

## TAX-EXEMPT FOUNDATIONS

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 25, 1952

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
SELECT COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE TAX-EXEMPT  
FOUNDATIONS AND COMPARABLE ORGANIZATIONS,  
*Washington, D. C.*

The select committee met, pursuant to recess, at 10:10 a. m., in room 1301, New House Office Building, the Honorable Brooks Hays presiding.

Present: Representatives Cox (chairman), Hays (presiding), O'Toole, Forand, and Simpson.

Also present: Harold M. Keele, counsel to the committee.

Mr. HAYS. Dr. Hutchins, will you take the witness stand, please? The committee will be in order. Our first witness this morning is Dr. Robert M. Hutchins, of the Ford Foundation, former president of the University of Chicago.

Dr. HUTCHINS. The committee is very happy to have you, sir.

Mr. HUTCHINS. Thank you.

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Keele will you direct the examination, unless you have a prepared statement which you want to give.

Mr. HUTCHINS. No, sir.

Mr. KEELE. Dr. Hutchins, first for the record, will you give your name, place of residence, and your present position or occupation?

### STATEMENT OF ROBERT M. HUTCHINS, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR OF THE FORD FOUNDATION

Mr. HUTCHINS. My name is Robert M. Hutchins. I live in San Marino, Calif. I am an associate director of the Ford Foundation.

Mr. KEELE. How long have you been with the Ford Foundation, Dr. Hutchins?

Mr. HUTCHINS. Since January 1, 1951.

Mr. KEELE. And prior to that time what was your business or occupation or profession?

Mr. HUTCHINS. Before that I was chancellor of the University of Chicago.

Mr. KEELE. And prior to that time you had been president of the University of Chicago; had you not?

Mr. HUTCHINS. Yes, sir.

Mr. KEELE. How long were you at the University of Chicago either as president or chancellor?

Mr. HUTCHINS. Twenty-two years.

Mr. KEELE. And prior to that time, if we may go back a bit, what were you doing?

Mr. HUTCHINS. Well, perhaps I should begin with 1924. On January 1, 1923, I became secretary of Yale University. I then became dean of the Law School of Yale University and held that position until 1929.

Mr. KEELE. And at that time you went to the University of Chicago, shortly after that time?

Mr. HUTCHINS. Yes.

Mr. KEELE. Dr. Hutchins, what persuaded you or motivated you in going to the Ford Foundation in the capacity in which you are now serving it?

Mr. HUTCHINS. I read the trustees' report. It seemed to me a historic document. It seemed to me to deal with a great many of the things in which I had been interested.

I had known Mr. Hoffman for many years in his capacity as trustee of the University of Chicago. I had great admiration and affection for him. I knew some of the trustees.

I had a long conversation with Mr. Ford—at which Mr. Hoffman was present—at which Mr. Ford indicated that he wanted to do what the world required, instead of doing what was popular or what would not be criticized, and it seemed to me that here was an opportunity in the general fields in which I had been interested that exceeded anything offered by a single institution at that date.

I had been attempting for a great many years to effect what I regarded as improvements in education, by preaching and by demonstration. I had come to the conclusion that neither of these was very effective, at least not in my case; and I thought that, by becoming associated with an organization that was free to act as a catalytic agent over the whole field of education and in related activities, I might be able to make a more significant contribution than I felt, at least after 22 years, I was able to make at the University of Chicago.

As you know, being the chief executive officer of a university is not the easiest position in the world. For one thing, you have to spend all your time trying to get money from foundations.

Mr. KEELE. So, you decided to reverse the position where you would be on the giving rather than the asking end; is that it?

Mr. HUTCHINS. Yes.

Mr. KEELE. What is your particular field of activity with the Ford Foundation, Dr. Hutchins?

Mr. HUTCHINS. I am generally responsible for education, for cultural activities, and what might be called humanitarian activities, such as whatever we do in the field of attempting to assist refugees.

Mr. KEELE. Now, would you tell us something of how a project which the Ford Foundation enters into in the educational field is begun, its inception, shall we say, or genesis, and how it finally is implemented by the foundation? I mean trace for us, if you will; take some example of an educational project and explain to us the processes through which it goes in the foundation.

