of the University of Virginia; Norman A. M. MacKenzie became president of the University of New Brunswick and later of the University of British Columbia; Henry M. Wriston, after serving as president of Lawrence College, is now president of Brown University;* Bessie C. Randolph became president of Hollins College, Virginia, and Bernice Brown (Cronkrite) is dean of Radcliffe College. Frederick S. Dunn, of Johns Hopkins University, is now director of the Yale Institute of International Studies. Two former fellows were elected to the United States Congress, Charles West, of Ohio, and Colgate W. Darden, of Virginia. Mr. Darden then served as Governor of Virginia before he accepted the presidency of the university of his State.

Leadership has been assumed by former international law fellows in the organization and direction of community and regional centers in different areas of the country for the promotion of international understanding and cooperation in international organization. Keener C. Frazer, professor of political science of the University of North Carolina, became director of the Southern Council on International Relations. J. Eugene Harley, professor of political science at the University of Southern California, became director for the Center for International Understanding at Los Angeles, and chairman of the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace in the southern California region; Charles E. Martin, professor of international law and head of the department of political science of the University of Washington, is chairman of the Institute of Public Affairs of Seattle, and of the Northwest Commission to Study the Organization of Peace. Brooks Emeny, of Cleveland, Ohio, was director of foreign affairs council of that city, and then became president of the Foreign Policy Association in New York. Another former endowment fellow, Vera Micheles (Dean) is the director of research of the same organization.

Some 16 former fellows are now in the service of the Department of State occupying positions of varying responsibilities. The most outstanding of this group is Philip C. Jessup, now Ambassador-at-Large, and representing the Government of the United States in the United Nations and other important international conferences attempting to restore peace to the world. At least two former endowment fellows who entered the military service were appointed to responsible positions requiring a knowledge of international law. Hardy C. Dillard, of the University of Virginia, was director of studies of the United States Army's School of Military Government located at that university, and later occupied the same position at the National War College in Washington. Charles Fairman, of Stanford University, was Chief of the International Law Division of the Office of Theater Judge Advocate in the European Theater of Operations. Several former endowment fellows were selected by the Government to go on cultural and educational missions to the occupied areas, and two of them served as consultants to General MacArthur in Tokyo (Claude A. Buss of the University of Southern California, and Kenneth W. Colegrove of Northwestern University). A former endowment fellow, Francis O. Wilcox, is chief of staff of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, assisted by another former fellow Thorsten Kalljarvi.

Of special interest is the career of John H. Spencer, of Harvard, after studying under a fellowship. He was appointed legal adviser to Emperor Haile Selassie, of Ethiopia before World War II. He returned to the United States and served in the State Department and United States Navy while the Italian Army occupied that country, and then returned to his former post in Addis Ababa at the urgent request of the Emperor, supported by the Department of State. John R. Humphrey, an international law fellow from McGill University, Montreal, became Director of the Division on Human Rights of the United Nations Secretariat.

He concludes with this statement:

The immediate objective, namely, to provide an adequate number of teachers competent to give instruction in international law and related subjects, and thus to aid colleges and universities in extending and improving the teaching of these subjects, was demonstrably achieved. From this selective educational group have emerged leaders of opinion as well as of action in the conduct of international relations directed toward the goal for which the endowment was founded.

* Dr. Wriston was elected a trustee of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in 1943. He is also a trustee of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching and of the World Peace Foundation. He holds membership in several learned societies, is a former president of the Association of American Colleges and president of the Association of American Universities.

At the same time, the division of intercourse and education was setting out on a policy stated by Dr. Butler to be:

To lay little stress upon those aspects of peace propaganda that are primarily rhetorical and feeling in character, but rather to organize throughout the world centers of influence and constructive policy that may be used in the years to come as the foundation upon which to erect a superstructure of international confidence and good will and therefore of peace.

In view of the division's activities later in behalf of the League of Nations and the United Nations, this has a somewhat prophetic ring.

Compared with the activities of the other divisions, the activities of the division of intercourse and education were much more varied, and the yearbooks contain innumerable references to its activities which indicate that they were more concentrated in the fields covered by this summary.

One of the very first actions of the division in 1911 was the appointment of special correspondents throughout the world to report on conditions in their respective countries and on public opinion here regarding international problems between their governments and other nations. When, in the opinion of the division, it was proper, extracts were given to the American press. The decision of which to give and which to withhold was entirely within the discretion of the division, and that undoubtedly meant Dr. Butler. In view of his intense desire to achieve peace, and his equally firm conviction that an international organization could best accomplish that, it is entirely conceivable that his judgment as to the material to be released might be influenced by his own convictions and desires—and this would be equally true in the case of any human being.

The correspondents also made the endowment's work known in their countries through the press, interviews and speeches, and officially represented it at undertakings of international cooperation and understanding.

This system was discontinued in 1930 because by that time the division had established—

such a network of worldwide connections involving continuous correspondence as to make it no longer necessary to employ the services of special correspondents.

Just after the war started in 1914, the division engaged prominent persons to lecture before colleges, chambers of commerce, clubs, and similar audiences on the subject of past and present history as it related to current international problems. Among the speakers were David Starr Jordan, Hamilton Wright Mabie, and George W. Kirchwey. Dr. Butler instructions as to the endowment's purpose in sponsoring these lectures were,

This work is to educate and enlighten public opinion and not to carry on a special propaganda in reference to the unhappy conditions which now prevail throughout a large part of the world. It is highly important that purely contentious questions be avoided so far as possible and that attention be fixed on those underlying principles of international conduct, of international law, and of international organization which must be agreed upon and enforced if peaceful civilization is to continue (letter to Dean Frederick P. Keppel, May 28, 1915-16 yearbook, p. 67).

International mind alcoves

These were described in the yearbook of the endowment and typical references are given in the exhibit. Following the entry of the United States into World War I a systematic purchase and distribution of books and pamphlets dealing with international relations generally

and the causes and effects of war, as well as the possible terms of peace, was begun by the division of intercourse and education. Dr. Butler is generally credited with coining the phrase "international mind" and from the time the distribution to libraries was begun they were known as "international mind alcoves" and so referred to in the annual reports.

The endowment has described the books selected and distributed by it as "authoritative and unbiased books of a type suitable to interest the general reader dealing with the daily life, customs and history of other countries." In that connection, among the books distributed to these alcoves and to the international relations clubs (and international relations centers) are those referred to in a memorandum which forms an exhibit to this summary, and is entitled "Exhibit—Carnegie, Books Distributed." The endowment has contributed \$804,000 to this activity. Dr. Colegrove's comments on some of these volumes indicate there was only one viewpoint presented—that of the one world internationalist—and books written from a strictly nationalist point of view were not included.

International relations clubs and conferences

These clubs in the United States were in part, an outgrowth of groups of European students organized by the World Peace Foundation, and known as Corda Fratres. The endowment at the request of the World Peace Foundation contributed to the Eighth International Congress of Students, and the following year (1914) the division of intercourse and education began to actively organize what it described as International Polity Clubs in colleges and universities throughout the country, for the purpose of stimulation of interest in international problems in the United States. The name was changed in 1919 to International Relations Clubs, and while interest diminished for a few years after World War I, the clubs began a steady annual increase before too long, which has been sustained to the present time.

About 1924 the first conference was organized of a federation of clubs in the Southern States, which became known as the Southeast International Relations Clubs Conference. The idea quickly spread and a dozen such regional centers were formed. (From 1921 until 1946 the endowment contributed \$450,425 toward this program.)

Here again the purpose of the endowment is stated (International Relations Club Handbook, 1926) to be:

to educate and enlighten public opinion. It is not to support any single view as to how best to treat the conditions which now prevail throughout the world, but to fix the attention of students on those underlying principles of international conduct, of international law, and of international organization which must be agreed upon and applied if peaceful civilization is to continue.

However, mere statement of purpose as frequently pointed out by the Bureau of Internal Revenue is not sufficient—the activities must follow the purpose; and those of the endowment do not bear out its statement "not to support any single view." Throughout its reports, by the books it has distributed, by the agencies it has used for various projects, by the endowment graduates which have found their places in Government—the endowment has put forward only one side of the question, that of an international organization for peace. It has not sponsored projects advocating other means.

The endowment's evaluation of these clubs is contained in frequent references in its reports, only one of which is included in the Exhibit—Carnegie, that from the yearbook for 1943, pages 37–38.

Dr. Johnson in response to a letter requesting information as to the formation and activities of these clubs, wrote the committee on April 29, 1954, and both the request and the reply are included in Exhibit—Carnegie.

These clubs were formed in 1914 and have operated for 40 years in colleges, universities, and high schools. In 1938 according to Dr. Johnson there were 1,103 clubs: 265 in high schools and 685 in colleges and universities throughout the United States; with 11 scattered in the Philippines, Hawaii, Alaska, Canal Zone, and Puerto Rico; 24 in the United Kingdom, 34 in 14 Latin American countries, 22 in China, 9 in Japan, 2 in Korea; and the remaining 51 in Canada, Egypt, Greece, Iran, Iraq, Siam, New Zealand, Australia, South Africa, Syria, and India.

Dr. Johnson's concluding statement that "a contribution was made to a better understanding of the responsibilities which our country now bears as a world power" is quite understandable under the circumstances. Some of the other aspects of these clubs will be discussed in connection with the Foreign Policy Association.

Visiting Carnegie professors

In addition to the exchange professors of the division of international law the division of intercourse and education in 1927 initiated its own plan of exchange professors. It was inaugurated by sending abroad the directors of the other two divisions as visiting professors that year, Dr. James Scott Brown going to lecture at universities in Latin America and Spain, and Dr. James T. Shotwell being sent to Berlin. The other prominent Americans closely identified with this field who went abroad to represent the endowment were Dr. David P. Barrows, former president of the University of California, and an elected trustee of the endowment in 1931; and Dr. Henry Suzzalli, former president of the University of Washington at Seattle and chairman of the board of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching. The exchange professors were not restricted to international law and political science, but included professors of public law, history, and other subjects.

The endowment also arranged for European tours for newspaper editors, and a reciprocal tour of the United States for a group from Europe.

Political activities

In addition to these projects already described, the endowment quite early in its career (1913–14) had a brush with the United States Senate regarding Senator Root's statements on the floor of the Senate during the controversy over exemption of American coastwise vessels from payment of Panama Canal tolls.

The Senate Committee on Judiciary was directed to investigate the charge that "a lobby is maintained to influence legislation pending in the Senate." (Pt. 62, March 13, 1914, pp. 4770–4808.) Apparently, there had been some question as to whether the exceedingly widespread distribution of the Senator's speeches by the endowment had been at

Government expense. In his history, Dr. Finch discussing the incident says:

There was little real need for any outside investigation of the work of the endowment. From the beginning the trustees regarded themselves as the administrators of a quasi-public trust fund. Complete accounts of all activities and of expenditures detailed as much as practicable within reasonable printed limits, were published annually in the yearbook beginning with 1911. In it were given the names of the trustees, officers and membership of committees, and the full texts of the reports of the executive committee, the Secretary, the treasurer, and of the directors of the three divisions. Summaries were published in the yearbook of the meetings of the board of trustees, with the texts of their resolutions and the amount and general purposes of their appropriations. Lists with bibliographical data were added of all endowment publications up to that time. The yearbook was obtainable free of charge upon application. It had a regular mailing list of 5,000 to 10,000 addresses, which included all the important newspaper offices in the United States and many in foreign countries.

The endowment also actively advocated passage of the reciprocal trade agreements legislation, adherence to the Anglo-American agreements and carried on various other activities of a political nature, as the extracts from their annual reports confirm.

After World War I the endowment's trustees seemed to have been divided in their ideas on how best to begin anew their efforts to build a peaceful world. Some members of the board were still of the opinion that international law, arbitration treaties and the like offered the greatest hope, while others looked to an "international organization" of nations, as the best means to accomplish this objective.

The matter was resolved, officially at least, by the endowment putting its strength behind the League of Nations or failing that, adherence to the World Court. Here again, the attitude and activities of the endowment can be readily ascertained by reference to the exhibit in which only a few of the many such statements have been included.

Early in its career the endowment began the close working arrangements with the Federal Government which have continued down to the present time. Immediately after the United States entered World War I the trustees passed a resolution offering to the Government "the services of its division of international law, its personnel and equipment for dealing with the pressure of international business incident to the war."

The Secretary of State first asked that the division translate and publish the complete text of the proceedings of the two Hague Conferences and preliminary copies were made available to the American Commission to Negotiate Peace at Paris in 1918. The division also aided in the preparatory work for the peace conference, and the material for the use of the American delegation was selected (at a cost of \$30,000 paid by the endowment) by a committee of three appointed by the Secretary of State—the director of the division of international law, the Solicitor of the Department, Lester H. Woolsey, and a special assistant in the Department, David Hunter Miller. Much of the material was the work of regular division personnel and all manuscripts were edited by it.

The director of the division of international law was one of the two principal legal advisers of the American Commission to Negotiate Peace, the assistant director, Dr. Finch, was assistant legal adviser, as were the chief division assistant, Henry G. Crocker, and Prof. Amos S. Hershey (who was added to the professional staff to aid in the work

for the State Department); and George D. Gregory accompanied the American group as secretarial-assistant translator.

The endowment also took part in the conference on the limitation of armament and pacific relations in 1921-22, Elihu Root then president of the endowment being one of the official United States delegates and James Brown Scott, director of the division of international law, one of the legal advisers.

Here again, the endowment offered the Secretary of State its cooperation, which was accepted and a few weeks later Secretary of State Hughes suggested that the endowment issue a series of pamphlets on the principal problems coming before the Conference.

President Root reporting to the board on April 21, 1922 said:

I really do not know how the far-eastern work of the late Conference Upon the Limitation of Armament could have been done without McMurray's book which had just a few months before been published by the endowment. The whole process of ranging the nine nations represented in the Conference upon a basis of agreement for the treatment of Chinese questions so as to facilitate the heroic efforts of the Chinese people to develop an effective and stable self-government would have been exceedingly difficult, if not impossible, if we had not had those two big volumes published by the endowment upon our tables for access at any moment. We were continually referring to them and the members could turn to such a page and find such a treaty and such an agreement and have the real facts readily accessible.

When the Rockefeller Foundation turned to the social sciences and the humanities as the means to advance the "well-being" of humanity, the section entitled "Social Sciences" in the annual report was set up under the following headings, which remained unchanged until 1935:

General Social Science Projects: Cooperative Undertakings.

Research in Fundamental Disciplines.

Interracial and International Studies.

Current Social Studies.

Research in the Field of Public Administration.

Fundamental Research and Promotion of Certain Types of Organization.

Fellowships in the Social Sciences.

The report states that the arrangement was for the purpose of "simplification and in order to emphasize the purpose for which appropriations have been made."

In the decade 1929-38 the foundation's grants to social-science projects amounted to \$31.4 millions and grants were made to such agencies as the Brookings Institution, the Social Science Research Council, the National Research Council, the Foreign Policy Association, the Council on Foreign Relations, and the Institute of Pacific Relations in this country as well as a dozen or more in other countries, and the Fiscal Committee of the League of Nations.

The original plunge of the foundation into the field of social science was at the instigation of Beardsley Ruml, according to Raymond Fosdick (The Story of the Rockefeller Foundation, p. 194), who in 1922 was appointed director of the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial when consolidation of that organization with the foundation was already being considered. During the 7 years, 1922-29 the memorial operated under Ruml's guidance it concentrated on the field of social sciences and spent \$41 million. Referring to the work of the memorial Dr. Fosdick writes:

He (Ruml) always insisted that his job was with social scientists, rather than with social science. The sums which, under his leadership, were used to stimulate

scientific investigation were perhaps not large in comparison with aggregate expenditures for social sciences, but they represented a new margin of resources, and they were employed dramatically at a strategic moment. Chancellor Hutchins of the University of Chicago, speaking in 1929, summed up the verdict in words which a longer perspective will probably not overrule: "The Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial, in its brief but brilliant career, did more than any other agency to promote the social sciences in the United States."

Dr. Ruml was the head of the memorial for all but the first 4 years of its existence.

Since the foundation absorbed the memorial's program and carries on all its activities relating to government and international relations under the heading of social sciences, these comments by Dr. Fosdick and Dr. Hutchins have equal applicability to the work of the foundation in these fields.

There is ample evidence from the foundation's yearbooks that it carried on activities in the field of government of a political and propaganda nature, as well as in the field of international relations, and examples of this will be found in the "Exhibit—Rockefeller." Included in that exhibit also are the statement of Mr. Chester I. Barnard in the Cox committee hearings, page 563, speaking of his work as "the consultant of the State Department * * * on different things from time to time," and quotations from Dr. Fosdick's book on the foundation.

In 1935 the foundation's activities again were reorganized, and that year the section "Social Sciences" begins: "In 1935 the foundation program in the social sciences were reorganized along new lines with emphasis upon certain definite fields of interest."

Major changes were termination of financial aid to general institutional research in the social sciences here and abroad, elimination of grants for "the promotion of basic economic research," for community organization and planning (unless within the scope of one of the new fields of interest), cultural anthropology, and schools of social work.

From then on the foundation was to concentrate on three areas of study: Social security, international relations, and public administration.

Subsequent statements made by the foundation concerning its work in each of these fields will be discussed in the concluding portions of this summary.

The same year that the foundation publicly announced that its activities in the field of social science would be confined to international relations and relations with government, the endowment was engaged in a project related to both which exemplifies the methods frequently used by the endowment in attempting to achieve world peace. This project was the calling of an unofficial conference in March of 1935 to consider possible steps to promote trade and reduction of unemployment, stabilization of national monetary systems, and better organization of the family of nations to give security and strengthen the foundations on which international peace must rest.

From this grew the reorganization of the National Peace Conference, composed of 32 newly organized city and State peace councils, with its committees of experts appointed to supply factual data and analyses of international affairs. Among the commissions were ones on economics and peace, national defense, the world community, and the Far East.

Of particular interest is the fact that the director of the League of Nations Association, Clark M. Eichelberger, later to occupy the same position with the Association for the United Nations, was placed in charge of the endowment's educational program. Dr. Finch's comment on this indicates the extensive nature of Dr. Eichelberger's contacts through this assignment.

* * * He traveled extensively throughout the United States developing contacts which resulted in the adoption of programs within numerous organizations, some not hitherto reached by the endowment. Among them were: United States Department of Agriculture Extension Service through its county and home-demonstration agents and discussion specialists in the field; extension services of State agricultural colleges; American Farm Bureau Federation and Associated Women of the Federation; National Farmers Educational and Cooperative Union of America; Junior Farmers Union; 4-H Clubs; National Grange; informal community forums and Federal forums sponsored by the United States Bureau of Education; classes and forums conducted by the Works Progress Administration; adult education; workers' education and labor unions; churches, women's clubs, university groups, Rotary, and other service clubs. Leadership-training conferences were established for the training of organizational representatives from which the best qualified were selected for discussion leaders. Literature was prepared by the division and supplied for use in discussion programs. Basic pamphlet material of the Department of State was also used. The radio played an important part. Local stations were supplied with electrical transcriptions of addresses on world economic problems.

Dr. Finch has another comment as to the methods used in carrying on this "educational program":

The educational program did not necessarily start with the subject of international relations as such, but with topics which would help the membership of these groups to recognize and analyze the economic, social, and educational problems within their own organizations and communities, and to understand the factors, local, national, and international which create these problems; to discover to what extent each economic group could contribute toward the solution of their common problems, and to what extent solutions of local problems were dependent upon national and international relations; to know and use the sources of information on public and international problems.

The National Peace Conference extended this "educational" work in 1938 by undertaking "an educational campaign for world economic cooperation," using *Peaceful Change—Alternative to War*, published by the Foreign Policy Association, as the basic handbook. According to Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler (1938 yearbook, p. 48) this campaign was undertaken to emphasize the importance of putting into effect the recommendations of the joint committee of the endowment and the International Chamber of Commerce, and had two phases. The first, from September 1937 to March 1938, was on education in the fundamentals of world economic cooperation followed by a nationwide conference scheduled for March 1938 in Washington, D. C., to appraise the campaign up to that time, "to consider recommendations of practical policy prepared by a committee of experts under the direction of Prof. Eugene Staley, and to formulate conclusions on specific Government policies." The second phase was another campaign of education from March 1938 to January 1939.

It is apparent merely from reading the Rockefeller Foundation's list of its "fields of interest" that in all probability it would frequently contribute to the identical project and the identical organization, receiving contributions from the endowment. This is exactly what happened, and while in the amount of time available it is not possible to itemize the projects, it is possible to select typical examples from the agencies to which it contributed.

As a matter of fact, the endowment and the foundation concentrated their grants among the same agencies in practically every case. Moreover, as it will become apparent, at times a joint activity (in the sense that both contributed funds to a particular project or organization) was related to both Government and to international relations. Several of such organizations aided by both organizations will be discussed separately because they are particularly pertinent to the relations of the foundations to both Government and international relations.

Institute of International Education

This was one of the first agencies to receive contributions from the foundation when it enlarged its sphere of activity to include the social sciences, and it has continued to make grants every year since then.

The institution was authorized by the executive committee of the endowment at Dr. Butler's instigation in 1919, as an integral part of the Division of Intercourse and Education for the—

purpose of fostering and promoting closer international relations and understanding between the people of the United States and other countries, to act as a clearinghouse of information and advice on such matters and to systematize the exchange of visits of teachers and students between colleges and universities of the United States and those of foreign countries.

It arranged itineraries and lecture tours for visiting professors and circuited the visiting professors among the colleges and universities of the United States, including visits to the International Relations Clubs.

In Department of State publication 2137, page 9, entitled "The Cultural Cooperation Program, 1938-43," there is the following statement as to the place the institute came to occupy in international education:

The Institute of International Education in New York, a private organization, began after the First World War to persuade universities in the United States and in Europe to offer full scholarships (tuition, board, and lodging) for exchange students. More than 100 universities in the United States and a similar number in Europe cooperated. The institute reported that during the period 1920-38 approximately 2,500 foreign students were brought to the United States under this plan, and 2,357 American students were placed in foreign universities. The cash value of scholarships given by American universities to this group of foreign students was \$1,970,000, and the scholarships to American students abroad were valued at \$917,000. This plan is especially significant because it won support from so large a number of private institutions, each of which was willing to invest its own funds in the exchange of students.

The endowment also continued its contributions to this institute—funds from both organizations amounting to approximately \$5 million.

Foreign Policy Association

This organization received grants from the endowment, and, in addition, many of its pamphlets were distributed to the International Mind Alcoves and the International Relations Clubs.

In that connection, one of the persons whose books were distributed by the endowment was Vera Micheles Dean, who is referred to later in this summary. Mrs. Dean was given an international law scholarship by the endowment in 1925-26.

The Rockefeller Foundation between 1934 and 1945 (when it made a tapering grant of \$200,000) contributed \$625,000 to the research, publication and educational activities of the Foreign Policy Association. In 1950, when it terminated aid to the association, the foundation in its annual report indicated that its reason for doing so was that it was operating largely on a stable and self-supporting basis. However, in 1952 the Adult Education Fund of the Ford Foundation gave \$335,000 to the association.

The Rockefeller Foundation in addition to contributing funds to the Foreign Policy Association has referred to the Headline Series in its annual reports, and, while not fulsome in praise, there is no doubt that the foundation approved of them—the 1950 annual report (exhibit — Rockefeller) refers to these books as the “popular Headline Books,” with details on problems of importance to Americans and to the world.

Dr. Johnson, after describing the International Relations Clubs (exhibit — Carnegie) adds that these clubs have now become associated with the Foreign Policy Association. In that connection, the McCarran committee hearings contain frequent references to the interlocking association of that organization with the Institute of Pacific Relations, and includes, among other exhibits, No. 1247, which discussed the Headline book, *Russia at War*, and refers to the good job performed by the Foreign Policy Association of promoting Mrs. Dean's pamphlet, through the regular channels.

Time has not permitted extensive inspection of the volumes published by the Foreign Policy Association, but Vera Micheles Dean who was the research director of the Foreign Policy Association and editor of its research publications is referred to frequently in the McCarran committee reports on the Institute of Pacific Relations. She is the author of *Russia—Menace or Promise?* one of the Headline Series, as well as the *United States and Russia* (1948).

While the Association refers to itself as a nonprofit American organization founded to carry on research and educational activities to aid in the understanding and constructive development of American foreign policy which does not seek to promote any one point of view toward international affairs, this statement is somewhat equivocal both in view of the nature of its publications, and also because in those reviewed little attention was paid to the possibility of a nationalist point of view as opposed to an internationalist one.

Another of the Headline Series, *World of Great Powers*, by Max Lerner (1947), contains the following language:

There are undoubtedly valuable elements in the capitalist economic organizations. The economic techniques of the future are likely to be an amalgam of the techniques of American business management with those of Government ownership, control, and regulation. For the peoples of the world, whatever their philosophies, are moving toward similar methods of making their economic system work.

If democracy is to survive, it too must move toward socialism—a socialism guarded by the political controls of a State that maintains the tradition of intellectual consent and the freedom of political opposition. And the imperatives of survival are stronger than the winds of capitalist doctrine.

This is an arduous road for democracy to travel, and it may not succeed. But it is the only principle that can organize the restless energies of the world's peoples. * * *

Mr. Lerner's attitude insofar as Russia is concerned is indicated by this language on pages 34 and 35, after stating that both Russia and the United States merely want world peace and security:

The successive layers of fear and suspicion on both sides can be stripped away only when both show a creativeness in approaching each other halfway. This would mean, for America, reopening the question of granting Russia a loan or credits for the purchasing of machines and machine tools. These the Soviet Union sorely needs for peacetime production and for lifting the terribly low standards of living of the Russian people. For Russia it would mean a commitment to return to the world economic and trade councils from which it withdrew after Bretton Woods.

Moving from the economic to the political level, it would mean a willingness on America's part to grant greater United Nations control of Japan and the former Japanese island bases in the Pacific, and on Russia's part to be less truculent about her sphere of influence in eastern Europe. Given such economic and political agreements, a meeting of minds would become possible on the international control of atomic energy, which is the central question both of disarmament and peace.

One further illustration of the internationalist trend of the Foreign Policy Association will be found in another Headline Series volume, Freedom's Charter, The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, by Dr. O. Frederick Nolde, which deals with the covenants on human rights without referring to the criticisms made of their possible effects on the Constitution and its Bill of Rights, and the entire tone of the pamphlet is one of praise for the universal declaration. By a technique frequently found in pamphlets which are pro-United Nations and its activities, Dr. Nolde obliquely places those who disagree with the universal declaration—for whatever reason—in a category with the Soviet Union who also object to certain phases, for example: "Soviet emphasis on state sovereignty appeared in other contexts, also. Many delegates contended that the universal protection of man's rights will require a measurable yielding of national sovereignty. As previously pointed out, the U. S. S. R. took radical exception to this contention."

Up to the time this summary was written no book or pamphlet of a contrary point of view (published by the association) has been found—which raises the question of a comparison between the theory expressed by the association not to seek to promote any one point of view and of the type of books and pamphlets it sponsors and publishes.

Council on Foreign Relations

Here again the two organizations—the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and the Rockefeller Foundation—have been substantial contributors to the work of an agency in the international field. And again, as in the case of the Foreign Policy Association, it is evident from the publications of the council that its approach is not an unbiased one.

The Council has published studies by the following:

Public Opinion and Foreign Policy—Lester Markel and others.

International Security—Philip C. Jessup.

World Economy in Transition and Raw Materials in Peace and War—Eugene Staley.

The Challenge to Isolation, 1937-40—William L. Langer and S. Y. Everett Gleason.

Dr. Langer was later selected by the Council and the foundation to prepare a history of American foreign policy from 1939 to 1946, which has been stated to be a one-sided interpretation rather than an objec-

tive history of American foreign policy. No grants have since been made (so far as can be ascertained from their records) by either the Council or the foundation for preparation of a contrary evaluation of this subject—and neither organization supported the volume by Professor Tansill published a year or so ago, which gives the other side of the picture.

It is interesting to note that shortly after World War II exploded in September 1939, representatives of the Council visited the Department of State to offer its assistance on the problems the conflict had created and offered to undertake work in certain fields, without formal assignment of responsibility on one side or restriction of independent action on the other. A tentative outline was prepared for four groups of experts to undertake research on: Security and Armaments Problems, Economic and Financial Problems, Political Problems, and Territorial Problems. These came to be known as the War and Peace Studies, and were financed by the Rockefeller Foundation under the Council's committee on studies.

About February 1941, the informal character of the relationship between the State Department and the Council ceased. The Department established a Division of Special Research composed of Economic, Political, Territorial, and Security Sections, and engaged the secretaries who had been serving with the Council groups to participate in the work of the new Division.

Following that, in 1942, a fifth group was added to the War and Peace Studies, called the Peace Aims Group. This group had been carrying on discussions regarding the claims of different European nations, the relation of such claims to each other as well as to the current foreign policy of the United States, and their relationship to eventual postwar settlements.³ The State Department particularly commended the work of this last group. That same year the relationship between the council and the Department became even more close—the Department appointed Isaiah Bowman and James T. Shotwell as members of its newly organized "Advisory Committee on Postwar Foreign Policies." In addition to their association with the Council of Foreign Relations both had also been associated with Carnegie organizations.

Particular interest attaches to this activity on the part of the council. First of all, the action of the council in offering its services closely parallels the action of the Carnegie endowment in both the First and Second World Wars, and in view of Mr. Shotwell's background it seems likely that it was somewhat a case of taking a leaf from the same book.

The second reason is because the research secretaries of the War and Peace studies of the council progressed to other work related to the organization of peace and the settlement of postwar problems:

Philip E. Mosely, research secretary of the Territorial group, accompanied Secretary Hull to Moscow in 1943, when representatives of Great Britain, the United States, the Soviet Union, and China issued the Moscow Declaration, the text of which had been prepared previously in the Committee on Postwar Foreign Policies. Mr. Mosely later became political adviser to the American member of the

³ The endowment had conducted a similar study before World War I.

European Advisory Commission in London, and more recently has been with the Russian Institute of Columbia University.

Walter R. Sharp, research secretary of the Political group, served as Secretary General of the United Nations Food Conference at Quebec in 1945.

Grayson Kirk, research secretary of the Security group, was among the experts at the Dumbarton Oaks Conference and was executive officer of commission III at the San Francisco Conference.

Dwight E. Lee, research secretary of the Peace Aims group, was assistant secretary of committee I, commission III at the San Francisco Conference.

The outside experts also reappeared in other work :

Dr. Isaiah Bowman was a member of the United States delegation at the Dumbarton Oaks Conference, special adviser to the Secretary of State, member of the Department's Policy Committee, and adviser to the American delegation at the San Francisco Conference.

Hamilton Fish Armstrong served as adviser to the American Ambassador in London in 1944, with the personal rank of minister, also as special adviser to the Secretary of State, and as adviser to the American delegation at the San Francisco Conference.

Walter H. Mallory, secretary of the Steering Committee which directed the War and Peace Studies, was a member of the Allied Mission to Observe the Elections in Greece, with the personal rank of minister, a mission which grew out of the Yalta agreement to assist liberated countries to achieve democratic regimes responsive to the wishes of their people.

This does not include any of the several dozen members of these council groups who were called into the Government in wartime capacities not connected with formulation of postwar policies. Nor is any implication intended that pressure was brought to secure placement of any of these individuals in particular posts. It is self-evident, however, that the research secretaries as well as the others referred to later attained positions of influence in relation to the foreign policy of the United States, and were instrumental in formulation of the United Nations Organization.

During its operations the War and Peace Studies project held 362 meetings and prepared and sent to the State Department close to 700 documents, which were distributed to all appropriate officers, and also reached other departments and agencies of the Government, since representatives of many such agencies were informal members of council groups. With a few exceptions these documents are now in the council library and available for study.

The endowment also had direct association during this period with the State Department, in addition to its association through the work of the council just described, through its Division of International Law. This association arose following Pearl Harbor in 1941, when the endowment offered and the Department accepted the services of that Division, thus again establishing an informal basis of cooperation.

At that time Philip Jessup, who was director of the division of international law from 1940 to 1943, resigned to devote his entire time to Government service.

Following several exploratory conferences to determine what could be learned from the experience of the League of Nations, the division

“established relations with many highly qualified and experienced experts making it possible to plan and arrange for the preparation of * * * series of studies on international organization and administration. * * *)”

The first was International Law of the Future, Postulates, Principles, and Proposals. It was followed by:

International Tribunals, Past and Future

The International Secretariat: A Great Experiment in International Administration

Guide to the Practice of International Conferences

League of Nations and National Minorities

The Economic and Financial Organization of the League of Nations

Immunities and Privileges of International Officials

International Drug Control

Mandates, Dependencies, and Trusteeship

The Customs Union Issue

The 1944 yearbook, pages 67-70 of the report of the director of the division of international law, in a section devoted to the work program of the division, refers to this statement of the International Law of the Future, a second part containing “Principles,” and a third part containing “Proposals,” and in the extract from this yearbook (complete text is included in “Exhibit—Carnegie”) there are these statements:

* * * In line with the Moscow Declaration, the Postulates envisage a “general international organization for the maintenance of international peace and security.” The principles are offered as a draft of a declaration which might be officially promulgated as the basis of the international law of the future. The proposals for international organization are not offered as a draft of a treaty but as suggestions for implementing the principles.

The following year, 1945, the yearbook has the following statement, page 84:

It is apparent from a reading of the proposals for the establishment of a general international organization adopted at Dumbarton Oaks that their drafting was influenced to some extent by the contents of the Statement of the International Law of the Future which was published and given widespread distribution on March 27, 1944.

(Moreover, while the endowment makes no reference to them, there is great similarity also to the proposals for international cooperation drafted many years earlier, in which the endowment participated both financially and through its personnel.)

According to Dr. Finch these documents were published “having in mind” the objectives Mr. Churchill expressed in February 1945, namely, that the former League of Nations would be replaced by a far stronger body but which—

will embody much of the structure and the characteristics of its predecessor. All the work that was done in the past, all the experience that has been gathered by the working of the League of Nations, will not be cast away.

Dr. Finch’s further comments (p. 435) are:

Advance copies of all but the last of the studies were made available to officials of the United States and other governments in Washington. They were in constant use at the conference of jurists held in Washington to revise the statute of the International Court of Justice, at the United Nations Conference on International Organization in San Francisco, the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration Conference, the Interim Commission of the United Nations Conference on Food and Agriculture, the United Nations Monetary and Financial Conference and at the series of meetings held by the United Nations in London, including the Preparatory Commission, the General Assembly, and the Security Council, as well as the meeting of foreign ministers held in the same city. The limited advance editions printed for these purposes were inade-

quate to meet the demand. The division also prepared special memoranda under great pressure for use in connection with some of the foregoing conferences.

The portions of Dr. Finch's History quoted earlier on pages 9, 10, and 11, tell the story of former fellowship holders who have entered various fields, including Government service, but there were others who went from the endowment to places in public life:

James T. Shotwell, who was director of the division of economics and history for many years, was also chairman of the international research committee of the American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations; and while attending a conference of the institute in 1929 delivered a number of addresses on American foreign policy and problems in international organizations. In 1930 he became director of research in international affairs of the social science research council and many of the publications in which his division took an interest originated in research in Europe arranged for him by that organization. Among these were:

International Organization in European Air Transport—Lawrence C. Tomb
 Maritime Trade of Western United States—Elliott G. Mears
 Turkey at the Straits—Dr. Shotwell and Francis Deak
 Poland and Russia—Dr. Shotwell and Max M. Laserson

Dr. Shotwell was chairman of an unofficial national commission of the United States to cooperate with the Committee of the League of Nations on Intellectual Cooperation, and he later accepted membership on the State Department's Advisory Committee on Cultural Relations (1942-44).

Dr. Finch, referring to the invitation extended to Dr. Shotwell to serve on the Advisory Committee on Postwar Policy, goes on:

* * * He was later appointed by the endowment its consultant to the American delegation to the United Nations Conference on International Organization at San Francisco, April 25 to June 26, 1945. These official duties placed Dr. Shotwell in a position of advantage from which to formulate the changing program and direct with the greatest effectiveness the operations of the commission to study the organization of peace.

The associate consultant was Dr. Finch himself, then director of the division of international law.

Professor John B. Condliffe, associate director of the division of economics and history (Berkeley branch office) edited a series of pamphlets dealing with tariffs and agriculture. They covered, in addition to a general study of protection for farm products, cotton, dairy products, wheat, corn, the hog industry, and sugar; and were circulated to all county agricultural agents throughout the country and were officially supplied by the Department of Agriculture to every director of agricultural extension work in the United States.

Ben M. Cherrington, who was elected trustee of the endowment in 1943, was the first Chief of the Division of Cultural Relations of the State Department, serving until 1940. Before that he was director of the Social Science Research Council and professor of international relations at the University of Denver.

Upon leaving the State Department he became chancellor of the university where he remained until 1946, when he became a member of the national committee of the United States for the United Nations Scientific and Cultural Organization. Dr. Cherrington was an associate consultant of the United States delegation to the United Nations Conference in San Francisco.

Philip C. Jessup was another endowment contribution to the field of public service. His first assignment was in the Department of State,

as Assistant Solicitor in 1924-25, followed by his service as legal assistant to Elihu Root, in 1929 at the Committee of Jurists on the Revision of the Court Statutes, called by the League of Nations Council. Dr. Jessup was assistant professor of international law at Columbia University and later became Mr. Root's biographer. He was elected a trustee of the endowment in 1937, succeeded Dr. James Brown Scott as director of the division of international law in 1940 and 1943 resigned because of the pressure of Government work during the war.

He was Assistant Secretary General of UNRRA and attached to the Bretton Woods Conference in 1943-44; assistant on judicial organizations at the United Nations Conference in San Francisco, where he helped to revise the statutes of the Permanent Court of International Justice to the present form in the United Nations Charter. He was also secretary of a national world court committee, organized in New York, of which two trustees of the endowment were also members.

The list of such individuals is long—and to include all the names would merely lengthen this summary to no particular purpose. Henry Wriston, Eugene Staley, Isaiah Bowman, John W. Davis, Quincy Wright, John Foster Dulles, Robert A. Taft, and others—either during their association with the endowment or at some other time—also were in the public service.

United Nations

Both the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and the Rockefeller Foundation aided this cause. In the case of the endowment it was a natural outgrowth of its deep interest in the League of Nations and the World Court, and its disappointment when the United States failed to join the League, intensified its activities in connection with the United Nations.

The close association between the endowment and the State Department, even before World War II actually enveloped this country, has been discussed, and it is apparent that the idea of achieving peace through a world government arrangement was still the goal of the endowment as indicated by the character of its representatives and the nature of their activities.

While Dr. Jessup was director of the division of international law, it undertook an investigation of the numerous inter-American subsidiary congresses and commissions which are part of the pan-American system and as a result amassed a considerable amount of incidental and extraneous information of a technical and administrative character concerning the composition and functioning of permanent international bureaus and commissions. In collaboration with the public administration committee of the Social Science Research Council, Dr. Jessup began a study of this subject and the project later broadened to include not only official administrations and agencies established by American governments, but private international organizations operating in specialized fields, special emphasis being given to the structural and administrative aspects of these organizations.

The work covered approximately 114 organizations, supplied the names and addresses of each organization along with a brief account of its history, purpose, internal administrative structure, membership, finance, publications, and activities, and was intended primarily to

serve government officials and officers of international administration, students, teachers, and finally the public.

At this point it is appropriate to say something about the Commission To Study the Organization of the Peace, which while not a part of the endowment's direct program was treated as work through another agency to which the endowment was willing to grant financial support. The policy of the endowment in such instances is discussed in the concluding portion of this summary.

The commission in actuality was merely a continuation of the National Peace Conference referred to on pages 880 and 881. It came into being under that name in 1939, under the aegis of Dr. Shotwell and Clark M. Eichelberger—guiding lights of the peace conference—and immediately began organization of regional commissions and monthly discussion meetings.

It too had an "educational program," carried to rural communities, and furnished to press services, editors, educational writers, columnists, and commentators.

On June 6, 1941, the commission issued a document entitled "Statement of American Proposals for a New World Order."

In February 1942, this was augmented by "The Transitional Period."

A year later, 1943, the commission followed these with a statement dealing with steps that should be taken during the war to organize for the transition period.

Between then and 1944 these were added:

General Statement and Fundamentals

Part I—Security and World Organization

Part II—The Economic Organization of Welfare

Part III—The International Safeguard of Human Rights

A recapitulation of the principles laid down was issued after Dumbarton Oaks, entitled: "The General International Organization—Its Framework and Functions."

According to Dr. Finch (p. 248):

During the following Dumbarton Oaks Conference the commission kept the work of the conference before the public and organized an educational program in behalf of its proposals. It also directed its studies to subjects inadequately covered by or omitted from the proposals, such as human rights, trusteeship, and economic and social cooperation. Separate committees were set up on each of these subjects and their studies and conclusions were later published.

At the San Francisco Conference the commission was able to promote its objectives through many of its officers and members who were connected with the Conference in an official or consultant capacity. Following the signature and ratification of the charter and the establishment of the United Nations, the Commission To Study the Organization of Peace planned its studies and educational program with two purposes in view: Making the United Nations more effective by implementation and interpretation, and making it the foundation of the foreign policy of the United States.

The commission became the research affiliate for the American Association for the United Nations, with joint offices and interlocking officers in New York. It is estimated by Dr. Shotwell in his annual report of March 27, 1945, to the endowment that over 600,000 copies of the commission's reports had been distributed and distribution of over 3¼ million pieces of its popular material numbers.

In "Exhibit—Carnegie" statements taken from the endowment's yearbooks trace the steps taken by the endowment to advance the cause of the United Nations. The 1944 volume tells of the conferences attended by former officials of the League of Nations, as well as by government officials, and says the third "will be of interest to a much wider group, including not only officials but educators and others

deeply concerned with the need of adequate training for the staffs of many international agencies which are either in process of formation or are contemplated for the postwar period." The first of these conferences was held in August 1942—less than 9 months after Pearl Harbor—and the last was held in August 1943—2 years before the San Francisco Conference.

That same yearbook describes the activities of the endowment as having placed it "* * *" in a peculiarly strategic position to cooperate with official agencies preparing to undertake international functions" and states that while the Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation Operations was engaged in preparing for the organizing conference of UNRRA it "* * *" frequently called upon the division to assist by various means in these preparations."

The endowment supplied special memoranda to the conference, as well as copies of its various publications relating to international organization and administration. The special memoranda covered such subjects as International Conferences and Their Technique, Precedents for Relations Between International Organizations and Nonmember States, and the like.

The following year, 1945, the work of the Commission To Study the Organization of the Peace was again referred to (pp. 112–114) and a quotation concerning it has been included in "Exhibit—Carnegie."

The endowment had two other projects which fall into the international field—the International Economic Handbook and Commercial and Tariff History and Research in International Economics by Federal Agencies. The latter disclosed the extent to which the Government of the United States engaged in the study of economic questions and the resources of economic information at its disposal.

It also cooperated with the International Chamber of Commerce and Thomas J. Watson, a trustee of the endowment, was chairman of a committee established in 1939 by the chamber called a committee for international economic reconstruction. Dr. Finch described one of the first projects of the committee (p. 243) as "a program of public adult education in this country." Later the committee was renamed the committee on international economic policy and set about enlisting 54 leaders of national, business, industrial, education, and religious groups. These included Mr. Winthrop W. Aldrich, President Nicholas Murray Butler, Mr. Thomas J. Watson, Mr. Leon Fraser, Mr. Clark H. Minor, Mr. Robert L. Gulick, Jr., Eric A. Johnston, Robert M. Gaylord, Paul G. Hoffman, Eliot Wadsworth, A. L. M. Wiggins, J. Clifford Folger, E. P. Thomas, and Fred I. Kent.

According to the yearbook, a public-relations committee was organized and professional news services were employed to reach American grassroots, in order to secure the widest possible distribution of the pamphlets produced by the committee, among which were:

World Trade and Employment, by the advisory committee on economics to the committee on international economic policy.

The International Economic Outlook, by J. B. Condliffe, associate director, division of economics and history, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Industrial Property in Europe, by Antonin Basch, department of economics, Columbia University.

Price Control in the Postwar Period, by Norman S. Buchanan, professor of economics, University of California.

Economic Relations With the U. S. S. R., by Alexander Gerschenkron, International Section, Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System.

- A Commercial Policy for the United Nations, by Percy W. Bidwell, director of studies, Council on Foreign Relations.
- International Double Taxation, by Paul Deperon, secretary of the Fiscal Committee, League of Nations.
- Discriminations and Preferences in International Trade, by Howard P. Whidden, economist, Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York.
- Principles of Exchange Stabilization, by J. B. Condliffe.
- International Commodity Agreements, by Joseph S. Davis, director of the food research institute, Stanford University.
- Import Capacity of the United States, by J. B. Condliffe and R. L. Gulick.
- World Production and Consumption of Food, by Karl Brandt, Stanford University.
- International Cartels, by A. Basch.
- Export Policy, by Robert L. Gulick, economist, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.
- The Relation Between International Commercial Policy and High Level Employment, by Sumner H. Slichter, Harvard University.

Thousands of copies of the committee's pamphlets on international economic problems were distributed to business executives, agricultural leaders, diplomatic representatives, students, Government officials, servicemen, Members of Congress, and to congressional committees. A special project in this field was the work done at the time the reciprocal trade-agreements program came before Congress for renewal, when special literature in support of the program was prepared and distributed by the endowment.

The Rockefeller Foundation was working shoulder to shoulder with the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in furthering "agencies devoted to studies, to teaching, to service to government and to public and expert education" on the assumption that while "it is not possible to guaranty peace * * * the way to work toward it is to strengthen the 'infinity of threads that bind peace together.'" It selected many of the same agencies which had been chosen by the endowment for studies and related activities. In the international-relations field grants went to agencies which conduct research and education designed to strengthen the foundations for a more enlightened public opinion and more consistent public policies (1946 annual report).

This same foundation report (p. 40) mentions the appropriation to the Institute of Pacific Relations of \$233,000, much of whose work "is related to the training of personnel, the stimulation of language study, and the conduct of research on problems of the Far East. It is part of the pattern by which, from many different directions and points of view, efforts are being made to bring the West and East into closer understanding."

Two years earlier, the 1944 report of the foundation said: "China is the oldest interest of the Rockefeller Foundation," and it has spent more money in that country than in any other country except the United States. In addition to direct grants to China and Chinese projects of various sorts, the foundation also contributed to the Institute of Pacific Relations, including the American institute.

In that connection, it is interesting to note that 7 years before (1937 report, pp. 57-58) the foundation deplored the events of the previous year in China which "have virtually destroyed this proud ambition, in which the foundation was participating." The report praised the work accomplished up to that time by the Chinese National Government in their attempts "to make over a medieval society in terms of modern knowledge" but was somewhat pessimistic as to the oppor-

tunity "to pick up the pieces of this broken program at some later date."

From 1937 until 1950 the grants of the foundation to the Institute of Pacific Relations were \$945,000, compared with \$793,800 during the years prior to that (from 1929 to 1936, inclusive).

The Institute of Pacific Relations has been the subject of exhaustive hearings by other congressional committees, and mention is made of this particular comment only because as recently as 1952 (if financial contributions are one criterion) the foundation apparently considered the institute an agency "designed to strengthen the foundations for a more enlightened public opinion and more consistent public policies."