Mr. HUTCHINS. Perhaps I might refer to Mr. Hoffman's testimony yesterday. Mr. Hoffman pointed out that when we took office in January of 1951 it was plain to us that we could not discharge our responsibilities efficiently if we tried to cover the whole field of education ourselves. We therefore created the two funds, the Fund for the Advancement of Education and the Fund for Adult Education.

And almost all our educational activities are channeled through one or the other of these two organizations. What happens then is that either from outside or from inside the foundation an idea gets generated. This idea, if it is a very important program, will be discussed with me by the president of the Fund for the Advancement of Education or by the president of the Fund for Adult Education.

If he still thinks it is a good idea, even though I may not think it is a very good idea, he is likely to take it up with his own group, his own board.

He will converse with me almost daily during this process, but the decision has to be his, and it has to be that of his own board, and his board will then make the recommendation to the Ford Foundation.

The recommendation that will be made to the Ford Foundation will not be in very specific terms; that is, they will come to us at the February meeting of our board with a general program for the year, in which they will indicate the kinds of things that they want to do, with some general idea of what they will cost.

But the specific projects that are within that general framework are determined exclusively by them, and my relation to the fund is that of an adviser or liaison officer between them and the Ford Foundation.

Mr. KEELE. Without getting to specific examples, have there been occasions where you differed in your judgment on policies submitted by either of the funds, for the advancement of teaching or for adult education?

Mr. HUTCHINS. There have been a number of occasions on which I have not been as enthusiastic about some of the proposals of the two funds as they have been themselves.

Mr. KEELE. What I am really getting at is this: Are you able, if you choose, to impose your ideas as opposed to the ideas perhaps of other directors or of the directors of the fund? I refer to the Fund for Advancement of Education and the Fund for Adult Education. Are you able to impose your ideas contrary to their views?

Mr. HUTCHINS. They are independent corporations. They have independent boards. We could not expect to retain them in connection with us—and we value the connection very highly—if they were not in fact independent.

My relations with the presidents and officers of the funds, and with such directors as I know, are close and cordial, but they do not hesitate, I assure you, to follow a line of their own.

I have never felt that their proposals were such that I could not concur in their eventual development. These are differences of emphasis rather than anything else. There are some things I would rather have done first perhaps, but the decision of these boards as to the general program has to have tremendous weight with us because we regard their cooperation with us as of the first importance.

Mr. KEELE. Now, who is the president of the Fund for the Advancement of Education?

Mr. HUTCHINS. The president of the Fund for the Advancement of Education is Clarence H. Faust, who was, after being active president of Stanford, the dean of the humanities and sciences at Stanford University.

Mr. KEELE. And had he ever been at the University of Chicago?

Mr. HUTCHINS. He had been dean of the college and later dean of the Graduate Library School at the University of Chicago.

Mr. KEELE. And to what extent did you influence, if you know, the selection of Dr. Faust?

Mr. HUTCHINS. I nominated Mr. Faust. Mr. Hoffman and Mr. Chester Davis, who was then the only other associate director, met with Mr. Faust. We asked Mr. Faust to come into the service of the foundation as a consultant to us.

When the board of directors of the Fund for the Advancement of Education was established, we suggested to the board, though they were entirely free to select whatever executive officer they wished, that Mr. Faust was a consultant to the foundation and would be available as an executive officer to the fund, if the board desired.

We pointed out, if they did not want to employ him as their president, we should be glad to have him continue as a consultant to the foundation. They decided to select Mr. Faust.

Mr. KEELE. What is Dr. Eurich's position in the fund, Doctor?

Mr. HUTCHINS. Mr. Eurich is the vice president of the Fund for the Advancement of Education. He is located in New York. Mr. Faust is located in Pasadena.

Mr. KEELE. And I assume you had something to do with Mr. Eurich's appointment or employment.

Mr. HUTCHINS. I was very happy to concur in Mr. Eurich's employment when it was suggested by Mr. Faust, because I had many times made fruitless efforts to engage Mr. Eurich as an officer of the University of Chicago.

Mr. KEELE. The point I am moving toward, as it must be perfectly obvious to you, is whether or not through the selection of these men—whom I assume at least see pretty much eye to eye with you on educational policy—whether you have been able to exert a very considerable influence on the educational policies of the Ford Foundation.

Mr. HUTCHINS. Of course, I would not have left the University of Chicago if I had not thought that I might have some influence in my field in the foundation. I suppose the real question is, if there is a question, whether my influence is undue.

It would be very difficult for me to exert undue influence in the foundation in the sense of putting over an educational program that I had in mind, when my associates did not approve of it. In the first place, I have to convince the other associate directors. I have to convince Mr. Hoffman. I would have to convince the officers of the independent funds.

They would have to convince their boards of directors, and their boards of directors would have to convince our board of trustees.

I would suppose that somewhere in this process any undue or malevolent influence that I was seeking to exert would be thwarted, and I am not aware that an examination of the educational program of the foundation will show any particular identity between the things for which I have stood in education and the program of the foundation.

For example, the most notable venture of the fund for adult education is the \$5,000,000 that has been put by that fund into helping some of the communities that have received educational channels, the allocation of 242 educational channels, in helping some of those communities to get started with educational stations.

One thing that nobody knows is how are educational stations to be supported. It is a wonderful thing to have these allocations, but where is the money to come from?

Mr. SIMPSON. Educational what?

Mr. HUTCHINS. Educational television stations. There are 242 channels that have been allocated to educational institutions or allocated for educational institutions or allocated for educational purposes by the FCC.

Question: How are they to be supported?

I have never had at any time in my life any particular relationship, so this can hardly be called an idea of mine. Perhaps it is worth while to point out the general program of the Fund for the Advancement of Education and the Fund for Adult Education, to point out what that is.

It is not to try to invent bright ideas of our own. It is to find those points in education on which many people agree, but where for some reason or other they are unable to move. Let's take the question of the waste in the educational system.

I think that educators would generally agree that, in the process of going from the elementary school to the Ph. D. degree, 2 to 4 years' time is lost. Mr. Eliot of Harvard, Mr. Lowell of Harvard, in almost every annual report hit this point time and time again, but it is very difficult to move the educational system.

The Fund for the Advancement of Education then says, "Well, let's try it," and so they made available scholarships to students in institutions that were interested in trying, to find out what would happen if 16½-year-olds were admitted to college.

They then tried it with three other different approaches, so that the Fund for the Advancement of Education at the present time has four experiments going on this question of why is it that so much time appears to be wasted in the American educational system.

Well, it is true that I was interested in that problem at Chicago and tried to develop, take some steps, in the direction of solving it, but it is also true that almost everybody else who was ever in education has thought about it and tried to work on it.

Take the question of the education of college teachers. The one thing we know, everybody knows, is that the Ph. D., which is now required of all college teachers if they want to get anywhere in the profession, has no relation whatever to the capacity of being a teacher, has no relation whatever to the duties that the teachers in most colleges have to perform.

Mr. KEELE. Why is that, Dr. Hutchins?

Mr. HUTCHINS. It is tradition. It is part of the natural effort to upgrade the profession, and what happens is that these efforts to upgrade the profession get crystallized and you get an institutional form that becomes permanent when the need for it has passed away, and it is there as a sort of vestigial remain in the educational system.

It is like accreditation. The accreditation of colleges was a very necessary thing in this country because there were a lot of fly-by-night profit-making institutions. You started the process of accreditation for this laudable purpose, and you end up today with 300 independent accrediting agencies descending on every college and university in this country every year. It is an intolerable situation.

So, the Ph. D., which was designed to get professors interested, young people interested in research, then became a union card for teaching in college, with the result that the college teacher is not prepared to do the kind of work that is required of him in his profession.

Well, everybody knows this. Everybody has been worried about it. The Fund for the Advancement of Education decided to try to do something about it, and consequently you have such experiments as are being conducted at Arkansas, at Cornell, at Harvard, with funds that have been supplied by the Fund for the Advancement of Education.

I call your attention to two points. First, that the attempt on the part of the fund has been to find where there are crucial problems that many people are concerned about, to get the advice of all these people on what should be done, and then to move in, not with one ready-made solution but with several approaches to each problem, asking only in each case: Is there a reasonable chance of success?

Mr. KEELE. In other words, there is nothing particularly revolutionary in what you are attempting to do. It is merely trying to find the techniques for solving problems everyone recognizes.