A section entitled "Conference on American Foreign Policy" in the 1916 endowment yearbook (pp. 24-25) begins: "To assist in informing public opinion concerning the foreign policy of the United States, the endowment sponsored a conference at Washington * * *." Some 80 national organizations sent 125 representatives to hear from James F. Byrnes, then Secretary of State; Clair Wilcox, Director of the Office of International Trade Policy; Gov. Herbert Lehman; Dean Acheson, Under Secretary of State; Alger Hiss, Secretary General of the United Nations Conference at San Francisco; and William Benton, Assistant Secretary of State in Charge of Public Affairs.

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Yearbook
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From then on the endowment bent every effort to "reach public opinion" and particularly people not reached by any organization "since they have not been interested to join, and who do not realize that they too constitute public opinion and have to assume their responsibilities as citizens not only of the United States but of the world." This phraseology is strikingly similar to that found in the Handbook on International Understanding of the National Education Association.

It does not appear whether the foundation contributed to the Commission to Study the Organization of the Peace, but the annual reports refer to studies carried on by Brookings Institution, the Russian institute of Columbia University's School of International Affairs, the Institute of International Studies at Yale, all "aimed at the single target of world peace" (Dr. Fosdick's Story of the Rockefeller Foundation, p. 219).

In 1945 it aided in the publication of the reports and discussions of the various committees of the San Francisco United Nations Conference because "with respect to many crucial issues the really significant material is not the formal language of the articles of the charter, but the interpretation contained in the reports and discussions * * *."

It also contributed to the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe which in 1949 began a study of long-run trends in European economy, covering the period 1913-50 (1951 annual report, pp. 355-356).

This, the final part of the summary of activities of Carnegie and Rockefeller agencies, has been devoted to substantiating the statements made in its opening paragraphs; namely, that the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and the Rockefeller Foundation had—

Admittedly engaged in activities which would "directly or indirectly" affect legislation;

Admittedly engaged in "propaganda" in the sense defined by Mr. Dodd in his preliminary report;

Admittedly engaged in activities designed to "form public opinion" and "supply information" to the United States Government, calculated to achieve a certain objective, as for example, "an international viewpoint."

Quotations on each of these points, taken from the yearbooks of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and from the annual reports of the Rockefeller Foundation, as well as from other sources, have been referred to and are attached in separate exhibits.

Because of the method of reporting used by the endowment, it is frequently difficult to distinguish specific projects and organizations in its financial statements—disbursements in most instances being reported merely by divisions. In addition, the corporation worked closely with the endowment on certain types of projects, and also made lump-sum grants to the endowment.

An analysis of grants by these two Carnegie agencies and by the Rockefeller Foundation is shown below.

Because it is frequently stated by these foundations as well as others that the purpose of their grants is to serve as a catalytic force in getting a project underway, or provide support to an organization until it is well established, the period during which the foundation contributed funds to a particular organization is shown under the grants made.

Grantee organization	Carnegie		Rockefeller		Total contribution
	Corporation	Endowment	Foundation	Spelman fund	
American Council of Learned Societies (1924).....	\$901,850 (1921-52)	\$11,500 (1940-44)	(\$169,000 General Education Board)		\$12,182,120
American Historical Association (1884).....	384,000 (1926-35)		\$11,069,770 (1925-52)	\$30,000	
Brookings Institution (1916).....	2,493,624 (1922-50)	4,000 (1931-52)	190,830 (1925-37)	55,000	629,830
Council on Foreign Relations (1921).....	1,826,824 (1921-52)	12,000 (1937-42)	1,848,500 (1921-52)	3,211,250	7,557,374
Foreign Policy Association (1918).....	204,000 (1938-51)	16,000 (1934-40)	1,170,700 (1927-52)	150,000	3,159,524
Institute of International Education (1919).....	2,073,013 (1922-52)	200,000 (1941)	900,000 (1933-50)		3,189,524
Institute of Pacific Relations (1925).....	390,000 (1936-47)	184,000 (1927-41)	1,406,405 (1928-52)	240,000	3,847,148
National Academies of Science.....	5,406,500		1,885,400 (1925-50)	165,000	1,407,320
National Research Council (1916).....	3,059,186 (1920-52)		110,000		2,449,400
National Bureau of Economic Research (1920).....	8'8,503 (1921-52)		11,555,500 (1922-52)	447,900	5,516,500
New School for Social Research (1919)...	95,000 (1940)		6,647,500 (1931-52)	125,000	7,621,003
Public Administration Clearing House (1931).....	58,182 (1931-52)		208,100 (1940-44)		300,100
Royal Institute of International Affairs...	214,100 (1938-51)		10,740 (1931-52)	8,058,000	8,126,922
Social Science Research Council.....	2,014,275		906,580 (1938-52)		1,150,680
Encyclopedia of Social Science.....	269,124		8,470,250	4,044,000	14,528,525
			600,000	100,000	969,124

¹ International relations clubs, regional centers, etc.

The projects for which these grants were made—in addition to those made for general support—covered such projects as:

- A Handbook for Latin American Studies
- Developing a training center for far eastern studies at the Congressional Library (both by the American Council of Learned Societies)
- Study of major aspects of Government finance for defense (by the National Bureau of Economic Research)
- Study of problems relating to training of leaders among free peoples (by the Council on Foreign Relations)
- Research on American foreign policy
- Foreign relations
- Political implications of the economic development of industrialized areas (all by the Council on Foreign Relations)
- Support of experimental educational program, publicizing the conflicting issues of economic nationalism and internationalism.
- Program for development of community centers of international education (Foreign Policy Association)

Another statement frequently made by foundations, including both the endowment and the foundation—particularly when the actions of benefiting organizations or individuals arouse criticism—is that as a matter of policy no attempt is or should be made to supervise, direct or control organizations or individuals to whom these tax-exempt funds are given, because to do so would restrict the productivity of the grantees, and (it is inferred) be an attack on academic freedom. This attitude of objectivity, however, is at variance with other statements also found in the records of both the endowment and foundation.

In describing the administration of his division (Intercourse and Education) Dr. Butler's report in the 1928 year book (p. 38) states that, in addition to other work—

a large part of the activity of the division is devoted to the carrying out of specific, definite, and well-considered projects of demonstrated timeliness * * * those in which the work is directed and supervised from the headquarters of the division and those which are carried out by the organizations or individuals to whom allotments are made from time to time. * * * *It is not the policy of the division to grant subventions continuing from year to year to organizations or undertakings not directly responsible to the administration of the division itself.* * * * [Italics supplied.]

This statement—included in its entirety in the exhibit of quotations from endowment records—is susceptible to only one interpretation: Unless a project, whether carried on by a particular organization or by a particular individual or group of individuals is under the direct supervision of the Division of Intercourse and Education, and reports thereon are satisfactory to that division, continued support will not be forthcoming from the endowment.

As mentioned earlier, the foundation does not use quite as dogmatic language in its reports, yet from its statements the same contradictory attitude is discerned, particularly when related to the activities and organizations to which it has continuously granted funds.

There is nothing ambiguous about the warning on page 9 of the 1941 annual report of the foundation:

If we are to have a durable peace after the war, if out of the wreckage of the present a new kind of cooperative life is to be built on a global scale, the part that science and advancing knowledge will play must not be overlooked.

This statement appears in the report for the 12-month period ending December 31, 1941—not quite 4 weeks after Pearl Harbor—yet there can be no doubt that, as far as the foundation was concerned, only “a cooperative life * * * on a global scale” could insure a “durable peace.”

In the light of this attitude some of the individuals and organizations benefiting from foundation funds in the years since 1941 may seem a trifle unusual to say the least, particularly when a few pages further on, page 12, the report follows up this warning with:

A score of inviting areas for this kind of cooperation deserve exploration. Means must be found by which the boundless abundance of the world can be translated into a more equitable standard of living. Minimum standards of food, clothing, and shelter should be established. The new science of nutrition, slowly coming to maturity, should be expanded on a worldwide scale.

It is only natural to wonder about the agencies selected to work in these inviting areas to build “a cooperative life on a global scale.”

Among those to which the foundation gave funds were agencies also selected by the endowment to be directly responsible to the administration of its divisions, and some of these are sketched briefly now in relation to these declared policies.

The Public Administration Clearinghouse, the creation and financing of which Dr. Fosdick (page 206) calls “the great contribution of the Spelman Fund,” is also a grantee of the foundation.

Composed of 21 organizations of public officials representing functional operations of Government (such as welfare, finance, public works, and personnel) the clearinghouse is designed to keep public officials in touch with “the results of administrative experience and research in their respective fields” which he describes as having resulted in “wide consequences” which “have influenced the upgrading of Government services at many technical points—in the improvement of budgetary and personnel systems, for example, and the reform of State and local tax structures.”

The National Bureau of Economic Research, again quoting from Dr. Fosdick’s book, page 233, has brought within reach—

* * * basic, articulated, quantitative information concerning the entire economy of the Nation. This information has influenced public policy at a dozen points. It was one of the chief tools in planning our war production programs in the Second World War and in determining what weights our economy could sustain. It underlies our analyses of Federal budgeting and tax proposals and projects like the Marshall plan. This same type of research has now spread to other countries, so that international comparison of the total net product and distribution of the economy of individual nations is increasingly possible.

After stating with some pride that the books and other publications of this organization “influence to an increasing degree the policies and decisions of governmental and business bodies”—page 213—Dr. Fosdick in the following chapter—page 232 stresses that its—

* * * publications do not gather dust on library shelves. Its findings are cited in scientific and professional journals, treatises, and official documents. They are used by businessmen, legislators, labor specialists, and academic economists. They have been mentioned in Supreme Court decisions. They are constantly employed in Government agencies like the Department of Commerce and the Bureau of the Census. Increasing use is being made of them by practicing economists in business, by editorial writers in the daily press, and by economic journalists in this country and abroad. Practically all of the current textbooks in either general economics or dealing with specific economic problems draw a great deal of their material from the publications of the Bureau or from data available in its files. It can be truly said that without the National Bureau

our society would not be nearly so well equipped as it is for dealing with the leading economic issues of our times.

The Institute of Pacific Relations has been the subject of exhaustive hearings by other congressional committees in which its subversive character has been thoroughly demonstrated.

The Foreign Policy Association has been discussed at length in the narrative portions of this report and reference has been made to Mrs. Vera Micheles Dean's citation in appendix IX. Also active in this association have been: Roscoe Pound, Stephen P. Duggan, Maxwell Stewart and his wife, Marguarite Ann Stewart (educational secretary in the association's department of popular education), Lawrence K. Rosinger, writer for the headline series, Stuart Chase, Alexander W. Allport (membership secretary of the association); Anna Lord Strauss, Philip E. Mosely, and Brooks Emeny (members of the editorial advisory committee), and Blaire Bolles and Delia Goetz, director and assistant director of the Washington bureau of the association.

The Council on Foreign Relations has also been discussed in detail, and while additional information could be included on specific activities it would be merely cumulative.

Two brief excerpts from the 1936 annual report of the foundation are, however, of particular pertinence in relation to the question of influencing governmental activity:

The program in social security has two central interests: (1) The improvement of the statistical record of structural and cyclical change and sharper identification of the causal factors involved; and (2) the analysis and adaptation of social measures designed to mitigate individual suffering due to unemployment which may be a result of economic change, or due to illness, accident, and old age, which are ordinary hazards of human life. The underlying assumption of this twofold program⁴ is that economic and social changes are to an appreciable extent manmade and hence controllable, and that, pending adequate understanding of the causes of disruptive change, the individual must be protected in the interest of political and social stability. * * * The ameliorative aspect of the program is at present concerned with questions centering upon the social insurances and relief in the United States.

The program in public administration is designed to bridge the gap that exists between practical administrators in the Government service and scholars in the universities in the field of the social sciences. Aid had been given to the Social Science Research Council's committee on public administration, which itself sponsors research upon key problems of public administration, * * * The foundation supports a number of such research enterprises together with a variety of projects designed to recruit and train a higher type of personnel for career service in the Government.

The objectives of the program in international relations are the promotion of understanding of, and greater intelligence in regard to, world problems among larger sections of the public, and the creation of more competent technical staffs attached to official or nonofficial organizations dealing with international affairs. The greater part of foundation interest is in enterprises concerned with the study of international problems for the purpose of informing and guiding public opinion. Three types of organizations are receiving foundation support: (1) Those like Chatham House in England and the Foreign Policy Association in the United States, which carry on the two functions of study and dissemination with almost equal emphasis; (2) those concerned primarily with research and the creation of personnel for technical and advisory service in connection with international problems; and, (3) those which focus upon coordinated research undertakings and periodic conferences with international representation, as the Institute of Pacific Relations and the International Studies Conference. (Pp. 230, 231, 232.)

⁴ The foundation's twofold program in social security.

The Social Science Research Council, which sponsored the 4-volume Study of the American Soldier, as well as a project entitled "Study of American Public Library." This actually deals with the public library inquiry, a project relating to educational films and their distribution that has been received with considerable criticism.

Moreover, the council's committee on government (through a special committee on civil rights) was selected to "encourage and aid competent scholars to record and analyze the management of civil liberties during the war and immediate postwar period" (Foundation Annual Report for 1944, p. 202). Prof. Robert E. Cushman of Cornell was chairman of the special committee, and in the 1948 annual report his assignment is referred to as a "factual examination of the civil-liberties issues" caused by "the actions taken to eliminate subversive individuals from Government service." "Rigid loyalty requirements" and "the work of the House Committee on Un-American Activities" are among the problems to be studied "to reconcile, if possible, the claims of national security and civil liberty." Practically the first official act of Dr. Cushman as chairman was to place Dr. Walter Gellhorn in charge of the project for all practical purposes.

Based on their own records the Carnegie Corporation, the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and the Rockefeller Foundation, have—

1. Contributed substantial sums of money to some or all of the organizations described in this and other portions of this summary.

2. Have or should have been aware that the stated purpose of many of the projects of these organizations has been to achieve certain objectives in the fields of international relations, foreign policy, and government.

There has been a singular lack of objectivity and a decided bias toward a socialized welfare state in the proposals of these organizations, and every effort has been made by them to advance the philosophy of "one world" to the complete disregard of comparable effort on behalf of a more nationalistic viewpoint.

3. Not only made grants to these organizations for general support, but have made specific grants for projects described in the preceding numbered paragraph.

The foundation has contributed \$63,415,478 since 1929 to projects which it classifies as in the field of social science, while grants it considers as in the field of the humanities total \$33,292,842 during the same period.⁵

The endowment, since it was organized, has expended approximately \$20 million, divided as follows: Division of intercourse and education, \$12.1 million; division of international law, \$4.8 million; division of economics and history, \$3.1 million.

Certainly, in justice to the endowment and the foundation it would be unfair to say that the amount of money so expended by them during the period described did not have some effect—at some point—on some matters. To accept the statement that there were no effects—or only coincidental ones—from such expenditures would indicate mental astigmatism at the very least, and would in a sense seem to accuse these foundations and their trustees of a somewhat careless, if not actually wasteful, attitude toward the funds entrusted to their care,

⁵ Through 1952.

when (as is undeniable) the foundations continued to select the same or similar organizations, continued to make grants for the same or similar projects presented by such organizations, and continued to make grants to the same or similar individuals.

In addition, the reports of both the endowment and the foundation contain statements indicating both felt there were definite results from their activities as well as the activities of organizations to whom grants were made.

The 1934 yearbook of the endowment has one of these on page 22:

* * * A review of the activities of the endowment since the World War, carried on separately through three main divisions, but operating as a unit in behalf of the great ideal of its founder, seems to justify the observation that the endowment is becoming an unofficial instrument of international policy, taking up here and there the ends and threads of international problems and questions which the Governments find it difficult to handle, and through private initiative reaching conclusions which are not of a formal nature but which unofficially find their way into the policies of governments.

Similar sentiments are expressed a decade later in the 1945 yearbook, page 28:

A reading of this report will make it plain that every part of the United States and every element of its population have been reached by the endowment's work. The result may be seen in the recorded attitude of public opinion which makes it certain that the American Government will be strongly supported in the accomplishment of its effort to offer guidance and commanding influence to the establishment of a world organization for protection of international peace and preservation of resultant prosperity.

The foundation, when it reorganized in 1929 to extend its work to include the social sciences, apparently anticipated some recognizable results (p. 258 of its annual report):

From research in the social sciences there should result modifications in governmental organization, in business practices, in social activities of all kinds which may further general well-being. As numerous functions of great significance are being assumed by governmental bodies through Federal, State, county, and municipal organization, the development of effective techniques becomes a necessity. Research which is closely tied up with practical activities is expected to furnish the basis of sound governmental policy.

There is no indication of a change of opinion in 1940, when describing its support of the National Institute of Public Affairs' "experimental program of recruiting and training personnel for the Federal services," the foundation reports (pp. 273-274 of annual report),⁶ "the program has involved the annual placement of approximately 50 graduate students preparing for public-service careers, in agencies of the Federal Government for a year of practical apprenticeship" and adds with evident satisfaction that "60 percent of its 'interns' are now in the Federal service; several are in State and local or other government services, and a number are continuing graduate study."

Two years later the section dealing with the public administration committee begins:

The agencies through which society will seek to meet its diverse problems are multiform, and total effort, whether for defense or for the postwar world, will receive its primary direction through the agency of government * * *.

Referring to its support of this committee during the preceding 7 years, the report gives the major studies of the committee, and ends with this paragraph:⁷

⁶ Entire extract included in exhibit.

⁷ Entire extract included in exhibit.

More recently the committee has focused its resources and attention mainly on planning and stimulating rather than on executing research. A broadening of the program to include the field of government, with public administration as one sector, is now contemplated. Such a program would deal less with the mechanics of administration than with the development of sound bases for policy determination and more effective relations in the expanding governmental structure.

It is only commonsense, moreover, to conclude that, since the endowment and the foundation as a means of accomplishing their purposes had deliberately chosen certain organizations consistently as "agents," the trustees of those foundations would be entirely aware of the activities of the organizations selected, as well as the views expressed by their executives. Assuming such awareness—no contrary attitude being demonstrated—it could be concluded further that the results of such activities—whatever their nature—were not only acceptable in themselves to the trustees but were regarded by them as the proper means to accomplish the declared purposes of the foundations.

It is appropriate, therefore, to examine some of the results, among which have been:

The Headline Books of the Foreign Policy Association

Many were written by persons cited to be of Communist or Communist front affiliation and are questionable in content. They have been distributed widely and are used as reference works throughout the educational system of this country.

The Cornell studies

This project is under the direction of two individuals (described further on) who can scarcely be considered sufficiently impartial to insure a "factual examination" or an "objective finding."

Development of a "post-war policy"

The means selected was an extragovernmental committee, many of whose members later held posts in governmental agencies concerned with economic and other problems, as well as those concerned with foreign policy.

The sponsorship of individuals who by their writings are of a Socialist, if not Communist philosophy, dedicated to the idea of world government.

Among the individuals sponsored have been:

Eugene Staley

He is the author of *War and the Private Investor*, in which he recommended a "World Investment Commission" which along other suggestions presented bears a striking resemblance to the World Bank and present monetary policies of the world, including the United States.

He is also the author of *World Economy in Transition*, a report prepared under the auspices of the American Co-Ordinating Committee for International Studies,* under the sponsorship of the Council on Foreign Relations, and financed by a Carnegie grant. The book expounds the theory that modern technology requires its materials from an international market, makes use of internationally discovered scientific information, and itself is international in viewpoint. According to Mr. Staley, we have a "planetary economy," and to reach the goal

* Mrs. Dean was a member of this committee at the time.

of international social welfare, the international division of labor requires a free flow of goods.

Vera Micheles Dean

Reference has already been made to Mrs. Dean who, according to the New York Times a few years ago, made a "plea for socialism" to 600 alumnae at Vassar College, saying our quarrel with communism must not be over its ends but over its methods, and urging a foreign policy backing Socialist programs.

Speaking of her book Europe and the U. S. in the book review section of the New York Herald Tribune of May 7, 1950, Harry Baehr, an editorial writer for that paper, wrote: "In other words, she considers it possible that the world may not be divided on sharp ideological lines but that there may yet be at least economic exchanges which will temper the world struggle and by reducing the disparity in standards of living between Eastern and Western Europe gradually abolish the conditions which foster communism and maintain it as a dangerous inhumane tyranny in those nations which now profess the Stalinist creed."

Mr. and Mrs. Maxwell Stewart (Marguerite Ann Stewart)

According to the 1947 California Report (p. 314) both of these people taught at the Moscow Institute in Russia. He praised "Soviet marriage and morals," and has been connected with tourist parties to the U. S. S. R., under Soviet auspices. He urged recognition of the Soviet Union, was a member of the editorial board of Soviet Russia Today, and endorsed the Hitler-Stalin pact.

Lawrence K. Rosinger

He declined to answer when asked by the McCarran committee whether he had ever been a member of the Communist Party, after being named as a party member by a witness before that committee. He was a writer of the Headline Series of the Foreign Policy Association, among his contributions being "Forging a New China," "The Occupation of Japan," and "The Philippines—Problems of Independence." In February 1952—after he had refused to answer the question of the McCarran committee—he jointed the staff of the Rhodes School.

Dr. Robert Cushman

Chairman of the special committee on civil rights of the Social Science Research Council's committee on government, Dr. Cushman's career before his association with the Cornell studies would indicate a rather one-sided viewpoint on civil rights. Prior to 1944, when the first Rockefeller Foundation grant was made to this project, Dr. Cushman had written occasional pamphlets (edited by Maxwell S. Stewart) for the public affairs committee, for example—

One written in 1936 suggested constitutional amendments to limit the powers of the Supreme Court (following its adverse decision on the New York minimum wage law), or else a delegation of specific powers to Congress to obtain passage of New Deal legislation;

One written in 1942 favored the "modernization" at that time achieved by the "new" Court after Roosevelt's appointees had been added;

A third written in 1940 recommended the writings of George Seldes and Arthur Garfield Hays, as well as publications of the American Civil Liberties Union.

Between 1944 and 1947 when the second grant was made by the foundation, Dr. Cushman wrote another pamphlet for the public affairs committee (in 1946), which was along the line of views expressed by the Commission on the Freedom of the Press.

In 1948, the year the foundation made a grant of \$110,000 to the project, Dr. Cushman again contributed a public affairs committee pamphlet, *New Threats to American Freedom*, specifically concerned with the anti-Communist drive. Because the abridgment of the civil liberties of any group (apparently even those of Communists in his opinion) endangers all civil liberties, Dr. Cushman argued, patriotic and loyal Americans cannot permit such a thing to happen, particularly since the difficulty of defining "communism" menaces the civil liberties of all liberals and progressives. He pilloried the House Un-American Activities Committee, and labeled the Mundt-Nixon bill and the Smith Act as threats to civil liberty.

In January 1947, in a paper presented to the American Academy of Political Science, Dr. Cushman characterized as "nonsense" the theory of guilt by association ("good boys may associate with bad boys to do good"). Also nonsense, according to Dr. Cushman, is designating as a fellow traveler, one who—

Joined organizations in which "there turn out to be some Communists,"

Signed petitions supporting policies "also supported by Communists,"

Sympathized with the Spanish Republicans, "some of whom were Communists,"

Professed a strong admiration of Russian culture and achievements.

More than a year later, in October 1948, he presented a dissertation on the repercussions of foreign affairs on the American tradition of civil liberties, included in the proceedings of the American Philosophical Society. There is little difference between this and the preceding paper, except that he used the technique of presenting supposedly the opinions of others, always unnamed. He repeated that "critics of the program" believe loyalty tests violate due process; requiring clearances for atomic scientists, "he has been told," impairs the quality of their work and leads to resignations; "many have said" that the House Un-American Activities Committee is politically minded—treats cases in the press—fails to define "un-American" and "subversive."

Concluding, he stated as his own belief that there is need for "an objective study" to avoid "heavy inroads" into traditional civil liberty. As mentioned, this was the year the foundation gave the largest grant—\$110,000.

In the 1951 annals of the American Academy of Political Science, Dr. Cushman referred to the work of congressional investigating committees as similar to a "bill of attainder," and again unhesitatingly defined a "Communist front" as an "organization in which there turn out to be some Communists." He "found" that social and humanitarian causes are weakened by guilt by association theories, because

people fear to support such causes lest later Communists also be found supporting them; national security also is weakened because the "ordinary citizen" is confused by the idea of guilt by association. Non-governmental antisubversive measures were also criticized—he referred particularly to the dismissal of Jean Muir by General Foods—and in Dr. Cushman's opinion, "it is hard to find any evidence that loyalty oaths of any kind serve any useful purpose beyond the purging of the emotions of those who set them up."

Walter Gellhorn, of Columbia University

A second collaborator in the Cornell studies, Walter Gellhorn, is apparently actually their director, and the author of a major volume in the studies, *Security, Loyalty, and Science*.

Dr. Walter Gellhorn is listed in appendix IX, page 471, as a "conscious propagandist and fellow traveler," and is in a group including Fields, Barnes, Jerome Davis, and Maxwell S. Stewart.

He was a leading member of some 11 Communist fronts.

He was a national committeeman of the International Juridical Association, whose constitution declares:

Present-day America offers the example of a country discarding the traditions of liberty and freedom, and substituting legislative, administrative, and judicial tyranny.

The American section's purpose is—

To help establish in this country and throughout the world social and legislative justice.

He is cited as an "active leader" of the National Lawyers Guild.

Appearing before the House committee in 1943, he denied the International Juridical Association and several other fronts with which he had been associated were communistic, had extreme difficulty remembering just what documents he might have signed, including a declaration of the National Lawyers Guild and a cablegram protesting Brazil's detention of an agent of the Communist international, a man named Ewert.

Dr. Gellhorn (*Harvard Law Review* of October 1947) prepared a Report on a Report of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, specifically defending the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, exposed as a Communist organization, and violently attacking the House committee. His book for the Cornell studies indicates Dr. Gellhorn had not changed his opinion either of the southern conference or the House committee.

The *Daily Worker*, March 15, 1948, under a heading "Gellhorn Raps 'Un-American,'" quoted from an article by Dr. Gellhorn (*American Scholar*—Spring 1948), in which he likened the House Un-American Activities Committee to a "thought control" program, and declared, "More important than any procedural reform, however, is conscious opposition to the House committee's bullying."

Dr. Gellhorn begins *Security, Loyalty and Science*, by expressing his fear that strict security regulations "would immobilize our own scientific resources to such an extent that future development might be stifled while more alert nations overtook and surpassed us." In spite of a lack of reciprocity on the part of others, Dr. Gellhorn believes that the fruit of our work should be fully published and not restricted, even if, as he offhandedly puts it, there is "no neat balance between the

outgoing of our information and intake * * *” which in his opinion may “* * * be entirely irrelevant.”

His theme is that security regulations and loyalty programs are useless and dangerous. He cites particularly category B of the Atomic Energy Commission, covering “undesirables”—those having sympathetic interests or associations with subversive ideas, friends, relatives, or organizations. Like Dr. Cushman, Dr. Gellhorn found it even “more alarming” that nongovernmental agencies are increasingly requiring clearances; he dismissed the House Un-American Activities Committee as indulging in repetition and exaggeration and added that they are responsible for scientists refusing to work for the Government. He belittled the Attorney General’s list, its designations to him to have no pattern, and he questioned the reliability of the confidential information frequently used.

He concluded that the loyalty program originated in anti-New Deal politics (beginning with the Dies committee in 1938), that it is ineffective against “the furtive, the corrupt, the conspiratorial,” and “the country will be stronger for discovering that the restraints of the present loyalty program exceed the needs of national preservation.”

Denial of AEC fellowships to Communists is unwarranted, in Dr. Gellhorn’s opinion, and he quoted approvingly statements of others that deplored the atmosphere of distrust and suspicion; thought loyalty checking brought into being a “police state” and the use of methods “far more dangerous than the small risk of having an occasional Communist on the fellowship rolls.”

As evidence that security files are misleading anyway, Dr. Gellhorn cited the fact that the Army in 1949 classified as “unemployable” Gordon R. Clapp of TVA, Professor Counts, and Roger Baldwin.

Dr. Gellhorn is also responsible for other books in this project. He is coauthor of a study on States and subversion (with William B. Prendergast, assistant professor of government at the Naval Academy), and of a study on the Tenney committee (with Edward Barrett, Jr., professor of law, University of California, who stated, “I am particularly grateful to Walter Gellhorn of Columbia University for his constant advice and suggestions and for his careful reading of the manuscript in two of its preliminary versions”).

These statements of Dr. Cushman and Dr. Gellhorn both prior to and after their association with the Cornell studies cannot be considered as those of “unbiased” and “objective” individuals. Dr. Gellhorn’s appearance before the House Committee on Un-American Activities in 1943 was a matter of record. It is difficult if not far-fetched to believe that no inkling of these matters reached either the Social Science Research Council or the Rockefeller Foundation—before or after the grants were made by the foundation. Yet as far as can be ascertained neither organization has had anything but praise for the studies, and the personnel associated with it.

These then are some of the organizations selected by the Carnegie Corporation of New York, the Carnegie Foundation for International Peace, and the Rockefeller Foundation:

To promote the advancement and diffusion of knowledge and understanding among the people of the United States and the British Dominions.

To promote the advancement and diffusion of knowledge and understanding among the people of the United States; to advance the cause of peace among nations; to hasten the renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy; to encourage and promote methods for the peaceful settlement of international

differences and for the increase of international understanding and concord; and to aid in the development of international law and the acceptance by all nations of the principles underlying such law.

To promote the well-being of mankind throughout the world.

These then are among the individuals—directly or indirectly—designated by these Carnegie and Rockefeller foundations as those not only best qualified to accomplish the noble purposes set out in their respective charters, but also those most likely to do so.

These are a few of the individuals who have gained prominence and whose reputation has been built up by the sponsorship and employment of foundations—either directly or through organizations receiving foundation funds to carry out projects approved if not selected by them.

No indication appears in the annual reports of these tax-exempt organizations—certainly not in those made available to the public—that the Carnegie Corporation of New York, the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, or the Rockefeller Foundation has disavowed the individuals, the organizations, or the results thereof, except in a few isolated instances reported in the Cox committee hearings.

Nor is there any indication that any one of these tax-exempt organizations has taken any measures—either before or after the Cox committee hearings—to insure that organizations as well as individuals receiving their funds in the future will use such funds to make studies which are in fact objective, not only with regard to the material considered, but also as to personnel; studies which will faithfully present facts on both sides of the issue or theory—particularly when it is of a controversial character. Nor have any measures been taken to prevent two equally improper uses of tax-exempt funds: first, under the guise of “informing public opinion”—propagandizing for a particular political philosophy or viewpoint; and second, again under the cloak of “supplying information to the Government”—presenting only information upholding a particular philosophy, or viewpoint, and which if accepted will tend to influence Government officials more and more toward socialistic solutions of current problems.

If any such precautions have been taken then discussion and decision as to them does not appear in the published reports, nor has any publicity been given to the fact.

KATHRYN CASEY,
Legal Analyst.

JULY 1, 1954.

EXHIBIT—PART II. CARNEGIE

EXCERPTS FROM THE YEARBOOKS OF THE CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND MATERIAL TAKEN FROM OTHER SOURCES FROM 1911-1952

(Source: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1916 Yearbook:)
Page 33: “* * * The publications of the endowment may be divided generally into two classes: first, those of a propagandist nature, which the general public is not expected to purchase but which the endowment desires to have widely read.”

* * * * *
Page 34: “* * * There are several other phases of the subject of the proper distribution of the endowment’s publications which the Secretary believes should receive further consideration.

"The proposed charter of the endowment places upon an equal footing with its scientific work the education of public opinion and the dissemination of information. This is the proper light in which to view this branch of the work; unless the results of its efforts are read, appreciated, and utilized, the time, energy, funds of the endowment will be wasted. The problem therefore is deserving of the same serious thought as the problems of scientific work, which have heretofore received the chief consideration, but which now appear to be fairly solved.

"In speaking generally of educating public opinion and diffusing information, the trustees no doubt had in mind two distinct classes of people:

"(1) Those who are already of their own accord interested in the subjects which come within the scope of the endowment;

"(2) Those not now interested but who may be and should be made to take an interest in the work."

* * * * *

EDUCATIONAL WORK IN THE UNITED STATES

Page 71: "That very important portion of the educational work carried on in the United States, which is conducted through the American Association for International Conciliation, has already been described.

"In addition to this the Division of Intercourse and Education has directly conducted work of an educational character of three kinds—publicity through the newspaper press, lectures, and preparation and distribution of material for use in schools and by writers of school textbooks.

Publicity

"With a view to spreading an interest in international affairs and a new knowledge of them among the people of the United States, articles on subjects of international interest based on interviews with men of prominence in public and business life have been prepared and offered to a large list of newspapers throughout the country on a business basis. The opinion has been expressed by a number of editors and conductors of newspapers that these articles have been of the highest value and have exerted a large influence on public opinion."

(Source: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1917 Yearbook.)

DIVISION OF INTERCOURSE AND EDUCATION

Page 53: "The continuance of the world war which broke out on August 1, 1914, has caused the Division of Intercourse and Education to confine its activities to two fields. The first includes the information and education of public opinion in the United States as to those underlying principles of national policy and national conduct that are most likely to promote an international peace which rests upon a foundation of justice and human liberty. The second includes those activities which have as their purpose the bringing of the peoples of the several American republics more closely together in thought and in feeling. * * *"

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EDUCATIONAL WORK IN THE UNITED STATES

Page 72: "In addition to the highly important educational work conducted for the division by the American Association for International Conciliation, two methods of reaching and instructing public opinion in the United States have been followed: publicity on international affairs through newspapers, and the preparation and distribution of material for schools and writers of school textbooks."

Publicity

"Syndicated articles mainly consisting of interviews with leaders of opinion in both American and European countries have been furnished to the newspapers on a commercial basis. These articles have not always been directly concerned with questions of international peace, but have furnished unusually valuable information on the public opinion, the political life, and the intellectual development of many nations. Their main object has been to increase in the United

States the amount and accuracy of knowledge of other countries and of their peoples. It is believed that the best foundation for international friendship and international justice is to be found in a thorough knowledge of our neighbors and a true appreciation of their institutions and their life."

* * * * *

CONCLUSION

Page 82: "It is probable that the greatest war in all history is approaching its end. At this moment no one can predict just when or how this end will come, but there are plain signs to indicate that a crisis has been reached beyond which human power and human resources cannot long hold out. It will be the special privilege and the unexampled opportunity of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace to take active part in the work of international organization which must closely follow on the conclusion of the war. For that task this division is making itself ready by study, by conferences, and by persistent effort to prepare public opinion to give support to those far-reaching projects based on sound principle which if carried into effect will do all that present human power can to prevent a recurrence of the present unprecedented calamity."

(Source: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1918 Yearbook, p. 65:)

DIVISION OF INTERCOURSE AND EDUCATION

"The instruction of public opinion in this and other countries, the sympathetic cooperation with established effective agencies for the spread of accurate knowledge of international relations and international policies, and the cementing of those personal and national friendships which the war with all its separations has so greatly multiplied, have solely occupied the attention of the division. To these purposes its resources have been exclusively devoted."

(Source: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1920 Yearbook, p. 62:)

EDUCATIONAL WORK

"A wide distribution of books, pamphlets, and periodicals has been made from the offices of the division, with the definite aim of informing public opinion on questions of international significance, and the educational activity of the policy clubs, together with the limited but important work in summer schools, have proved an effective means of developing the international mind."

(Source: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1923 Yearbook, p. 58, division of intercourse and education:)

"It is the established policy of the division to try to keep important personalities in various lands informed as to influential expressions of opinion on foreign affairs made in this country. With this end in view a list of the names and addresses of over 500 persons eminent in their own countries is maintained at the division headquarters. This year the list has been extended to include representatives of Germany and Austria. Among the expressions of American opinion circulated by the division during the period under review were: *Shall Our Government Cancel the War Loans to the Allies?* by Justice John H. Clarke; *The State of Our National Finances*, by Edwin R. A. Seligman; *Intelligence and Politics*, by James T. Shotwell; *Toward Higher Ground*, by Nicholas Murray Butler; and *What of Germany, France, and England?* by Herbert Bayard Swope. That such pamphlets are carefully read and discussed in this country, it is the judgment of the division that it is of sufficient importance to be brought to the attention of representative personalities in other lands to be read and discussed by them. The division assumes no responsibility for the contents of any books or articles so circulated save such as appear authoritatively over its own name * * *." [Italics supplied.]

(Source : Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1925 Yearbook, division of intercourse and education, pp. 49-50 :)

"In respect of the general problem of international peace, public opinion is now almost everywhere persistently in advance of the action of governments. Only in rare cases do existing governments fully represent and reflect either the noblest ambitions or the highest interests of their own people in the discussions which are going forward throughout the world. * * *

"Few proposals could be more futile than that merely to outlaw war. Such outlawry would only last until human passion broke down its fragile barrier. The neutrality of Belgium was amply protected by international law, and the invasion of the territory of that country on August 4, 1914, was definitely and distinctly outlawed. Nevertheless it took place. Precisely the same thing will happen in the future, no matter what the provisions of international law may be, if the springs of personal and national conduct remain unchanged. Forms do not control facts. Laws must reflect, but cannot compel public opinion * * *." If such laws are to be truly effective, they must be not enforced but obeyed. They are only obeyed, and they only will be obeyed, when they reflect the overwhelming public opinion of those whom they directly affect. Once more, therefore, the path of progress leads to the door of conduct, both personal and national.

"It is beyond the limits of practical education or practical statesmanship to convince public opinion that there is not, and never can be, any cause for which men should be ready to lay down their lives if need be. The history of human liberty and the story of the making of free governments offer too many illustrations to the contrary. What is practicable is so to instruct, to guide, and to form public opinion that it will insist upon such national conduct and such public expressions on the part of representatives of governments as will promote international understanding and international cooperation, as well as reduce to a minimum those incidents, those policies, and those outgivings, whether on the platform, on the floor of parliaments, or in the press, that constantly erect such effective and distressing obstacles to the progress of international concord and cooperation."

* * * * *
 Page 52 : "Underneath and behind all these undertakings there remains the task to instruct and to enlighten public opinion so that *it may not only guide but compel the action of governments and public officers in the direction of constructive progress*. There must be present the moral conviction that a peace which rests upon liberty and justice is an ideal so lofty that no effort and no sacrifice may properly be spared in the task of securing its accomplishment. When this stage is reached it will not be necessary formally to limit armaments ; they will atrophy from neglect and disuse.

"It is from precisely this point of view that the work of the division of intercourse and education has, from the beginning, dealt with the problem of international peace. The division has studiously refrained from mere sentimental expressions, and from participation in those futile acts which repel much more than they attract the support of right-minded men and women. The division has devoted itself for 15 years, and it will continue to devote itself, to the development among men and nations of the international mind. "The international mind is nothing else than that habit of thinking of foreign relations and business, and that habit of dealing with them, which regard the several nations of the civilized world as friendly and cooperating equals in aiding the progress of civilization, in developing commerce and industry, and in spreading enlightenment and culture throughout the world'." [Italic supplied.]

(Source : Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1928 Yearbook, p. 38, division of intercourse and education :)

ADMINISTRATION OF THE DIVISION IN THE UNITED STATES

"In addition to this stated work a large part of the activity of the division is devoted to the *carrying out of specific, definite, and well-considered projects of demonstrated timeliness*, such as those to be described in the following pages. These projects might be subdivided to include, on the one hand, those in which the work is directed and supervised from the headquarters of the division and those which are carried out by the organizations or individuals to whom allotments are made from time to time. For instance, not only was the European trip of editorial writers planned by and details arranged from the division offices, but two members of the staff, the assistant to the director, and the division assistant accompanied the party for the entire trip and were, in charge of all administrative

details. The correspondence and careful arrangements necessary in connection with the work of the visiting Carnegie professors of international relations are also done from the division offices. On the other hand, when an allotment is made by the executive committee to such organizations as the Interparliamentary Union, the Institute of Pacific Relations, or Dunford House Association, the work is administered by these organizations who report to the division upon the work when completed. As has already been said, these allotments are always made in support of definite projects. It is not the policy of the division to grant subventions continuing from year to year to organizations or undertakings not directly responsible to the administration of the division itself. * * * [Italic supplied.]

(Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1930 Yearbook, p. 108.)

"* * * But it is not enough to have academies of this kind. The youth of each country should be instructed in international duties as well as in international rights in the colleges and universities of the nations at large. Therefore it is that the professors of international law and of international relations in the colleges and universities of the United States have met in conference in order to discuss and to agree upon the best methods to reach and to educate the youth—primarily of the United States—in the principles of international law and the bases of foreign relations. There have been four meetings: The first in 1914, the second in 1925, the third in 1928, and the fourth in 1929."

(Source: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Yearbook, 1934.)

Page 22: "* * * The attitude of the endowment toward applications from other organizations was fully explained in the secretary's report 2 years ago, where it was stated that 'The attitude of the endowment with reference to its support of other organizations in the same field presented a difficult question during the first half of the endowment's existence, but its experience has resulted in the definite policy of applying the revenue at its disposal to work carried on with the approval of its trustees and under the direct supervision of its own officers or agents.' What could not be undertaken during the earlier years of the endowment's existence, because of the war and its aftermath, so soon as the echoes of the war had died away was vigorously undertaken. A worldwide organization has been built up at a minimum of administrative cost, through which the endowment is in contact with the public opinion of nearly every land. The endowment is consequently not a money-granting, but an operating, body, and it operates through its own agencies either directly or through those which become substantially its own through their spirit and method of cooperation."

* * * * *
 Page 22: A review of the activities of the endowment since the world war, carried on separately through three main divisions, but operating as a unit in behalf of the great ideal of its founder, seems to justify the observation that the endowment is becoming an unofficial instrument of international policy, taking up here and there the ends and threads of international problems and questions which the governments find it difficult to handle, and through private initiative reaching conclusions which are not of a formal nature but which unofficially find their way into the policies of governments."

* * * * *
 DIVISION OF INTERCOURSE AND EDUCATION

Page 44: "* * * If the world is to return, and without delay, to the path of progress, it must be given leadership which is not only national but international. It must find minds and voices which can see the whole world and its problems, and not merely those of one neighborhood since important problems which are purely national have almost ceased to exist."

* * * * *
 REPORT OF DIVISION OF INTERCOURSE AND EDUCATION

Page 47: "The work of the division during the year shows definite progress along the path of constructive work for the education of public opinion throughout the world. This advance could not have been accomplished had it not been for the efficient and well ordered work of the central office where cost of over-

head is reduced to a minimum and where the staff, in full conformity with the NRA regulations, is faithfully carrying on its tasks."

* * * * *

Page 53: "While in the broadest sense all the work of the division is educational there are certain items which fall definitely under this head in making a report on the year's work. They have all been carried on with a view to the general enlightenment of public opinion and to encourage further study along international lines rather than as definite and continuing projects, such as those to be described later, which are an integral part of the work of the division."

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Page 96: "It is plain from what has been written that the year has been one of constant study and vigorous work despite the fact that the world atmosphere has been distinctly discouraging. That economic nationalism which is still running riot and which is the greatest obstacle to the reestablishment of prosperity and genuine peace has been at its height during the past 12 months. If it now shows signs of growing weaker it is because its huge cost is beginning to be understood. It is only by such education of public opinion as that in which the division of intercourse and education is so largely engaged that this violently reactionary movement can be checked and there be substituted for it such international understanding, international cooperation, and international action as the needs and ideals of this present-day world so imperatively demand."

(Source: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1937 Yearbook:)

Page 180: "* * * The major portion of the present work of the division of intercourse and education is devoted to educating public opinion in the significance of this forward-facing and constructive program for international cooperation.

"What I want to point out to the newer trustees is that what has been going on for 18 years is the result of most careful study and reflection, a result of consultation with leaders of opinion in every land, and is justifying itself not in any quick action by governments, but in the very obvious growth of public opinion."

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Page 182: "As to the work of the division of international law, that is a business of instruction, a business of education, a business not to make all members of a democracy international lawyers, but to put everywhere possible the material by means of which the leaders of opinion in all communities may know what are the real rights and duties of their country, so that it may be possible for the people who do not study and are not competent to understand, to get a source of intelligent and dispassionate information. And that process has been going on steadily.

"We had one very important illustration of the advantage of it during the past year. I really do not know how the Far-Eastern work of the late Conference upon the Limitation of Armament could have been done without MacMurray's book which had just a few months before been published by the endowment. The whole process of ranging the nine nations represented in the conference upon a basis of agreement for the treatment of Chinese questions so as to facilitate the heroic efforts of the Chinese people to develop an effective and stable self-government would have been exceedingly difficult, if not impossible, if we had not had those two big volumes published by the endowment upon our tables for access at any moment. We were continually referring to them and the members could turn to such a page and find such a treaty and such an agreement and have the real facts readily accessible. If the tentative arrangement towards helping the Chinese in their struggle works out, as I think it will, the publication of those books, at the time when they were published, will be worth to the world all the money that has been spent on the division of international law from the beginning. There were a dozen other books to which we continually referred."

Source: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1941 Yearbook, Report of the Division of Economics and History, p. 117:)

"* * * All history shows, however, that these appeals to man's higher nature have had no permanent effect except where substitutes for war have been found

which could be used effectively in the settlement of disputes. The peace movement of the twentieth century owed whatever real strength it might have possessed to the fact that for the first time it concentrated upon this constructive aspect of the problem. Unfortunately, however, this method of approach was too new to be fully understood, with the resultant failures culminating in the present war. The events of the last 5 years, since Japan tested the peace machinery in the Far East, and then Italy and Germany followed its example in Africa and Europe, have clearly shown that if civilization is to survive somehow or other the peace machinery must be brought back into operation. The problem which confronted the makers of the League of Nations has again become a vital issue. The increasing awareness of this fact, not only here but in Great Britain and in the Dominions of the Commonwealth, is evidenced by the growth of a considerable number of bodies for research and discussion. Of one of these, the *Commission to Study the Organization of Peace*, the Director of this division was chairman, although in a purely personal capacity. Mention is made here of this effort because of the light which it throws upon the nature of the problem itself. It would be hard to find a greater contrast than between the background of the thinking of today and that of the vague and uncertain beginnings of similar discussions in 1917. The experiences of the League of Nations has after all taught us much, its failures equally with its successes. The most surprising feature, however, is the record of the International Labor Organization in the field of social welfare, a unique and wholly new experiment in international legislation. *It is this kind of planning for a new world order on a cooperative basis which furnishes the constructive program of the peace movement at the present time. It is therefore important to ensure the preparation of careful and thoughtful monographs in the various fields covered by these surveys in order to prevent a recurrence of the superficiality which marked so much of the peace movement of the 1920's. It is here that the division of economics and history continues to offer the contribution of specific objectives and definite studies such as those indicated below.* [Italics supplied.]

(Source: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1942 Yearbook:)

DIVISION OF INTERCOURSE AND EDUCATION

Page 27: "The aims which the division pursues and which it urges constantly and steadily upon public opinion in the United States, in the Latin American democracies and in the British Commonwealth of Nations are definite and authoritative. They are three in number.

"The first is the formal proposal for world organization to promote peace made by the Government of the United States in 1910. This was contained in the joint resolution passed by the Congress without a dissenting vote in either the Senate or the House of Representatives and signed by President Taft on June 25, 1910."

Page 28: "The second is the statement of principles adopted by the international conference held in London at Chatham House on March 5-7, 1935. This conference, called by the Carnegie Endowment, remains the outstanding international conference of recent years."

Page 29: "The third is the important Atlantic Charter as declared by the President of the United States and the Prime Minister of the Government of Great Britain on August 14, 1941, which may be regarded as an endorsement of, and a supplement to, the principles proposed by the conference held at Chatham House."

Page 30: "It is these three declarations of policies and aims which are the subject of the worldwide work of the division of intercourse and education. They are the outgrowth of war conditions and of the threat of war. They are constructive, simply stated and easy to understand. As rapidly as other nations are set free to receive instruction and information in support of this three-fold program, that instruction and information will be forthcoming. The war may last for an indefinite time or it may, through economic exhaustion, come to

an end earlier than many anticipate. In either case, the division of intercourse and education is prepared to carry on in the spirit of Mr. Carnegie's ideal and of his specific counsel."

Page 91: "The division likewise cooperates with various Government offices and with international organizations. Thus during the past year it has aided the Department of State in editing the many papers submitted to the ninth section (on international law, public law, and jurisprudence) of the Eighth American Scientific Congress. Such cooperation is appropriate because officers of the division served as chairman and secretary, respectively, of section IX, and the division's staff acted as the section's secretariat. Cooperative relations are also maintained with the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs and with other Government agencies. Of a somewhat similar nature are the relations maintained with such international organizations as the Pan American Union and the Inter-American Bar Association. The assistance thus rendered to organizations official and unofficial, often requires the expenditure of much time, but it should be added that the relationship is not infrequently of mutual benefit since the division is often in a position, as a result thereof to obtain data which might not otherwise be readily accessible to it."

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(Source: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1943 Yearbook.)

Pages 29-30: "The policies which were put in operation a quarter of a century ago, with the approval of more than 200 of the leading statesmen and intellectual leaders of the whole world, have proved to be most satisfactory and most important. Literally millions of human beings have been led to read together and to discuss the facts and the forces which constitute international relations and which make for peace of the country. Thousands of groups in the United States and hundreds of groups in other lands gather regularly to discuss the books that are provided by the endowment and to hear the lectures which are offered by visiting Carnegie professors.

"The work of the division has carefully avoided the merely sentimental or that sensational propaganda for peace which is all too common. It has based its work, and will continue to do so, upon the intellectual forces which alone can guide the world in the establishment of new and constructive policies of international cooperation to make another war such as now rages practically impossible."

Page 36: "Preparation of Programs for Secondary Schools: Special inquiry into the needs of secondary schools in the field of international relations study, under the direction of Professor Erling M. Hunt, of Teachers College, Columbia University, was carried on in cooperation with the *Commission to Study the Organization of Peace*. A group of New York City high school teachers took part in a summer working conference for a week. They planned and drafted an 80-page booklet which included reading and study suggestions for the use of senior high school students entitled *Toward Greater Freedom: Problems of War and Peace*. This has been published and distributed by the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace.

"The School of Education of Stanford University, California, was assisted by the division in bringing together, in July, a group of high school teachers and administrators from schools in the Pacific Coast and Mountain States. The group devoted 2 weeks to intensive analysis of war issues and postwar problems as they affect the curriculum and the individual teacher. As a result a report, *Education for War and Peace*, embodying the findings of the groups and intended as a pamphlet for immediate use in schools, has been published by the Stanford University Press." [Italics supplied.]

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Page 37-38: "Any doubts which might have been entertained as to the value of the International Relations Club work in colleges and universities, during the long years in which the endowment has been operating, must have been completely dispelled by the magnificent response that has come from both faculty advisers and students during this period of disruption and confusion caused by the present worldwide catastrophe. Each of the 12 regional conferences was carried through during the calendar year 1942. This is the more remarkable since difficulties have increased rather than lessened as the war progresses. Almost every letter

received at the opening of the academic year announced that faculty advisors were leaving their respective campuses to serve in the armed forces or to support in advisory capacity Government defense projects, but even when called away summarily these faculty members have found time to appoint successors and to write a heartening letter as to the importance of carrying on. The drain upon the student body through induction into the Army has been overwhelming. In many of the colleges students are using their spare time in local war industries or in defense work if they have not actually left college, and most of the studies have been directed along engineering and other lines closely connected with the war effort. But even the boys who know that within a few weeks they will be in a military camp have tried to learn the deeper causes of the war through continued attendance at the club meetings, and at many of the conferences uniforms have been in evidence, worn by ex-club members who have been granted permission to attend. In fact, the clubs have continued with more enthusiasm and vigor than ever before.

(Source: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1944 Yearbook, pp. 70-74:)

"Many problems of international organization and administration are confronting the United Nations authorities, and problems of that nature will assume far greater importance as the war draws to an end and postwar activities undergo the large-scale development now anticipated. Foreseeing such a trend, the division has given much attention to this field during the past 2 years.

"There is, of course, no international civil service to evolve formal rules, practices, and precedents for future guidance in international administration; and although there has been encouraging progress in methods of international organization, those methods are not as yet beyond the trial-and-error stage. Moreover, the literature in these fields is extremely inadequate. Yet valuable experience has been acquired in both administration and organization, especially by the Secretariat of the League of Nations, the International Labor Office, and other international agencies, some of which have functioned successfully over a considerable period of years. This experience however, is contained partly in unpublished records and, to an even greater extent, in the memories of those who have served in the organizations in question; and it is therefore not available for the guidance of the many officials and agencies now actively concerned in planning and setting up the machinery for future international cooperation.

"With a view to making available the most important features of such experience, the division has held a series of conferences which have been attended by officials and former officials of the League of Nations and of other international bodies, and in some instances by government officials and others especially interested in the fields of the conferences. The first of these meetings, held in New York on August 30, 1942, was of an exploratory nature, its chief purpose being to determine what particular aspects of the experience of the League of Nations Secretariat might be further studied and recorded in usable form. At the end of the following January a second conference was held at Washington, which was devoted specifically to a survey of experience in international administration. And some 6 months later, on August 21-22 of last year, a third conference was held in Washington to discuss the problem of training for international administration. The proceedings of the first two conferences were issued in confidential mimeographed editions and given a restricted distribution, chiefly among government agencies and their personnel. The proceedings of the third conference, however, will be of interest to a much wider group, including not only officials but educators and others deeply concerned with the need of adequate training for the staffs of many international agencies which are either in process of formation or are contemplated for the postwar period. For this reason, the proceedings of the third conference have been carefully edited and supplemented with documentary materials, and printed for a wider distribution."

* * * * *

"As a result of the conferences and related activities, as well as of the studies made by its staff, the division has established useful relations with many highly qualified and experienced experts, and this in turn has made it possible to plan and arrange for the preparation of a series of studies by a number of these experts on international organization and administration. The studies, more fully described below, record both experience and precedents in the fields in question and constitute a rich source of information which, in the main, has hitherto been inaccessible.

"These activities of the division have placed it in a peculiarly strategic position to cooperate with official agencies preparing to undertake important international functions. At the outset, such agencies are, of course, confronted with problems of organization and administration, and it is a matter of urgent necessity for them to obtain materials which will assist them in meeting these problems. It is a source of great satisfaction to the director that the division has been in a position to supply such materials. Without attempting to list these instances of cooperation in detail, mention should be made here of a few examples by way of illustration.

"For some months, the Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation Operations (OFRRO) was engaged in preparations for the organizing conference of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) held at Atlantic City, November 10 to December 1, and it frequently called upon the division to assist by various means in these preparations. Thus, in August, the division was able to arrange to have several officials of the League of Nations come to Washington to take part in discussions of plans for the administrative budget of the new organizations. In a letter to the endowment former Gov. Herbert H. Lehman, then director of OFRRO and recently chosen director of UNRRA, wrote expressing his 'great appreciation for the very real contribution which you and the Carnegie endowment made to our preparations for a United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Organization.'

"Members of the staff of OFRRO were early supplied by the division with the materials assembled as the result of the several conferences on international organization and administration above mentioned. As the date of the conference in Atlantic City approached, the division received numerous additional and more urgent requests for assistance from OFRRO. In compliance with these requests, several special memoranda were prepared under great pressure for use in connection with the UNRRA conference. These dealt with the following subjects:

"International Conferences and Their Technique

"Precedents for Relations Between International Organizations and Nonmember States

"Status of Observers at International Conferences

"Secunding by International Organizations and from National Services to International Agencies

"The Creation, Composition, and Functioning of Standing Committees of UNRRA

"The appreciation with which these contributions from the division were received can hardly be overstated. As an illustration, mention may be made of a personal note of November 17 received by the director from Dr. Philip C. Jessup, a member of the endowment's board of trustees, and then serving as Assistant Chief of the Secretariat of UNRRA. After describing one of the documents as having proved 'most helpful in the solution of some troublesome problems'; and expressing amazement that it had been possible to supply 'so thoughtful and so complete a document under such enormous pressure of time,' Dr. Jessup referred to other materials supplied by the division as being 'also very much appreciated,' and added: 'I think the endowment is certainly entitled to congratulate itself upon the contribution it has made to the smooth functioning of international organizations which, to a large extent, must be the mechanical means of developing international peace.'

"It should be added that, in addition to these special memoranda, the division supplied several copies of its various publications relating to international organization and administration to the library of the conference at Atlantic City. Shortly after the conference met, an urgent request was received from the American delegation at Atlantic City for additional copies of these publications, to be sent to the conference by special courier. The division was, of course, glad to meet this request. Of a somewhat different nature were the numerous urgent inquiries for specific information received from officials connected with the conference. These inquiries dealt with such topics as relations of former enemy governments after the last war with the American Relief Commission, diplomatic immunities of members of international organizations, and staff regulations of such organizations. In each instance, the division was able either to supply the information requested, or to indicate the best source from which it could be obtained.

"Similarly, though to a somewhat lesser degree, the division has cooperated with the recently created Interim Commission of the United Nations Conference on Food and Agriculture. Copies of the endowment's publications on international organization and administration were supplied to the Commission; the

director and other members of the division staff have conferred with the executive secretary of the Commission on problems relating to the constitution, organization, and staffing of the newly created body; and the division has supplied the Secretariat with data on inter-American agencies dealing with problems in the fields of food and agriculture.

"In addition to such special inquiries, the division receives from day to day, often by telephone, requests for information from government offices on technical subjects in the international field. Although these are too numerous to list here, it may be said that they are answered as fully as possible and as promptly as is consistent with scrupulous accuracy. The assistance rendered by the division has not been limited, however, to American and international agencies. It maintains cordial and often mutually helpful relations with the diplomatic missions in Washington and frequently supplies them with published materials and other data.

"These studies, mentioned on a previous page, are in fact competently written monographs. Because of the urgent demand for such materials, they are being issued in preliminary form in small mimeographed editions. It is the Director's belief, however, that they have much more than a transitory value, and that as soon as is practicable some of them should be published in revised and permanent form. The following list comprises the studies already issued in mimeographed form:

"Memorandum on the Composition, Procedure, and Functions of the Committees of the League of Nations

"International Conferences and Their Technique—a handbook

"International Drug Control, a Study of International Administration by and through the League of Nations

"The League of Nations and National Minorities, an Experiment

"The following studies are now being prepared and will be published during the coming year:

"The Situs of International Organization

"Diplomatic Immunities and Privileges of Agents and Staff Members of the International Organization

"Relations Between International Organizations and Nonmember States

"The Participation of Observers in International Conferences

"The Economic and Financial Organization of the League of Nations

"The League of Nations' Mandates System

"The League of Nations' Secretariat

"Financing of International Administration

"The names of the authors of these studies are being withheld for the present. They are all, however, present or former officials competent from actual experience to deal with the subjects involved." [Italics supplied.]

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(Source: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1945 Yearbook:)

THE LIBRARY AND INFORMATION BUREAU

Page 25: "The work of the library has continued along the same general lines described in previous reports. In accordance with the policy adopted in 1942, governmental agencies were given precedence in the use of the library's materials. In addition, its resources have been used by numerous foreign embassies and legations and by the participants of such international meetings as those at Dumbarton Oaks. Scholars, press representatives, professors, and international, national, and local organizations have also been served.

"The ever-increasing discussion of the peace to follow the present war has brought renewed demands for information on the subject. The endowment's library is known in Washington for its wealth of material on peace and international organization and for its services in making these materials available. As a result, library staff members have spent an increasingly large proportion of their time in reference work with visitors. At the same time, due to the accelerated publication program in the Division of International Law, reference work for the endowment staff has been tremendously increased."

Page 30: "The proposals of statesmen and of public leaders for United Nations organization and the formation of general opinion on these plans have been the basis of growing action during the past year in the extension of the division's work. Both by continuous contact with central groups operating programs of study in the main regions of the country and by collaboration with local institutes and councils, this important interest has been pursued. The announce-

ment of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals heightened its significance in the last quarter of the year and gave immediate political reality to it as an issue facing our people.

"The development of centers in many part of the country, for organizations associated with the endowment, has been described in preceding reports. The brief summary of their expanding activities which can be given here demonstrates that, although the programs and methods of the various centers differ, there is agreement as to their fundamental purpose: to educate public opinion in regard to the underlying principles essential to security after the war and to welfare throughout the world."

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Page 103: "As this report goes to press, the interest of the civilized world centers upon the United Nations Conference on International Organization meeting at San Francisco on April 25. As this event promises to be the culmination of much in the program of planning and policy advocated repeatedly in the annual reports of this division and in its work and that of its director in affiliated organizations, it is fitting to comment upon it and the nature of the peace settlement at the end of the Second World War, of which it is so important a part. Therefore, without in any way attempting to anticipate what may or may not be done at the San Francisco Conference, it seems not only valid but necessary to link it up with the outlook and activities of the Endowment.

"During the past 5 years, both within the program of the division itself and in connection with the research work for the International Chamber of Commerce and the *Commission To Study the Organization of Peace*, the director has been engaged upon a comprehensive series of studies dealing with postwar economic policies and international organization * * *."

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Pages 105-106: "The provision of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals for the erection of an Economic and Social Council under the Assembly, a provision unfortunately absent from the Covenant of the League of Nations, has not yet received anything like the attention which it deserves. Naturally the provisions for security take the precedence in all discussions of the plan for world organization, but in the long run the provision for the economic organization is more important, if the security organization succeeds in the establishment of peace for even a generation. The advancement of science will ultimately outlaw war, if it has not already done so, but creates vast new problems in the field of economic relationships.

"This inescapable conclusion is now widely shared by thoughtful people, but its application in practical politics is by no means assured in the most enlightened countries. Here, therefore, is the area of international relations in which the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace should continue to concentrate. The affiliation with the International Chamber of Commerce should be strengthened through the Committee on International Economic Policy. At the same time the interplay of all these forces making for peace and international understanding is translated into concrete form by the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace with which this division of the endowment has also been closely associated.

"It is, however, fitting and proper now to record the fact that the director of the division was consultant in the State Department for a year and a half during all of the earlier phases of the planning of the General International Organization agreed upon at the Moscow Conference and finally developed in the Dumbarton Oaks proposals. The plans of the small subcommittee on postwar organization, meeting under the chairmanship of the Under Secretary, Mr. Sumner Wells, of which the director was a member, have remained basic throughout the period of negotiation. The director was also a member of the Security Committee, the agenda of which covered, among other things, the problem of armaments, and the Legal Committee, concerned with American participation in an International Court of Justice, and other problems of international law. More important, from the standpoint of practical politics was the political committee in which some members of the technical committees sat in conference with some of the leading Senators and Congressmen under the chairmanship of the Secretary of State. These formal discussions, which were held almost every week for several months, have borne good results in strengthening the relations between the executive and legislative branches of the Government with reference to the postwar settlement. It goes without saying that Secretary Hull, aware from long experience of the need of cooperation between the State Department and Congress, did not

by any means limit his contacts to these formal meetings. Nevertheless, they were of real importance in the clarification of policy.

"In the field of cultural relations, the director resigned his chairmanship of the National Committee on International Intellectual Cooperation, an office which he had held by virtue of his membership of the Organization of International Intellectual Cooperation of the League of Nations. At a conference of representatives of the various national committees of the Latin-American countries held in Washington, he was elected member of a small international committee created to give effect to the resolution of the Havana Conference of 1941. Progress of the war, however, has interrupted this development and the organizing committee is happily faced with a new and much more developed plan for post-war organization in cultural relations under the auspices of the State Department, than the advisory committee of which the director was a member until its dissolution."

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PUBLICATIONS

Page 112: "* * * General International Organization: This is a statement prepared by the Commission To Study the Organization of Peace which summarized the conclusions of past reports and recast them with reference to the plans then under consideration for the Dumbarton Oaks Conference. It is gratifying to note the many points of this statement which parallel the proposals of that conference. Upon the conclusion of the conference, the commission issued a statement to the press which was commented upon in a letter to the director by Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., then Under Secretary of State, as follows: 'The statement is another indication of the notable service in working for an objective and scientific approach to the problems of international organization which has marked the publications of the Commission To Study the Organization of Peace in the past.'"

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EDUCATION

Page 114: "When the Dumbarton Oaks proposals were made public, the commission called together the heads of 75 national organizations to discuss a wide-spread educational program to bring the proposals before the American public. These groups have been meeting regularly in New York City, discussing both publications and education techniques. Representatives from the Department of State have been attending the meetings.

"The commission has cooperated also in the regional conferences at which representatives of the State Department have met with organizational leaders in off-the-record discussion of the proposals. Meetings were held in Portland, Salt Lake City, Detroit, Salina, Dallas, St. Paul, and Atlanta. Large public conferences on the proposals were held in New York City and other key centers, the meetings being arranged by the commission's regional offices. In addition, the commission continued its regular educational program, working with other national organizations, schools and colleges, labor, farm, and business groups, and concentrating considerable attention on rural areas and small towns.

"Special institute meetings were held in cooperation with the World Alliance for International Friendship Through the Churches in Dallas, Tex.; LaFayette College, Pa.; Miami and Winter Park, Fla.; Chicago, Ill. The regional commissions have held other public conferences and institutes throughout the year."

The series of lectures which the commission has been sponsoring at the New School for Social Research has now covered a considerable number of problems of postwar international organization, dealing with labor, cultural relations, mandates, plebiscites, the World Court, public health, minorities, moving of populations, human rights, international education, and an analysis of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals. The lecturers included Clark M. Eichelberger, Prof. Carter Goodrich, Dr. Walter Kotschnig, Prof. Oscar I. Janowsky, Prof. Quincy Wright, Dr. C. E. A. Winslow, Dr. Frank L. Lorimer, Mr. Beryl Harold Levy, Dr. Hans Simons, Dr. Sarah Wambaugh, Dean Virginia C. Gildersleeve, and the director of the division.

Over 600,000 copies of the commission's reports have been distributed and the distribution of its popular material numbers 3¼ million pieces. A number of basic pamphlets were published in 1944, including a guide to community activity and discussion entitled, "The Peace We Want"; a third revision of a high-school pamphlet, *Toward Greater Freedom*; a revised edition of a farm pamphlet, *Win-*

ning the War on the Spiritual Front; a picture book of full-page illustrations by the artist, Harry Sternberg, of the commission's statement of fundamentals, a project undertaken with the cooperation of the Committee on Art in American Education and Society; an analysis and comment on the Dumbarton Oaks proposals, prepared by Clark M. Eichelberger. In 3 months 50,000 copies of this pamphlet were distributed, it being used by many groups as a basic text. A third printing is now being made.

(Source: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Yearbook 1946:)
Pages 24-25:

UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE ON INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

"The endowment was invited by the Secretary of State to send representatives to serve as consultants to the American delegation at the United Nations Conference on International Organizations held at San Francisco, April 25-June 26, 1945, at which the charter of the United Nations was drafted and signed. In response to this invitation, the endowment was represented at the conference by *Dr. James T. Shotwell*, director of the division of economics and history, who served as a consultant, and *Mr. George A. Finch*, secretary of the endowment and director of its division of international law, who served as associate consultant. A number of other trustees were present at the conference in an official or consultative capacity. *Mr. John Foster Dulles* was an official adviser to the American delegation, and *Mr. Philip C. Jessup* was a technical expert on judicial organization. Endowment trustees representing other organizations were *Messrs. David P. Barrows, W. W. Chapin, Ben M. Cherrington, and Harper Sibley. Mr. Malcom W. Davis*, associate director of the division of intercourse and education, was the executive officer of the first commission of the conference."

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CONFERENCE ON AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY

"To assist in informing public opinion concerning the foreign policy of the United States, the endowment sponsored a conference at Washington on November 26-27, 1945, of representatives of national organizations who took part in a discussion program with officers of the Department of State concerning America's Commitments for Peace. The secretary of the endowment acted as its representative in carrying out the details of the conference. Eighty national organizations accepted the endowment's invitation and were represented by its 125 delegates. The conference was greeted in person by Secretary of State *James F. Byrnes*. There were four sessions. The first was devoted to World Trade and Peace. The official statement on the subject was made by *Mr. Clair Wilcox*, director of the Office of International Trade Policy. The second session dealt with Relief and Rehabilitation. Governor *Herbert H. Lehman*, Director General of UNRRA, laid the facts of the situation before the conference.

"At the third session, Hon. *Dean Acheson*, Under Secretary of State, explained the official policies toward Germany and Japan. At the concluding session, *Mr. Alger Hiss*, Secretary General of the United Nations Conference at San Francisco, made a progress report of the United Nations Organization. Following the presentation of the leading address or paper at each session, a panel of experts from the Government offices chiefly concerned answered questions propounded by the assembled representatives of the national organizations. At a luncheon tendered by the endowment at the close of the conference, Hon. *William Benton*, Assistant Secretary of State in charge of public affairs, explained the International Information Program of the Department of State. Letters of commendation have been received from many of the national representatives who were in attendance, and a letter expressing appreciation of the cooperation of the endowment was sent by Secretary of State *Byrnes* to President Butler under date of December 7." [Italics supplied.]

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Page 45: "As a result of the continued educational program which the Minnesota United Nations Committee at St. Paul has conducted for the division throughout the year, there is reason to believe that public sentiment in Minnesota is favorably inclined toward the United Nations Organization and other

forms of international cooperation. This is shown by an inspection of editorial comment in the State.”

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SURVEY OF PROGRAMS OF THE UNITED NATIONS

Pages 38-39: “Following the ratification of the United Nations Charter by the number of nations required to put it into effect, and in furtherance of a suggestion originally made by a trustee of the endowment for a survey of peace organizations as to their functions and effectiveness in reaching public opinion in the United States, the division sent out inquiries to national organizations as to what they were doing to bring to the attention of their members the commitment of the United States to the United Nations. ‘Peace’ organizations as such form only part of the program for reaching public opinion in the United States. A questionnaire was forwarded to 150 organizations in October, of which 29 were ‘peace’ organizations, and the division was gratified to receive answers from 100 of them.

“The report, compiled from this survey by Miss Cathrine Borger, of the division staff, showed that practically every organization engaged in popular education of various types, regardless of particular field—scholastic education, citizenship education, religious, service clubs, women’s organizations, youth, business, farm, labor, specialized interests—is devoting some part of its programs to making its membership aware of the commitment of the United States to the United Nations.

“Among the suggestions received as to methods which should be emphasized in developing popular knowledge of international organization were the need of preparing single illustrated booklets, more use of motion pictures and radio, forums and discussion groups, as well as development of suitable publications for schools and colleges. Education of young people was mentioned by a number of organizations. Six organizations maintained that personal contacts and leadership provided the most effective method, and another stressed the need for dividing efforts between raising the general level of ‘where people are’ and working with interested groups willing to join in concerted activities. Of major importance were those stressing the necessity of developing material showing what the United Nations Organization cannot do as well as what it can do, and of full publicity for every activity of the United Nations, and more especially for the activities of the United States and its delegates.

“The greatest lack in public education with regard to the American commitment concerns people who are not reached by any organization, since they have not been interested to join, and do not realize that they too constitute public opinion and have to assume their responsibilities as citizens not only of the United States but of the world. The Carnegie Endowment, as an institution seeking neither members nor maintenance by dues and contributions, is in a position both to work with other organizations and also to respond to this need of primary education.”

Pages 50-52:

WORK THROUGH RADIO AND MOTION PICTURES

“During the past year Beyond Victory has been presented each week under the combined auspices of the World Wide Broadcasting Foundation and the endowment, over nearly a hundred stations in all parts of the United States and Canada. This nationally known series of programs, now well into its third year, has established itself with an audience of discriminating listeners throughout the country as offering interest and authoritative comment or many phases of postwar adjustment.

“In the spring of 1945 a special group of programs centered around the San Francisco Conference of the United Nations. Two members of the American delegation, *Dean Virginia C. Gildersleeve* and the former Governor of Minnesota, *Harold E. Stassen*, spoke of the general issues which the conference faced. *Dr. James T. Shotwell* and *Dr. Raymond Fosdick* contrasted the San Francisco conference with the Paris Conference of 1919. The problem of security was discussed by *Dr. Quincy Wright*, and colonial issues by *Dr. Arthur W. Holcombe* and others. The Charter of the United Nations was discussed by the executive officers of the four commissions at San Francisco: *Mr. Malcom W. Davis*, executive officer of the First Commission, spoke on the People Write a

World Charter; Mr. Huntington Gilchrist, executive officer of the Second Commission, on The Charter—Jobs for All; Prof. Grayson Kirk, executive officer of the Third Commission, on The Security Council—How It Works; and Prof. Norman J. Pabelford, executive officer of the Fourth Commission, on The Charter and International Justice. The essential purpose in this group of programs was to clarify the development of the charter in the conference at San Francisco and to explain the functions and powers provided by its sections, for security and welfare.

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“During the past year many libraries in the United States have asked to be put on a special list to receive copies of Beyond Victory scripts every week. About 50 libraries in all parts of the country are now receiving this weekly service, and many have applied for its renewal for another year. Occasional Beyond Victory scripts appear on the reading tables of nearly a hundred additional libraries which request them from time to time. They are also sent to several leading universities and a substantial number of secondary schools in the United States. In addition, shipments of transcriptions of Beyond Victory broadcasts were forwarded to Army camps and hospitals in the United States, averaging from 10 to 12 in each shipment, and to the Marianas, Saipan, and the Guadalcanal commands and the European theater. Many letters of appreciation have been received from officers telling how these records were used in orientation programs and convalescent wards, and describing the favorable reaction and resulting value. A letter from the Finney General Hospital, Thomasville, Ga., says in part, ‘Your selection of subject matter seems to be just what we have been looking for in our orientation program, and I wish to compliment you on the wide selection available on postwar activities.’ The transcriptions were also used by the Office of War Information up to the time that organization was dissolved.”

THE ANGLO-AMERICAN FINANCIAL AGREEMENT

Page 111: “The executive committee concluded that many goals of the committee were at stake in the proposed Anglo-America financial agreement. It was therefore decided to publish an objective statement concerning the British loan.

“Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler wrote the foreword to the resulting brochure, *Fifteen Facts on the Proposed British Loan*, which was edited by Robert L. Gulick, Jr. There was a first edition of 200,000 copies, and a second of 100,000 is now being printed. Hon. W. L. Clayton, Assistant Secretary of State, has this to say about the Fifteen Facts: “Permit me to congratulate you on an excellent job which I am sure will be most helpful in placing the loan before the public in proper perspective.” Margaret A. Hickey, president of the National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, Inc., writes in similar vein: ‘In my opinion this is excellent material, presented in a fashion which simplifies and clarifies the principal points involved in the legislation now pending before Congress.’

“The board of directors agreed, without dissent, to sponsor a campaign of public education relating to the agreement. A special committee was formed under the chairmanship of Hon. Charles S. Dewey, former Congressman from Illinois, and a vice president of the Chase National Bank. Other members of this committee include: Robert W. Coyne, National Field Director, War Finance Division, United States Treasury; Ted R. Gamble, Special Assistant to the Secretary of the Treasury; William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor; Eric A. Johnston, president, Chamber of Commerce of the United States; Philip Murray, president, Congress of Industrial Organizations; Edward A. O'Neal, president, American Farm Bureau Federation; Philip D. Reed, chairman of the United States Associates of the International Chamber of Commerce; Anna Lord Strauss, president, National League of Women Voters; and Robert L. Gulick, Jr.”

(Source: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1947 Yearbook.)
Pages 16-17:

RECOMMENDATION OF THE PRESIDENT

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“Among the special circumstances favorable to an expansion of the endowment's own direct activities, the most significant is the establishment of the United Nations with its headquarters in New York and with the United States

as its leading and most influential members. The United States was the chief architect of the United Nations and is its chief support. The opportunity for an endowed American institution having the objectives, tradition, and prestige of the endowment to support and serve the United Nations is very great. No other agency appears to be so favorably situated as is the endowment for the undertaking of such a program. So far as we have been able to ascertain, no other agency is contemplating the undertaking of such a program. Consequently, I recommend most earnestly that the endowment construct its program for the period that lies ahead primarily for the support and assistance of the United Nations.

"I would suggest that this program be conceived of as having two objectives. First, it should be widely educational in order to encourage public understanding and support of the United Nations at home and abroad. Second, it should aid in the adoption of wise policies both by our own Government in its capacity as a member of the United Nations and by the United Nations organization as a whole.

"The number and importance of decisions in the field of foreign relations with which the United States will be faced during the next few years are of such magnitude that the widest possible stimulation of public education in this field is of major and pressing importance. In furthering its educational objectives the endowment should utilize its existing resources, such as the International Relations Clubs in the colleges, and *International Conciliation*, and should strengthen its relationships with existing agencies interested in the field of foreign affairs. These relationships should include close collaboration with other organizations principally engaged in the study of foreign affairs, such as the Council on Foreign Relations, the Foreign Policy Association, the Institute of Pacific Relations, the developing university centers of international studies, and local community groups interested in foreign affairs of which the Cleveland Council on World Affairs and the projected World Affairs Council in San Francisco are examples.

"Of particular importance is the unusual opportunity of reaching large segments of the population by establishing relations of a rather novel sort with the large national organizations which today are desirous of supplying their members with objective information on public affairs, including international issues. These organizations—designed to serve, respectively, the broad interests of business, church, women's, farm, labor, veterans', educational, and other large groups of our citizens—are not equipped to set up foreign policy research staffs of their own. The endowment should supply these organizations with basic information about the United Nations and should assist them both in selecting topics of interest to their members and in presenting those topics so as to be most readily understood by their members. We should urge the Foreign Policy Association and the Institute of Pacific Relations to supply similar service on other topics of international significance.

"**Exploration should also be made by the endowment as to the possibilities of increasing the effectiveness of the radio and motion pictures in public education on world affairs.**" [Italics supplied.]

(Source: Staley, Eugene, *War and the Private Investor*, Doubleday, 1935, pt. III: Towards a Policy, ch. 18, *Alternate Courses of Action*, pp. 470-471.)

"The search for the underlying causes of international investment friction has revealed that capital investment is a form of contact peculiarly apt to occasion conflict, while the existing institutions for the adjustment of these conflicts are not only inadequate but are fundamentally ill-adapted to the task. The defectiveness of the institutions of adjustment arises largely from the fact that the areas of political loyalty and political organization on which they are based, are smaller than the area of conflict-producing contact, which today includes practically the whole world. * * *

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"With these general considerations in mind we now turn our attention to the appraisal of various policies which have been practiced or which may be suggested in connection with the problem of reducing the political friction connected with international private investment. These policies may be grouped according to their basic characteristics under three general headings, and will be so discussed: (1) mere anti-imperialism, (2) national supervision of investments abroad, (3) denationalization and mondial¹ supervision of international investments. * * *

¹ The meaning of this special term will be explained later.

(Pt. III: Towards a Policy, ch. 19: Specific Suggestions:)

A WORLD INVESTMENT COMMISSION

Pages 498-499: "The functions which might be discharged by a world commission on permanent economic contracts between nations are plentiful and important enough to justify the creation of such an agency. The World Investment Commission, if we may give it that name, should begin the development of that effective supervision by the world community which must gradually undermine national diplomatic protection and render denationalization of investments possible."

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Pages 500-501: "How would the World Investment Commission operate? It should have the following powers and duties:

"To register international loan agreements and concessions; to make their terms public; to regulate their terms in certain respects.

"To collect continuous and accurate information respecting international investment operations and all their ramifications and effects—social and political as well as economic.

"To call general conferences on a world or regional basis, or conferences of certain industries (e. g., concession holders, consumers, and states granting concessions in the oil industry). These conferences would consider problems raised by international capital migration, and out of them something akin to world investment legislation might emerge.

"To cooperate with the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations, the International Labor Organization, commissions on codification of international law, and other international agencies whose work has a bearing on the setting of standards for protection of capital-importing regions against ruthless exploitation.

"To examine and report on the financial condition of borrowing states² and private enterprises; to make observations on the political and social implications of specific capital transactions.

"To call attention to any conditions likely to intensify international investment conflicts or to occasion political friction over investments and to make recommendations with respect thereto.

"To endeavor to conciliate disputes, calling conferences of lenders and borrowers for this purpose, mediating, arbitrating, seeking to work out compromises, employing the services of disinterested experts to provide full social and economic information on the basis of which equitable adjustments might be sought.

"To make a public report of its findings where a party to a dispute before the Commission refuses to come to an agreement which in the opinion of disinterested conciliators is just and reasonable.

"To publicly advise, after hearings, against further provision of capital to a state or corporation which has failed to observe a contract obligation without just cause. This would presumably make the flotation of loans difficult anywhere in the world for such a state or corporation. Here is one of the 'sanctions' which would enable the Commission to take over the function (now exercised by national diplomatic protection) of protecting investors abroad—that is, of guaranteeing minimum standards of fair treatment for the investment interests of aliens in all countries. If organized on a worldwide basis, this sanction would be sufficient in many cases to accomplish more in the way of protection than is now usually accomplished by diplomatic protection. At the same time, it would tend to remove investment protection as a pretext for national aggression and remedy other defects of the system of national diplomatic protection.

"To refer legal questions to the Permanent Court of International Justice or to the World Commercial Court (suggested below) for an advisory opinion or final settlement.

"To cooperate with regional organizations like the Pan American Union in the establishment of regional subcommissions for handling investment problems that affect mainly one part of the world."

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Page 504: "This proposal would obviously involve the creation of an international corporation law, probably through an international treaty to be framed and adopted under the auspices of the League of Nations. * * *"

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² The Commission would probably deal with State loans as well as with the private investments upon which the discussions of this volume have been focused.

A WORLD INVESTMENT BANK

Page 509: "As a means of filtering out the national interest in world capital movements and thereby promoting the dual process of denationalization and mondial supervision, a World Investment Bank might perform useful functions. Such a bank would sell its bonds to governments or to private investors and invest the funds so raised in long-term construction projects, such as railways in South America and China, airways over the world, canals, harbor works, international river improvements, and the like. * * *"

Pages 512-513: "A useful contribution to the denationalization of international investment (and also trade) relationships would therefore be made by the development of a world 'consular service' for the provision of detailed economic information and the encouragement of world commerce. Such a service could best be built on the foundation already laid by the excellent work of the League of Nations and the International Labor Organization in the field of economic information. * * *"

Pages 515-516: "The League of Nations: It is worthy of note that practically all the specific measures proposed in this chapter for dealing with the political problems raised by international investments depend in some fashion upon the presence of a world political organization. If the League of Nations did not exist it would be necessary to create it, or something like it, before investment problems could be attacked with any hope of success. The League should be supported, strengthened, and developed. Its legislative powers should be increased and its authority enlarged. Just as the loose league of sovereign States first established under the Articles of Confederation developed into the Federal Government of the United States of America, so the League of Nations must be developed from a confederation of sovereign states into a federal world government. Of course the United States, which has such a large stake in the orderly supervision of international investment relationships, should actively encourage this process. An essential step is entry into the League. * * *"

Pages 517-518: "International civic training: It is all too evident that the measures and devices proposed in this chapter can never succeed, cannot even be tried, unless there is a sufficient sense of world citizenship among the different peoples of the earth and among their leaders. Such a sense of world citizenship may be stimulated by a rational appreciation of the worldwide interdependence of economic, social, and political life, but to be politically effective the emotions must also be touched and loyalties to new supranational symbols must be developed. Can such loyalties be achieved short of an international working-class revolution, or can they be achieved by such a revolution? That is one of the most fundamental questions affecting the future form of social life on this planet. The development of international attitudes in the schools, world intellectual co-operation, adult education on the interdependence of the modern world, celebration of the heroes common to all mankind—all these things, and many more at first sight quite unrelated to international investments, have an important bearing on the specific problem of investment friction. * * *"

EXCHANGE OF CORRESPONDENCE REGARDING INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS CLUBS

APRIL 20, 1954.

Mr. JOSEPH E. JOHNSON,
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace,
New York, N. Y.

DEAR MR. JOHNSON: My contacts with you and the other member of the endowment staff were so pleasant that it is with a keen sense of disappointment that I now resign myself to writing for certain information instead of visiting you in person. However, it is becoming increasingly evident that our activities will require me to spend all my time here.

In the confidential reports, as well as the yearbooks, there are references to "international polity clubs" which were, as I recall, established by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in colleges and universities, starting back in the early days of your organization. However, as you know time

³ Consult Charles E. Merriam, *The Making of Citizens* (Chicago, 1931), pp. 310-318, 348, 356.

did not permit me to read all the material you made available to me, and there are gaps in my notes on this item. Would you, therefore, have someone on your staff answer the following questions:

1. Were these clubs an outgrowth of or connected in any way with the American Association for International Conciliation, the Institute of International Education, or any other organizations? (And if so, how did this come about?)

2. Were they a development from the "international mind" alcoves?

In the back of my mind there is a vague recollection that during a conversation with Dr. Avirett he mentioned that these clubs resulted in organization of the Foreign Policy Association or the Council on Foreign Relations. If I am correct, how did this develop and when?

3. How many such clubs were there in 1938 and how many are there today, if they still exist? If they no longer exist, is that due to positive dissolution as an activity of the endowment, or due merely to student and faculty disinterest or to some other factors?

4. I gather that each year books were sent by the endowment to each of these clubs. Were these volumes sent without charge, at cost, or at a discount?

5. Were all books selected for distribution in any 1 year sent to all the clubs? If not, what secondary method of selection was employed, such as the size of the college or university, or the club membership?

6. How did these clubs come into being at the college or university—in other words, did the endowment either by suggestion to the faculty or one of its members, or through other methods foster the formation of such clubs?

7. Were lists of books available periodically sent to the colleges and universities, from which the club or faculty adviser made a selection? Or were books automatically distributed at intervals throughout the year to all institutions?

I hope this will not place an undue burden on your staff—but since I cannot foresee a time when a visit to your office might be possible I shall appreciate very much your sending the information as soon as it is convenient.

With kindest regards, I am,

Sincerely yours,

KATHRYN CASEY,
Legal Analyst.

CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE,
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT,
NEW YORK, N. Y., April 29, 1954.

MISS KATHRYN CASEY,
131 Indiana Avenue NW, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MISS CASEY: I, too, regret that you, yourself, could not come to see us again. In any event, here is the information on the International Relations Clubs which you requested in your letter of April 22. For your convenience, the numbers correspond to those of the questions asked in the letter.

1. The first student groups in colleges and universities for the serious study and objective discussion of international affairs—known as international policy clubs—were organized in the autumn of 1914 under the direction of the American Association for International Conciliation which, in turn derived financial support from the Carnegie Endowment. In the fall of 1920 when direction of the clubs was transferred to the Institute of International Education (organized largely under the leadership of Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler with substantial financial support from the endowment), the name of the clubs was the endowment in 1924, and the clubs were taken over by the endowment which changed to international relations clubs. The institute became independent of the endowment in 1924, and the clubs were taken over by the endowment which continued actively in charge of them until the spring of 1951. At this time the Association of International Relations Clubs, established in 1948, assumed supervision of the club program under a grant-in-aid from the endowment. Although no longer actively directing the club work, the endowment maintained a relationship with it through having a representative on the association's executive board.

2. The clubs were in no way a "development" from the international mind alcoves, which were an entirely separate phase of the endowment's program.

At no time in the past have the clubs had any organizational connection with the Foreign Policy Association, the Council on Foreign Relations, or any other organization except those indicated under "1."

3. In 1938 there were 1,103 clubs as follows: 265 in high schools in the United States; 685 in colleges and universities in continental United States; 7 in the Philippines; 1 each in Hawaii, Alaska, Canal Zone, and Puerto Rico; 24 in the United Kingdom; 34 in 14 Latin American countries; 22 in China; 9 in Japan; 2 in Korea; and the remaining 51 in foreign countries including Canada, Egypt, Greece, Iran, Iraq, Siam, New Zealand, Australia, South Africa, Syria, and India.

In January, 1948, the National Education Association in Washington assumed leadership for the high school clubs. Information regarding them since then may be obtained from the association.

In 1954 (April 26) there are 476 clubs in colleges and universities in continental United States; 1 in Hawaii, and 28 in foreign countries including Canada, the United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Egypt, India, Japan, Pakistan, Philippine Islands, and Thailand, making a total of 505.

4. The materials sent to the International Relations clubs in high schools, colleges, and universities were a gift from the endowment, with the understanding that they would be kept together as a special IRC collection, in the library or elsewhere, readily accessible to the club members.

5. All clubs—large or small, in universities and junior and 4-year colleges, in the United States and foreign countries—received the same books in English with the exception of some of the groups in Latin American countries which were sent Spanish translations of some of the English publications or original Spanish publications. Cooperation with the Latin American clubs was discontinued during the academic year 1947-48. Pamphlets and mimeographed materials, less specialized and better suited to the age level, were sent to the high school clubs.

6. Although the endowment never had a field worker as such to stimulate interest in the club movement, it maintained a competent "secretariat" in its offices which carried on correspondence with the clubs, offering encouragement to both club members and faculty advisers in carrying on the work, as well as advice when sought, and suggestions for vitalizing club programs. It cooperated closely with the host clubs in the 12—in 1948 increased to 14—regions throughout the country where annual conferences were held, by helping to set up the programs, furnishing speakers, and arranging for an endowment representative to be in attendance at each conference. In the early 1930's letters were sent at the beginning of the academic year to faculty members at a few selected institutions, informing them of the club work and its advantages. The clubs increased to such an extent in number, however, that this procedure soon became unnecessary. A great deal of the credit for this growth must be given to the continued interest of students and faculty members alike, who, upon transferring to a campus without a club, proceeded to organize a new one or reactivate a former one, and also to the establishment of clubs by students and/or faculty people who were told about the work by enthusiastic members or advisers of clubs on other campuses. On receiving an inquiry about the work, the endowment furnished materials descriptive of the club program and suggestions for organizing a club. The principal requirements for affiliation with the endowment were that the group would meet regularly with a faculty adviser for the study and discussion of world affairs from an unprejudiced and objective point of view and that the books should be kept together as a permanent collection. Upon notification that a club had completed its organization, it was placed upon the mailing list to receive all club materials.

7. Two installments of books were automatically distributed to the clubs each academic year. The books were initially selected by a member of the endowment staff and then submitted for approval to a committee of which Dr. Butler was chairman. In the first semester the books were sent to clubs which notified the endowment that they were functioning and ready to receive them, and in the second semester only to the clubs which had formally acknowledged receipt of the first, or fall, installment. The distribution of books was discontinued entirely in the spring of 1947.

In this connection, you will be interested to know that the Association of International Relations Clubs has just concluded its Seventh Annual Conference. At the final business session on April 23, the association voted to affiliate with the Foreign Policy Association, which is better equipped than the endowment to aid them in planning their programs for objective study of international problems. At the same time the association passed a resolution thanking the endowment for past services. It was with very real regret that the endowment came to the end of a long chapter, in which we like to think that a

contribution was made to the better understanding of the responsibilities which our country now bears as a world power.

Sincerely yours,

JOSEPH E. JOHNSON.

MEMORANDUM

JUNE 30, 1954.

Subject: Books distributed by Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Since it was impossible to check every volume distributed by the endowment through the international mind alcoves or through the international relations clubs and centers, a random sampling by year mentioned in the yearbooks was taken. When Dr. Kenneth Colegrove was in Washington, D. C., to attend the hearings before the committee, he was asked to look over the books distributed in the following years: 1918, 1926, 1928, 1931, 1932, 1933, 1938, 1939, 1941, 1943, 1944, 1947.

The authors and books for those years are given below. Those on which Dr. Colegrove commented are in italics.

1918 Yearbook, page 86 ("distributed principally to college libraries and International Polity Clubs"):

C. R. Ashbee: American League To Enforce Peace
 E. W. Clement: Constitutional Imperialism in Japan
 Cosmos: The Basis of Durable Peace
 Robert Goldsmith: A League To Enforce Peace
 J. A. Hobson: The New Protectionism
 Roland Hugins: The Possible Peace
Harold J. Laski: Studies in the Problem of Sovereignty—"Opposed to the 'national interest'; inclines toward extreme left"
 Ramsay Muir: Nationalism and Internationalism
 Henry F. Munro, Ellery C. Stowell: International Cases
 H. H. Powers: The Things Men Fight For
 Bertrand Russell: Why Men Fight
 Walter E. Weyl: American World Policies

1926 Yearbook, page 56 ("distributed principally to college libraries and International Polity Clubs"):

Carlton J. H. Hayes: A Political and Social History of Modern Europe
 (2 vols.)
 Prof. Schille Viallate: Economic Imperialism
 George Matthew Dutcher: The Political Awakening of the East
Raymond Leslie Buel: International Relations—"Globalist"

1931 Yearbook, page 67:

Butler, Nicholas Murray: The Path to Peace
 Eberlein, Marks, and Wallis: Down the Tiber and Up to Rome
 Ellis, M. H.: Express to Hindustan
 Keenleyside, Hugh L.: Canada and the United States
 Larson, Frans August: Larson, Duke of Mongolia
 Olden, Rudolf: Stresemann
 Patrick, Mary Mills: Under Five Sultans
 Phillips, Henry A.: Meet the Germans
Read, Elizabeth F.: International Law and International Relations—"Rather leftist"
 Redfield, Robert: Tepoztlan (Mexico)
 de la Rue, Sidney: Land of the Pepper Bird (Liberia)
 Russell, Phillips: Red Tiger (Mexico)
 Ryhd, Hanna: Land of the Sun-God (Egypt)
 Sassoon, Sir Philip: The Third Route
 Sheng-Cheng: A Son of China
 Street, C. J. C.: Thomas Masaryk of Czechoslovakia
 Waldrom, Webb: Blue Glamor (the Mediterranean)

- 1932 Yearbook, pages 75, 80:
- Akeley, Delia J.: *Jungle Portraits*
- Buck, Pearl S.: *The Good Earth*—"Slightly leftist"
- Chase, Stuart: *Mexico*—"Mildly left"
- Colum, Padraic: *Cross Roads in Ireland*
- Forbes, Rosita: *Conflict*
- Hindus, Maurice: Humanity Uprooted*—"Marxian slant"
- Ilin, M.: *New Russia's Primer*
- McBride, Robert M.: *Romantic Czechoslovakia*
- McMullen, Laura W.: *Building the World Society*—"Globalist"
- Morton, H. V.: *In Search of Scotland*
- Ross, Sir. E. Denison: *The Persians*
- Strong, Anna Louise: *The Road to the Grey Pamir*—"Well Known Communist"
- Van Dyke, John C.: *In Egypt*
- Wagner, Ellasue: *Korea*
- Wortham, N. E.: *Mustapha Kemal of Turkey*
- Andrews, Fanny Fern: *The Holy Land Under Mandate*
- Arendtz, Herman F.: *The Way Out of Depression*
- Bratt, K. A.: *That Next War?*
- de Madariga, Salvadore: Disarmament*—"Ultra globalist and aimed at submergence of 'national interest'"
- Harper, Samuel G.: *Making Bolsheviks*
- Hudson, Manley O.: *The World Court*
- Ilin, U.: *New Russia's Primer*
- League of Nations: *Ten Years of World Cooperation*
- Lefebure, Victor: *Scientific Disarmament*
- MacNair, Harley F.: *China in Revolution*
- Mitchell, N. P.: *Land Problems and Policies in the African Mandates of the British Commonwealth*
- Moulton, H. G.: *Japan: An Economic and Financial Appraisal*

- 1933 Yearbook, pages 77, 80:
- Angell, Norman: *The Unseen Assassins*—"Globalist"
- Casey, Robert J.: *Baghdad and Points East*
- Cohen-Portheim, Paul: *England, the Unknown Isle*
- Desmond, Alice Curtis: *Far Horizons*
- Hedin, Sven: *Across the Gobi Desert*
- Hudson, Manley O.: *Progress in International Organization*
- Jones, Amy Heminway: *An Amiable Adventure*
- Mackall, Lawton: *Portugal for Two*
- Monson, Ronald A.: *Across Africa on Foot*
- Morton, H. V.: *In Search of Ireland, In Search of Wales*
- Patterson, Ernest Minor: *America: World Leader or World Led?*—"Globalist"
- Phillips, Henry Albert: *Meet the Japanese*
- Raiguel and Huff: *This Is Russia*
- Thomas, Valentine: *Young Europe*
- Tsurumi, Yusuke: *The Mother*
- Angell, Sir Norman: *The Unseen Assassins*
- Clark, Grover: *Economic Rivalries in China*
- Cory, Ellen: *Compulsory Arbitration*
- Escher, Franklin: *Modern Foreign Exchange*
- Morley, Felix: *The Society of Nations*
- Morse and MacNair: *Far Eastern International Relations*
- Moulton and Pasvolsky: *War Debts and World Prosperity*
- Salter, Sir Arthur: *Recovery, the Second Effort*—"Globalist"
- Patterson, Ernest Minor: *America—World Leader or World Led?*
- Ware, Edith E.: *Business and Politics in the Far East*—"Doubtful"

1938 Yearbook, page 55: "This material is directed in some instances only to the trustees of the endowment, in other cases to a wider though limited circle of those directly connected with the endowment and in still other cases to a comprehensive list of those interested in international questions * * * Among the books so distributed may be cited: * * *"

- James T. Shotwell: *On the Abyss*—"Globalist"
- William T. Stone and Clark M. Eichelberger: *Peaceful Change*—"Globalist and leftist. Regarding W. T. Stone, see the report of the McCarran subcommittee. Stone was closely associated with Edward Carter of I. P. R."

1938 Yearbook, page 62:

Dulles, Allen W., and Armstrong, Hamilton Fish: Can We be Neutral?
 Dunn, Frederick Sherwood: Peaceful Change
 Florinsky, Michael T.: Fascism and National Socialism
 Horrabin, J. F.: An Atlas of the Empire
 Lichtenberger, Henri: The Third Reich
 Miller, Spencer, Jr.: What the I. L. O. Means to America
 Peers, E. Allison: The Spanish Tragedy
 Staley, Eugene: Raw Materials in Peace and War
 Salter, Sir Arthur: *World Trade and Its Future—"Globalist"*
 Vinacke, Harold M.: A History of the Far East in Modern Times
 Willert, Sir Arthur and others: The Empire in the World

1939 Yearbook, page 62:

Angell, Norman: The Defense of the Empire
Angell, Norman: Peace with the Dictators—"Globalist"
 Butler, Nicholas Murray: The Family of Nations
 Davies, E. C.: A Wayfarer in Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania
 Fergusson, Erna: Venezuela
 Fry, Varian: War in China
 Hamilton, Alexander, and others: The Federalist
 Jackson, Joseph Henry: Notes on a Drum
 Lewis, Elizabeth Foreman: Portraits from a Chinese Scroll
 Loewenstein, Prince Hubertus Zu: Conquest of the Past
 Lyons, Eugene: Assignment in Utopia
 MacManus, Seumas: The Rocky Road to Dublin
 Miller, M. S. and J. L.: Cruising the Mediterranean
 Parmer, Charles B.: West Indian Odyssey
 Roberts, Stephen H.: The House That Hitler Built
 Sterne, Emma Gelders: European Summer
Streit, Clarence K.: Union Now—"Globalist and submersion of national interest. Fallacious in his analogy of Union of American States in 1781 with world federation"
 Strode, Hudson: South by Thunderbird

1941 Yearbook, page 54:

Benes, Eduard: Democracy Today and Tomorrow
 Bisson, T. A.: *American Policy in the Far East, 1931-19—"Pro-Communist"*
 Butler, Nicholas Murray: Why War?
Dulles, Allen W., and Armstrong, Hamilton Fish: Can America Stay Neutral?—"Ultraglobalists"
 Florinsky, Michael T.: Toward an Understanding of the U. S. S. R.
 Ford, Guy Stanton (editor): Dictatorship in the Modern World
 Lippmann, Walter: Some Notes on War and Peace
 Marriott, Sir John A. R.: Commonwealth or Anarchy?
Patterson, Ernest Minor: Economic Bases of Peace
 Saerchinger, Cesar: The Way Out of War
Shotwell, James T.: What Germany Forgot
 Viton, Albert: Great Britain, an Empire in Transition

1939 Yearbook, page 39: "Among leftist speakers sent to conferences by the Carnegie Endowment were Vera Micheles Dean and Dr. Eugene Staley. Mrs. Dean and Max Lerner also were included in the 1941 list."

1944 Yearbook, page 103:

Hunt, Dr. Erling (Teachers College): Citizens for a New World, yearbook of Commission for Organization of Peace—"Ultraglobalist"

1944 Yearbook, page 48:

Clark, Evans (editor): Wartime Facts and Postwar Problems: A Study and Discussion Manual
 Committee on Africa: Africa
 Duffett, W. E., Hicks, A. R. and Parkin, G. R.: India Today
 Hambro, C. J.: How to Win the Peace

Hornbeck, Stanley K. : The United States and the Far East
 Inman, Samuel Guy : Latin America : Its Place in World Life
 Kohn, Hans : World Order in Historical Perspective
 MacIver, R. M. : *Toward an Abiding Peace—“Extremely globalist and careless of the American ‘national interest’”*
 Mowat, R. B. and Slosson, Preston : History of the English-Speaking Peoples
 Pares, Sir Bernard : Russia
 Peffer, Nathaniel : *A Basis for Peace in the Far East*
 Reves, Emery : A Democratic Manifesto
 Stembridge, Jasper H., An Atlas of the U. S. S. R.
 Thomas, Elbert D. : Thomas Jefferson : World Citizen
 Welles, Sumner : The world of the Four Freedoms

1944 Yearbook, page 52 :

Broderick, Alan H. : North Africa
 Chiang Kai-shek, Generalissimo : All We Are and All We Have
 Chiang Kai-shek, Madame : We Chinese Women
 Follett, Helen : Islands on Guard
 Gatti, Allen and Attilio : Here is Africa
 Goodell, Jane : They Sent Me to Iceland
 Hambro, C. J. : How to Win the Peace
 Henley, Constance Jordan : Grandmother Drives South
 Hutchison, Bruce : The Unkonwn Country
 Lanks, Herbert C. : Pan American Highway through South America
 Lattimore, Owen : *America and Asia—“Subtle propoganda along Communist line. Lattimore cited in McCarran subcommittee report as part of Communist cell in the Institute of Pacific Relations”*
 Maisel, Albert Q. : Africa : Facts and Forecasts
 Massock, Richard G. : Italy from Within
 Pares, Sir Bernard : Russia
 Peffer, Nathaniel : *Basis for Peace in the Far East—“Leftist. See McCarran subcommittee report”*
 Representatives of the United Nations : The People's Peace
 Welles, Sumner : The World of the Four Freedoms

1947 Yearbook, pages 48, 51 :

The Soviet Union Today, An Outline Study: American Russian Institute—“Favorable to U. S. S. R.”
 The United Nations Economic and Social Council : Herman Finer.
 America and the New World : The Merrick lectures, 1945.
 Perpetual Peace : Immanuel Kant.
 Political Handbook of the World, 1946 : Walter H. Mallory, editor.
 Germany Is Our Problem : Henry Morgenthau, Jr.
 The Atomic Age Opens : Editors of pocket books.
 America's Stake in Britain's Future : George Soule.
 Peoples Speaking to Peoples : Llewellyn White and Robert D. Leigh.
 The United Nations in the Making : Basic Documents : World Peace Foundation.
The Soviet Union Today: American Russian Institute
 The Chrysanthemum and the Sword : Ruth Benedict.
 The World Today : Nicholas Murray Butler.
 Sun Yat-sen : Stephen Chen and Robert Payne.
Britain: Partner for Peace: Percy E. Corbett—“Extremely globalist”
 The United Nations Economic and Social Council : Herman Finer.
 Brazil : An Interpretation : Gilberto Freyre.
 Greece : A. W. Gomme.
 Our Son, Pablo : Alvin and Darley Gordon.
 France, Short History : Albert Guerard.
 Iran : William S. Haas.
 And the Bravest of These : Katharine Roberts.
 New Zealand : Philip L. Soljak.
 Peace Atlas of Europe : Samuel van Valkenburg.
 The Story of the Dutch East Indies : Bernard H. M. Vlekke.
 The French Canadian Outlook : Mason Wade.

Originally it had been intended to have others in addition to Dr. Colegrove make notations on these and other books distributed by the Carnegie Endowment.

for International Peace, either through the International Mind Alcoves, the international relations clubs and centers, or other means. However, up to this time, it has not been possible to proceed with this particular project.

KATHRYN CASEY,
Legal Analyst.

EXHIBIT—PART II. ROCKEFELLER

EXCERPTS FROM ANNUAL REPORTS OF THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION AND MATERIAL TAKEN FROM OTHER SOURCES FROM 1929 TO 1952

(Source: The Rockefeller Foundation, 1932 annual report, pp. 274-275:)

ECONOMIC PLANNING AND CONTROL

"Events of the past 3 years have made strikingly evident the tremendous social losses occasioned by the ups and downs of modern business enterprise. Much physical suffering, illness, mental disorder, family disintegration, crime, and political and social instability trace their origin to economic causes. In a time of depression, when enterprise is halted and millions of the unemployed are unable to command the necessities of life, the question is insistently heard, Why does this distressing situation arise in a country where raw materials exist in plenty, where technological equipment is of the best, and where workers are eager to apply their productive capacities? The opportunity and need for scientific attack on the problem of economic maladjustment are unmistakable. The foundation views this field as highly important and well adapted to research.

"For several years various studies and organizations concerned with economic stabilization have been supported. It is believed that a more complete knowledge of the working of our present economic system—e. g., of conditions as revealed by realistic, statistical studies of unemployment; the characteristics, methods, and hazards of specified industrial enterprises; the complex forces operating in a competitive society in a number of specific situations—must supply the necessary basis for planning an effective economic organization."

(Source: The Rockefeller Foundation, 1936 annual report, pp. 55-56:)

"* * * As one reviews the history of the men and women who, over the last 20 years, have received fellowships from the foundation, the record appears most gratifying. Today, they are occupying positions of importance and distinction in nearly every country of the world. They are on university faculties; they are connected with research laboratories; they hold strategic governmental positions; they are carrying on significant and productive work in wide fields of knowledge. Some of them, indeed, have gained outstanding recognition, such as the award of the Nobel prize. It would be idle to assume, of course, that their leadership and their contribution to scientific thought are the results solely of their fellowship experience. Doubtless, many of them would have gained eminence without this experience, or would have obtained the experience in other ways. But it is a satisfaction to record the subsequent success of highly promising men and women, picked largely from the younger generation, to whom the foundation is proud to have been of some assistance."

(Source: The Rockefeller Foundation, 1937 annual report, pp. 57-58:)

THE DEBACLE IN CHINA

"Last year, in the Review, the following sentence appeared: 'China today stands on the threshold of a renaissance. The Chinese National Government, together with many provincial and county authorities and private organizations, are attempting to make over a medieval society in terms of modern knowledge.'

"This proud ambition, in which the foundation was participating, has been virtually destroyed by the events of the last 6 months. The program was primarily a program of rural reconstruction and public health. It was rooted in promising Chinese institutions like Nankai University in Tientsin, and the National Central University and the National Agricultural Research Bureau, both in Nanking. It was promoting studies in subjects like animal husbandry and agriculture; it was carrying on broadly based field experimentations; and it was training men and women for administrative posts in rural and public health work.

"Nankai University was completely destroyed last July. The universities and institutions in Nanking, where they are not too badly damaged, are serving today as army barracks. The field units in mass education and public health are so completely scattered that it is practically impossible to locate them. The work, the devotion, the resources, the strategic plans of Chinese leaders for a better China, have disappeared in an almost unprecedented cataclysm of violence.

"At the moment there is nothing further to report. The foundation still maintains its office in Shanghai. Whether there will be an opportunity to pick up the pieces of this broken program at some later date, no one can foretell."

(Source: The Rockefeller Foundation, 1940 annual report, pp. 273-277.)

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS

"The foundation continued its support of the national institute's experimental program of recruiting and training personnel for the Federal services by a grant of \$105,000 for the 3-year period from October 1, 1941. For the past 5 years, the program has involved the annual placement of approximately 50 graduate students preparing for public service careers, in agencies of the Federal Government for a year of practical apprenticeship. The institute also serves as a clearinghouse of information and as a liaison agency in matters relating to this recruitment and training program. Sixty percent of its "internes" are now in the Federal service; several are in State and local or other government services, and a number are continuing graduate study.

"The institute hopes to continue its program directed toward developing a more effective means of recruitment of persons for Government service, especially for its influence in improving the relations between the Federal authorities and the educational institutions of the country."

(Source: The Rockefeller Foundation, 1941 annual report.)

Pages 230-231:

INSTITUTIONAL GRANTS

"Council on Foreign Relations"

"Each study group consists of specialists in designated areas in the various problems to be dealt with. The program permits the continuous examination of events related to problems of special interests of this country, and the assembly and interpretation of research material. Each group works under the leadership of a rapporteur. A steering committee composed of the rapporteurs and the leading officers of the council is responsible for the general planning, the coordination of the activities of the groups, and the interchange of material and points of view.

"More than 250 memoranda on special subjects had been prepared before the end of 1941. These had been furnished to the Government services charged with handling the various questions discussed. Many representatives of these services had also participated in the discussion of the study groups."

"Foreign Policy Association"

"The former project is concerned primarily with the organization of educational work in relation to world problems, collaboration with colleges, schools, forums, women's clubs, youth groups, labor programs, agricultural clubs, etc. Its purpose is the preparation and distribution of educational material in the field of international affairs and the encouragement of discussion of such material. A special series of 'Headline Books,' published since 1935, is one aspect of the publication program. At least 15 titles have been added to the list over the past 3 years. Study materials which supplement these books are used by various groups throughout the country. Several of the 'Headline Books' have been translated into Spanish and distributed in South America.

"It is hoped to establish effective bases of cooperation with leading national organizations serving the cause of public education in the United States, and with Government agencies actively concerned with increasing general knowledge and understanding of problems of American foreign policy.

"In view of the current world situation, the Foreign Policy Association will concentrate its research during the coming year in three main fields: (1) Developments in the occupied countries of Europe; (2) political and economic trends in Latin America; and (3) problems of postwar reconstruction.

"In addition to its research activities, the association furnishes speakers to educational public policy organizations, arranges luncheon discussions, and conducts a series of broadcasts now distributed through 70 stations. Its Washington bureau collects firsthand information on current issues of American foreign policy. The association also maintain a Latin American Information Service, which published until the end of 1941 its biweekly Pan American News, furnishing background material on political and economic trends in Latin American countries."

* * * * *

Pages 233-234:

INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

"Yale University

"The institute, founded in 1935, had the following objectives: To promote basic research in international relations with particular attention to studies designed to clarify American foreign policy; to develop a broad and well-rounded program of education and training in international relations on both the undergraduate and graduate level; to evolve procedures of coordination and integration among the various social sciences in the analysis of international problems; and to aid in the postdoctoral training of younger scholars in the general field of international relations.

"The research program of the institute included many projects centering around problems of American foreign policy, but designed also to interpret the role of power in international affairs, and the relation of national policies to military policies and principles of grand strategy.

"Four major studies have been published and several others are nearing completion. Certain of the projects are being carried on in conjunction with Government departments. Among the specific subjects proposed for study are: Problems of national defense; United States and the future order of Europe; hemispheric unity; the geographic basis of foreign policy; and inter-American trade relations.

"The program of education has been closely coordinated with the research program. The projected program for the next few years will not represent any substantial change in policy. A combined social science approach will stress analytical rather than historical methods."

(Source: The Rockefeller Foundation, annual report for 1942.)
Pages 179-180:

THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

"Social Science Research Council

"Washington personnel office. Even before the United States entered the war, a vital need was felt in Washington for an agency to promote more effective utilization of social scientists. In the stress of the prewar emergency the National Government had recruited many thousands of persons trained in the social sciences; later, of course, the demand greatly increased.

"It was foreseen that unless the recruitment policies were integrated and wisely administered severe shortages would result and skilled talent would be squandered.

"After a careful study of the problem the Social Science Research Council set up an office in Washington to work in cooperation with Government agencies on three tasks: (1) Consulting with Government agencies on policies and methods of recruitment; (2) advising with individuals who wished to contribute their talents where they could be utilized most effectively; and (3) consulting with university officials regarding the temporary release of members of their faculties.

"The Council already had joined with other national scientific councils in promoting the roster of scientific and specialized personnel, but responsible officials felt that this was not enough. Now, the office which has been set up in Washington provides a place to which persons may turn for extragovernmental advice concerning social science problems. Similar services had earlier been provided for engineers and specialists in the various field of medical and natural sciences."

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Pages 181-182:

"Public Administration Committee

"The agencies through which society will seek to meet its diverse problems are multiform, and total effort, whether for defense or for the postwar world, will receive its primary direction through the agency of Government. For the past 7 years the foundation has supported the activities of the public administration committee, whose original objectives were to capture and record and lay the basis for the appraisal of measures initiated in the United States for grappling with the consequences of the worldwide social and technological changes that were taking place. The end objective was, if possible, to add to the store of principles of administration so that administrators who must make decisions might profit by recent and current experience.

"The committee formulated a series of major studies of two general types: (1) Administrative problems of new and emerging governmental activities; and (2) appraisal and review of significant developments in administration of the last 3 decades.

"More recently the committee has focused its resources and attention mainly on planning and stimulating rather than on executing research. A broadening of the program to include the field of government, with public administration as one sector is now contemplated. Such a program would deal less with the mechanics of administration than with the development of sound bases of policy determination and more effective relationships in the expanding governmental structure."

(Source: The Rockefeller Foundation, 1943 annual report, pp. 178-179:)

INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

"Council on Foreign Relations

"The war and peace studies project of the council was organized shortly after the outbreak of hostilities in 1939 for the purpose of furnishing such scholarly contributions to the work of the Government as an unofficial agency can make in wartime. Studies have centered around five main fields: strategy and armaments, economics and finance, political questions, territorial questions, and the peace aims of European nations. Since the inception of the project 541 memoranda have been sent to Washington dealing with subjects selected by both the council and the Government. The research is carried on by the study group method and the membership of these groups includes persons especially qualified by training and experience, both in Government service and out, as well as members of the council's research staff. The foundation has appropriated \$60,800 for the continuation of these studies in 1944. The interest which has been shown in these studies has led the council to arrange during the coming year for a wider distribution of various memoranda based on some of them, both inside the Government and to selected individuals in private organizations."

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Pages 186-187: "The grants in international relations were for the support of agencies devoted to studies, to teaching, to service to Government and to public and expert education. Collectively these grants assume that it is not possible to guarantee peace but that the way to work toward it is to strengthen 'the infinity of threads that bind peace together.' To that end the foundation made grants for the support of studies and related activities of the following institutions: Foreign Policy Association, Royal Institute of International Affairs (London), Swedish Institute of International Affairs (Stockholm), and the economic, financial, and transit department of the League of Nations. The importance to peace of our relations with, and an understanding of, Russia was reflected in two grants to Columbia University for the Russian institute of its School of International Affairs. The sum of \$60,000 was appropriated to the Council on Foreign Relations for the continuation of its war and peace studies. A special grant of \$152,000 was made to the Royal Institute of International Affairs for a history of the war and the peace settlement. The Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton received \$40,000 for a study of the problems of international civil aviation. Fifteen thousand dollars was granted to the Massachusetts Institute of Technology to aid in the development of a course in international relations for engineers."

(Source: The Rockefeller Foundation, 1945 annual report, pp. 183-189:)

INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

"Columbia University School of International Affairs, Russian institute"

"Increased efficiency and rapidity of transportation and communication have ended for this country the possibility of isolation, either as a physical fact or as a national policy. Those responsible for the management of the interests of the United States, whether in governmental or nongovernmental capacities, will of necessity be increasingly concerned with the institutions, mores and policies of other nations and peoples. There must therefore be developed with the United States a body of men and women with a broad understanding of international affairs who have in addition training as functional or regional specialists. Only a body of men and women so trained will provide a reservoir from which experts capable of handling the increasingly complex and intricate problems of international affairs can be drawn.

"For some time Columbia University has been exploring the desirability of establishing at the university a school of international affairs. The recommendation that such a school be created was made in 1945 and included the proposal for establishment of six institutes designed to develop special knowledge and understanding of certain of the so-called power and problem areas of the world. It is planned to assemble in these institutes groups of outstanding scholars who have specialized in specific geographical areas. The university suggests that a British Commonwealth institute, a French institute, a German institute, a Russian institute, an East Asian institute, and an institute of Latin American affairs be created. The Rockefeller Foundation has made a 5-year grant of \$250,000 to Columbia University toward the development of a Russian institute."

(Source: The Rockefeller Foundation, 1945 annual report, p. 199:)

UNITED NATIONS INFORMATION OFFICE, NEW YORK

"One of the elements vital to the future success of world cooperation is the immediate accessibility of the huge documentation of the United Nations conference in San Francisco, which, by an almost unprecedented action of the conference, was made available for prompt public examination and study. With respect to many crucial issues the really significant material is not the formal language of the articles of the Charter, but the interpretation contained in the reports and discussions of the various committees. The conference, however, had no means of publishing this material. The secretariat which staffed the conference ceased to exist at the closing of the conference. The new secretariat is dealing with the future rather than with the past. The United Nations Information Office, therefore, with the consent of the authorities of the conference, is publishing the official document of the conference in cooperation with the Library of Congress."

(Source: The Rockefeller Foundation, 1946 annual report:)

Pages 8-9: "The challenge of the future is to make this world one world—a world truly free to engage in common and constructive intellectual efforts that will serve the welfare of mankind everywhere."

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Pages 32-33: *"International relations:*

"The grants in this field went to agencies which conduct research and education designed to strengthen the foundations for a more enlightened public opinion and more consistent public policies. * * *"

"* * * This parallels the grant of \$152,000 made in 1945 to the Royal Institute to enable Arnold Toynbee to write a history of international relations from 1939 to 1949. An appropriation of \$300,000 was made to the food research institute of Stanford University for the preparation, in collaboration with experts from many countries, of a history and appraisal of the world's experience in handling food and agriculture during World War II. Another grant was for the purpose of assisting the United Nations information office to reproduce the documentation of the first General Assembly and Preparatory Commission of the United Nations. The Brookings Institution was given a fund which will enable Dr. Leo Pasvolsky, who was special assistant to the Secretary of State for International Organization and Security Affairs, to analyze the background of the development of the

United Nations organization and to initiate studies and educational conferences on the problems that are emerging in the functioning of our new international machinery. * * *

Page 40: "In this connection, mention might be made of the appropriations, voted in 1946, through the foundation's division of the social sciences, of \$233,000 to the Institute of Pacific Relations, \$60,000 of which went to the American Council and \$173,000 to the Pacific Council. Much of the work of this organization is related to the training of personnel, the stimulation of language study and the conduct of research on problems of the Far East. It is part of the pattern by which, from many different directions and points of view, efforts are being made to bring the West and the East into closer understanding."

Pages 182-183:

INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

"The Brookings Institution"

"The developing foreign policies of the United States as one of the major powers sharing world leadership are to be appraised under the new international-relations program of the Brookings Institution. Each of the studies is an integral part of a research plan geared to those international-relations problems with which the United States either is, or will be, concerned. This problem approach is intended to aid in formulating enlightened public opinion in training specialists in international affairs, and in aiding governmental agencies dealing with foreign relations. An annual seminar will endeavor to train specialists and aid teachers of international relations. A 1-year grant of \$75,000 was made by the foundation in support of this program.

"Two annual surveys will be published. One of these will examine American foreign policies, but with particular attention to the problems directly ahead and to the factors likely to determine their solution. The second survey will consider the foreign policies of other nations, especially the major powers, and how these are being harmonized through the United Nations and its related agencies.

"Five major studies are in progress: The United Nations Charter and its effect on the powers, duties, and functions of the U. N.; the foreign policy objectives of the five major powers; the general effectiveness of international organizations and conferences as methods of diplomacy; present-day factors making for economic war or for economic peace in international relations; and changes in international security concepts resulting from technological and strategic developments.

"Dr. Leo Pasvolosky, who has been in Government service since 1934, has now returned to the Brookings Institution as director of these studies."

Pages 190-191:

"Institute of Pacific Relations"

"The Institute of Pacific Relations, an unofficial international organization with a number of constituent national bodies or councils, aims to increase knowledge of economic, social, cultural, and political problems of the Pacific area. Training personnel, stimulating language teaching as well as curriculum attention to the Far East in general, and publishing research studies, are the institute's chief means of spreading knowledge. The distribution of educational materials to secondary schools and to the Armed Forces increased significantly during the past several years."

Pages 192-193:

United Nations Information Office, New York

"The importance of preventing possible serious misinterpretations of actions of international bodies due to unavailability of actual documents on transactions was recognized when the foundation early in 1946 appropriated \$16,177 to the United Nations Information Office, New York, toward the cost of reproducing the documentation of the Preparatory Commission in London and of the sessions of the First General Assembly of the United Nations Organization. Preparatory Commission documents were microfilmed in London and the film flown daily from the Interim Organization to the United Nations office in New York and reproduced here by photo-offset within 24 hours of their arrival. Fifty or sixty copies were sent to the Department of State and to key libraries throughout the country.

One thousand other copies were distributed to interested libraries, institutions, and societies, and an additional number provided for editorial writers, news commentators, and others. This appropriation was an emergency measure to permit the reproduction of these documents and their distribution as promptly as possible."

(Source: The Rockefeller Foundation, 1947 annual report, pp. 39-41, 43-44:)

APPROACHES TO PEACE

"Work which looks toward more adequate analysis and understanding of the issues in international relations continued to hold an important place in the grants made by the Rockefeller Foundation in 1947 in the field of the social sciences."

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"Meanwhile we cannot neglect the direct approach to the overwhelming crisis of our generation, and for its part the foundation has contributed substantial sums over the last decade to organizations and projects that are concerned with the issues of international relations. This policy was, of course, continued in 1947. For example, the sum of \$225,000 was given to Brookings Institution in support of its broad program of research and education in the field of foreign policy. This program, under the leadership of Dr. Leo Pasvolosky, involves, among other objectives, five basic studies:

- "(1) Origin and Interpretation of the United Nations Charter.
- "(2) Foreign Policy Objectives of the Major Powers.
- "(3) Influences Making for Economic War or Economic Peace in International Relations.
- "(4) New Concepts of International Security.
- "(5) International Organizations and Conferences as New Methods of Diplomacy.

"In addition, Brookings Institution, as part of its program in the training of specialists, has planned an annual 2-week seminar for about 100 teachers of international relations.

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"Still another appropriation—in the amount of \$75,000—was given for the creation of senior fellowships at the Russian institute of the School of International Affairs at Columbia University. The Russian institute, toward whose creation in 1945 the foundation contributed \$250,000, is without doubt the leading graduate school in the United States in the field of Russian studies. In addition to the Russian language, its basic curriculum provides: (1) A broad background and training in 5 disciplines (history, economy, law and government, international relations, and the social and ideological aspects of literature) as applied to Russia; (2) an intensive research training in one of these 5 disciplines elected by the student; and (3) fundamental graduate training in the broader aspects of this elected discipline.

"The senior fellowships will make it possible to bring to the institute for advanced training some of those persons who are now conducting instruction in Russian subjects in other universities, thus enabling them to broaden their equipment and develop their effectiveness in Russian research.

"Other grants by the foundation in 1947 in this general field of international relations include the following:

- "(1) The Royal Institute of International Affairs (\$50,625)—a supplement to an earlier grant toward Prof. Arnold J. Toynbee's study of the history of the war and of the peace settlement.
- "(2) Commission of the Churches on International Affairs (\$15,000)—for preparations for conferences on the role of churches in international relations.
- "(3) Johns Hopkins University (\$37,400)—for a study of the trends and forces which affect the United States in its international relations.
- "(4) Netherlands Institute of International Affairs (\$25,000)—for a broadly based European conference on the economic and cultural aspects of the German problem.
- "(5) Council on Foreign Relations (\$60,000)—for general support.

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THE HUMANITIES IN SPACE

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"The range and variety of grants of this type made during 1947 may be briefly indicated. The American Council of Learned Societies received \$12,000 for the work of its committee on Near Eastern studies, \$25,000 for the translation into English of important Russian works, and \$100,000 to augment the supply of materials needed for teaching and research on Slavic studies; the University of Pennsylvania, \$60,000 for the development of studies of modern India; the University of Washington, \$150,000 for studies of the Far East; Yale University, \$25,000 toward the support of a group of advanced students of the Far East; the University of California, \$30,000 to develop intensive instruction in Slavic and Far Eastern languages, and \$100,000 for the development of junior personnel in Slavic studies; Columbia University, \$25,000, likewise for Slavic studies; Indiana University, \$27,500 for the development of studies of Eastern Europe, principally Finland and Hungary."

Pages 189-190:

THE FUNCTIONING OF AMERICAN POLITICAL DEMOCRACY

"Pacific Coast Board of Inter-Governmental Relations"

"The foundation gave its support in 1947 to a pioneering educational experiment in intergovernmental relationships at the working level. On the Pacific coast the Governors of Washington, Oregon, and California, the chairman of the 3 State Leagues of Cities and State Associations of County Commissioners, and the coast regional chiefs of 11 Federal agencies, have created a Board of Inter-governmental Relations. The board aims to improve and coordinate government through meetings for the discussion of common problems, and acts as a nonprofit association solely to inform its individual members, and through them the public, of general and current problems. It takes no action, directly or indirectly, which might be construed as carrying on propoganda, or otherwise attempting to influence legislation.

"Thus far every meeting has had virtually full attendance, from the three Governors down. Typical subjects discussed to date include Federal-State-local tax and fiscal relationships; division of welfare costs; forest development, conservation, and protection; educational programs for veterans and nonveterans; problems of minorities in metropolitan centers; employment and unemployment; public-works planning and timing; adequate housing programs; industrial re-conversion; availability of materials; and surplus property disposal."

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Pages 190-191:

"National Institute of Public Affairs"

"The National Institute of Public Affairs recruits from the immediate graduates of the colleges and universities in the country talent for administrative and management posts in the Government of the United States and other jurisdictions. Sponsored by a board of public-minded citizens and acting as a liaison unit between the colleges and universities and the Federal departments, it has completed the 12th year of its unique public service training program, under which 30 to 50 college graduates each year have been selected and given rotating assignments on a nonsalaried basis within Federal agencies. The institute provides intensive orientation, supervision, and a carefully planned program of reading, studies, and conferences with public officials.

"The foundation has supported this program since 1935. Maintenance for about half the interns is financed by funds or fellowships raised by various colleges or their alumni. Encouraging is the competition and career interest which the program stimulates on college campuses throughout the country; also the rapidity with which graduates of the institute have risen to positions of responsibility in public life:

"A natural complementary development, guided by the institute in its first stages is a parallel inservice training program, for selected personnel of some 15 Federal departments or agencies, which is now in its seventh 6-month session under a coordinator furnished by the Civil Service Commission. The departments of State, War, Navy, Commerce, and Agriculture, are supplementing this with coordinated programs of their own."

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INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Page 204-205: "There is an urgent and ever-increasing need in this country for basic information on the economic and political structure of the world and on the trends and forces which prevail and collide in various parts of the world and which affect the United States in its international relations. It is not enough to point out these trends and forces; it is essential to measure and weigh them.

"At Johns Hopkins University, Dr. W. S. Woytinsky has undertaken a piece of work which should help to answer this demand by giving an inclusive statistical picture of the different patterns of life of all nations of the globe and of the conditions in which they are facing the future. It will provide at least a partial background for discussion of such problems as the future of various races and continents; the fate of colonial empires; relations between industrial and agricultural nations; growth or decline of foreign trade; competition of raw materials, sources of energy, and means of transportation within the world economy; and conditions of world prosperity and peace. The work goes beyond the simple source book of statistics of international interest, in that these statistics are selected and organized with reference to specific problems of international importance. The resulting volume, *America in the Changing World*, should be valuable in promoting a better understanding of statistics, not as a mathematical discipline but as quantitative thinking on human affairs. The Rockefeller Foundation is supporting this project with a 3-year appropriation of \$37,400."

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Council on Foreign Relations

Page 205:

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"The role of conflicting ideologies in foreign affairs is under discussion in a study group which the council has recently initiated on public opinion and foreign policy. The central problem of the group concerns the proper function of propaganda in the conduct of foreign affairs. Progress has been made on another study, the problem of Germany, which is financed by a special grant from the Rockefeller Foundation. The Netherlands Institute of International Affairs invited the Council on Foreign Relations to participate in this study, which is being undertaken on an international basis."

(Source: The Rockefeller Foundation, 1948 annual report:)

FOUNDATION POLICIES

Pages 8-9:

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"In general the policy of the foundation and, with occasional exceptions, its practice have conformed to the following principles: (1) The support of the foundation should be directed to purposes for which it is otherwise difficult to secure funds; (2) the support should be of an initial or catalytic character, with the idea that what has been demonstrated to be useful should then be carried on by other means; (3) current and palliative types of philanthropy should accordingly be left to others, not because they are unimportant, but because the needs they encompass are more generally recognized. Furthermore, the resources of this foundation, and indeed of all similar foundations combined, are insignificant in relation to such needs."

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Page 243:

Columbia University Far Eastern Studies

"Without question east Asia will remain for a long time to come one of the great problem areas of the world. The United States has need of specialists who possess at once high technical competence in the social sciences and a knowledge of the languages and cultures of the area. Looking toward the establishment of a research institute in the east Asian field, the school of international affairs at Columbia University has started a program of Far Eastern studies through the various social-science departments. Owing to recent expansion in the fields of Chinese and Japanese languages, literature, and history, Columbia has a firm foundation for these studies. The aim at present

is to promote a similar expansion in the social sciences, in order to provide advanced training in economics, political science, and social analysis as related to China and Japan. * * *

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 Pages 247-248:

United Nations Economic Commission for Europe—Training Scholarships

"The United Nations Economic Commission for Europe has received a grant of \$12,000 from the Rockefeller Foundation to provide social-science scholarships for selected European students.

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 "An operational body which deals with virtually all aspects of European recovery and development, the Commission has attracted to its staff an international group of competent economists. These men can offer promising graduate students an introduction to the international approach to economic problems while they are acquiring first-hand knowledge of applied economics. The Research and Planning Division, headed by Mr. Nicholas Kalder, formerly of the London School of Economics, carries on work which is closely linked with the technical economic problems encountered in the operational activities of the Commission. Dr. Gunnar Myrdal, of Sweden, Executive Secretary of the Commission, has established a special committee to administer the program."

(Source: The Rockefeller Foundation, 1949 annual report:)

PRESIDENT'S REVIEW

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 Page 5-7: "The deeply disturbed political situation now prevailing in a large part of the world has had the effect of considerably curtailing the worldwide and international scope of foundation programs. Profound political changes have prevented the foundation from operating in several countries in which it was formerly active. These countries include Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and China. During the past year the far-eastern office of the international health division of the Rockefeller Foundation was moved from Shanghai to Macao and then to Bangalore, India. All personnel were withdrawn from China, and a malaria project under way in the island of Formosa was transferred to Government auspices.

"Monetarily speaking, this is an age of huge financial operations. In the United States large funds, chiefly governmental, are available even in the relatively restricted field of research and fellowships. This has brought about a sharp awareness of the discrepancy between the resources of any privately endowed philanthropic organization, such as the Rockefeller Foundation, and the magnitude of funds needed today for large-scale research or educational enterprises.

"Until recently the Rockefeller Foundation was a principal source of funds for foreign student fellowships at the advanced level. Today, as shown by the United Nations educational, scientific, and cultural organization handbook of available fellowships, Study Abroad, appointments made annually by the foundation constitute hardly 2 percent of the 15,070 comparable awards now offered, 62.5 percent of them by Government agencies. It has been calculated that in 1913, when there were about 900 institutions of higher education in the United States, the appropriations of the General Education Board and of the Carnegie Corp., the 2 principal foundations at that time, represented more than 15 percent of the current income of all higher educational institutions. In other words, these philanthropic resources were fairly large in relation to the activities with which they were concerned, and they were not unsubstantial even with reference to public primary and secondary education.

"As things stand now, the income of the Rockefeller Foundation, the General Education Board, and the Carnegie Corp. covers less than 1 percent of the budgetary needs of the 1,800 institutions now ministering to higher education. Indeed, the annual expenditures of all foundations, even though roughly \$100 million, are insignificant in relation to public and private funds now needed and now available for education, scientific research, and scholarly activities.

"In the light of these changed conditions I propose to devote part of this review to a brief discussion of Rockefeller Foundation techniques in giving and in cooperating with other agencies and other countries. It is hoped that some light may be shed on the comparatively modest, yet significant, role that can

still be played under present world conditions by a privately endowed philanthropic organization."

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Pages 253-254:

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

"Council on Foreign Relations:

"The Rockefeller Foundation in 1949 appropriated \$50,000 to the Council on Foreign Relations, New York, for an organized study of problems of aid to Europe in its broadest aspects. The European recovery program of the United States has a significance for our future prosperity and security so great as to challenge the best efforts of private citizens as well as those in public office. The Economic Cooperation Administration (ECA) believed that it would be of great value to the Government and to the public at large to have an appraisal of the European situation by a group of competent private persons free from the pressure of day-to-day decisions and unhampered by governmental procedures or the considerations of practical politics.

"Upon the invitation of the ECA, the council organized a group of leaders in the fields of economics, politics, and military strategy under the chairmanship of Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower. At its monthly meetings this group has carefully examined the aims of American foreign policy with respect to Western Europe and has assessed the means—economic, political, and military—for achieving those aims. Special attention has been given to the continuing interests of this country, as opposed to urgent expediencies of today and tomorrow, and to the relation between current measures of policy and the attainment of long-term goals. Close liaison has been maintained with ECA and with other Federal agencies and departments, but the group has functioned independently of the Government.

"Conclusions will be presented in the form of memoranda to responsible Government officials. Nonrestricted information is to be released to the general public by means of articles or pamphlets in order to help the public understand and judge the measures which it will be asked to endorse and carry out. In addition, it is hoped to issue a major publication or series of publications on the operations, effects, shortcomings, and interrelations of United States aid to Europe under ECA and under the provisions of military lend-lease.

"To assist the group the council has provided a full-time research staff of experts in the various fields of study, headed by Prof. Howard Ellis of the University of California. Under the guidance of the study commission the research staff gathers facts and data for the discussion meetings and prepares memoranda on assigned topics. The council also furnishes library and clerical assistance. The study group is serving on a voluntary basis. The Rockefeller Foundation's grant is to cover salaries and expenses of the research staff."

"Institute of Pacific Relations

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Page 256-257: "The eleventh conference will convene in 1950 in India and will discuss recent political and economic trends in the Far East and their consequences for the Western World. Preparation for the conference is a part of the research program of the Pacific council, which is responsible for writing up the data papers which give the members of the conference the background information they need for the discussions. Some of these papers, such as those on the Chinese Communist movement, nationalism and communism in Burma, postwar development of Indian capitalist enterprise, the development of political parties in Japan and the international effects of the withdrawal of western power from the Far East, are of wide interest. In order to enable the institute to strengthen its conference and educational activities at a critical time in Far Eastern relations, the foundation in 1949 made a supplementary grant of \$25,000, available until the end of March 1950. Of this, approximately \$14,000 is to augment the research function of the Pacific council and \$11,000 toward the expenses of 1950 conference."

(Source: The Rockefeller Foundation, 1950 annual report:)

"Brookings Institution

Page 208-209: "The 10 yearly issues contain research on the immediate issues to be faced by foreign policymakers. Additional publications put out under the new program include a series of individual analyses on long-range problems. Recent studies in this group have been on the International Trade Organization as an instrument of American economic foreign policy, the United States and peace settlements, and a history of the United Nations Charter. In order that the values of this problem approach may be extended to Government leaders, educators, and businessmen, the Brookings Institution now holds an annual 2-week seminar on Problems of United States Foreign Policy. Seminars have already been held at Dartmouth College, Stanford University, Lake Forest College, and the University of Denver, with over a hundred persons attending each one."

Pages 209-210:

"Foreign Policy Association"

"The Foreign Policy Association was created in 1918 for the purpose of carrying on 'research and education activities to aid in the understanding and constructive development of American foreign policy.' As the role of the United States has expanded in the international sphere, the association has undertaken to explain this role and its implications to an ever-increasing number of Americans. Thirty-two branch organizations have been organized in large cities throughout the country. Through the activities of these branches there have been organized local and national conferences, and a widespread educational program with frequent use made of radio and television. The three publications of the Foreign Policy Association, available to the general public, schools, organizations, and Government agencies, are a weekly foreign policy bulletin, which covers current issues, the foreign policy reports, published twice monthly, which discuss at some length pressing international issues and the popular *Headline Books*, with details on problems of importance to Americans and to the world."

(Source: The Rockefeller Foundation, 1951 annual report:)

Pages 68, 69, 70:

THE INTERNATIONAL SCENE

"With the enigma of Russian intentions still the top problem in world politics, the Russian Institute of Columbia University's School of International Affairs continues to be a key center for research and training in this field. Its 2-year course, requiring familiarity with the Russian language and providing intensive postgraduate instruction in the history, economics, law, politics, and culture of Russia, has in 5 years supplied the United States Army, the Department of State, and other Government services with more than 100 trained men. Staff members are frequently called on to lecture at the National War College, the Air War College, and outside universities. Earlier grants for the institute, which was established in 1946, totaled \$362,000; and in 1950 the foundation appropriated an additional \$420,000 toward support over a 5-year period.

"A postwar development of the Brookings Institution is its international studies group, organized in 1946 for research, education, and publication on questions of American foreign policy. Directed by Dr. Leo Pasvolosky and using a technique which is called 'the problem method,' the group has held 10 seminars in various parts of the United States for university teachers, advanced students, Government administrators, and journalists. To date some 800 university professors have shared in foreign policy analysis through participation in these seminars. Research activities are reflected in a number of books, notably in the annual *Major Problems of United States Foreign Policy*, which has been adopted as a textbook at West Point, Annapolis, and various universities and colleges. A projected study which is now in the planning stage will analyze the basic framework of international relations, including the fundamental concepts and objectives of the major nations, patterns of economic behavior, political attitudes in international relations, the channels and instrumentalities of national action, and in general the whole pattern of internal and external factors which condition the international scene. Since the international studies group began 6 years ago, the foundation has appropriated \$480,000 toward its program, including \$180,000 in 1950."

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Pages 355-356:

"United Nations Economic Commission for Europe

Long-run tendencies in the European economy:

"In connection with its overall program on postwar recovery, the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe (ECE) in 1949 asked Prof. Ingvar Svennilson, the Swedish economist, to undertake a study of long-run trends in the European economy. Professor Svennilson and a staff of assistants at Geneva are now nearing the end of this work. It is essentially a survey of trends in the European economy for the years 1913-50, with emphasis on population, industrialization, manpower, and production, the influence of foreign trade on production and the important factors contributing to economic growth in Europe.

"The Rockefeller Foundation appropriated \$50,000 to the Economic Commission for Europe when Professor Svennilson began this work in 1949; in 1951 the foundation made a 1-year grant of \$23,725 for expenses in connection with the completion of the survey. The United Nations intends to publish the findings."

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Page 359:

*"Public Administration Clearing House
Consultant for Japan.*

"Throughout the period of allied occupation of Japan there has been an effort to shift the emphasis of the Japanese governmental organization from a highly centralized bureaucratic control system to a more widely diffused pattern, with large areas of self-determination in local matters delegated to prefectures, cities, towns, and villages.

"One group in Japan which is sponsoring the spread of this movement is the recently organized Japan Public Administration Clearing House. All three levels of local government are represented in this group, which is made up of delegates from the Tokyo Bureau of Municipal Research and the national associations of prefectural governors, prefectural assembly chairmen, municipal mayors, city assembly chairmen, town and village mayors, and town and village assembly chairmen.

"Assistance was offered to the new organization by the Public Administration Clearing House of Chicago. With a grant of \$10,740 from the Rockefeller Foundation, the Chicago Public Administration Clearing House arranged to send a consultant to Japan and to make its official resources available to the group in Japan."

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(Source: The Story of the Rockefeller Foundation, by Raymond B. Fosdick.)

Pages 283-284:

"As we have already seen in earlier chapters, the example of Rose and Pearce in developing their programs on a worldwide basis was eagerly followed by the other divisions of the foundation as they began their activities after the reorganization of 1928. The details of many of these activities have already been considered; in all cases they were motivated by the single phrase in the charter: 'the well-being of mankind throughout the world'; and they were predicated on the conception that civilization and the intellectual life of men represent a co-operative achievement, and that the experience of the race can be pooled for the common good. It is an ironic circumstance that this objective should have had to run the gauntlet of two world wars with their hideous aftermaths, when behind closed frontiers, rigidly sealed off from contact with the ideas and opinions of other nations, vast populations have suffered from mental undernourishment and starvation. Intellectual malnutrition can be as stunting to human life and character as the absence of calories and vitamins. The influences that in normal times flow freely across boundary lines, the uninhibited stream of ideas coming from all corners of the world, are, in this modern society of ours, a corrective and stabilizing factor in the lives of men, bringing strength and fertility to soils that would otherwise become sterile and dry. 'Speech is civilization itself,' says Thomas Mann. 'The word, even the most contradictory word, preserve contact—it is silence that isolates.'"

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Page 297:

"A foundation with wide and intimate contacts can perform a useful function in serving as an unofficial clearinghouse for ideas and plans in many fields. Certainly this has been true of the Rockefeller Foundation. Its officers are in continual touch with promising developments and personnel around the world. The most effective projects it has supported have been developed in the field. These projects have come from close acquaintance with scientists and laboratories, from days and weeks spent on university campuses, from hard journeys on horseback and riverboat to discover the breeding places of disease or the prospects for a new type of corn. The officers thus develop a point of view that is both cumulative and comparative.

"Consequently, the foundation has become a center to which research students and universities turn for information; and much of the time of the officers is spent, not on questions of financial support, but in discussing with eager inquirers the developments in their fields in other institutions and in other countries. As the late President Keppel of the Carnegie Corp. said: 'Much of what one university learns about another is learned in foundation offices.'"

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