Mr. HUTCHINS. I think it is a good deal like the business of trying to make sense out of a university, let us say. The institution is established with a certain purpose. It grows sometimes in terms of public pressure, sometimes in terms of the interest of the staff or the administration; but, as it goes along people die who were the excuse for the institution having certain courses.

The courses go on even though the man for whom they were instituted has disappeared, and in the institution you will find that there are a great many people who would like in some way to break out of this framework that time has built up, but they don't know how to do it.

Now, the task of educational administration then is not to come in and say, "You have got to do this or you will be fired." The task is to develop the ideas of this group and get the institution into a position that can be defended as rational.

No university president, whatever may be thought about university presidents, has any power. At Chicago, for example, I could not institute a course of study. I could not appoint a professor. I could not fire a professor.

Naturally, I was the employee of my board of trustees. The task of a university president then is to try to generate within its own group the means toward the development, evolution, and if necessary, the reformation of his institution.

Mr. O'TOOLE. I was interested, Doctor, in what you were saying about the Ph. D.'s being a sort of union card. Perhaps you have testified before I came here, perhaps you haven't, as to what is the origin, if you know, of this Ph. D. degree.

How was it inaugurated? Have you any idea? The reason I ask that—to me it is doctor of philosophy, and yet I noticed that last year the thesis of one man at Yale was on professional baseball. It sort of confuses me with the title of the degree.

Mr. HUTCHINS. I met a man in Berkeley 2 weeks ago who had a Ph. D. in driver education. This is quite inevitable, by the way. Driver education is required in the schools of California. If you have

something required in the schools of California, the teachers must be trained for it in the University of California. If a teacher is going to be a teacher in the University of California, he must have the Ph. D. And if he is to have the Ph. D., he must have it in his subject. Therefore he must have a Ph. D. in driver education.

The American university as it exists today was imported from imperial Germany. There the highest research degree was the Ph. D., doctor of philosophy, because all research in the German university was under the faculty of philosophy. Consequently, when you began research in this country—and the Ph. D. degree was originally a research degree—the letters were simply brought over here along with the program.

Mr. O'TOOLE. Does the doctor think that this Ph. D. cult is a sort of continuation of the hero worship of degrees that existed in Germany for many years?

Mr. HUTCHINS. I don't think we can blame that on the Germans.

Mr. O'TOOLE. No; I am not blaming them. I am saying it is a continuation of it.

Mr. HUTCHINS. The Americans and the Chinese have the greatest veneration for the degrees of any peoples in the world.

Mr. O'TOOLE. I am not very familiar with the Chinese. That is all.

Mr. SIMPSON. Mr. Chairman?

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Simpson.

Mr. SIMPSON. Doctor, when you were at the University of Chicago, you mentioned you could not hire, discharge, change courses, and so on, as you may have thought proper. Why? On account of the trustees, or what are the limitations on your power?

Mr. HUTCHINS. Under the bylaws and the statutes of the University of Chicago, the curriculum is committed to the faculty. The president is merely the presiding officer of the faculty.

If I could persuade the faculty to change the curriculum, that was within the law. If I could not, I was defeated.

Mr. SIMPSON. In what way, if at all, does your research work now tend to influence that situation?

Mr. HUTCHINS. You mean the work of the Ford Foundation?

Mr. SIMPSON. That is right.

Mr. HUTCHINS. The work of the Ford Foundation suggests to those who are in charge of any institution, either professors or administrators or trustees, the desirability or the opportunity of doing things that some group in the organization in the university had always wanted to do but could not find the means to do.

We recognize that one reason colleges and universities are slow to change is that they think they cannot afford it. Any change in a college or university might alienate the alumni, who are regarded as an important source of funds. They are not sure how it would affect the public, which is an important source of funds. You don't know whether your student fees will drop off if you change your program.

Now, if the Ford Foundation finds people in the college or university who would like to do something but are restrained for this reason, the fact that the foundation or one of the funds is willing to help may be the thing that will be decisive.

Mr. SIMPSON. But your funds are directed toward educating the people in areas far removed from the university. Do you anticipate

a public demand for a change in your methods? Do you think you can take them to the faculties and persuade them as to the wisdom of changing their methods, and, if so, are you putting enough money in it?

Mr. HUTCHINS. My point is that you will find throughout the educational system people who want to do something, and that those people, if they can be found and if they can be encouraged, will succeed in improving education. One of the arguments that is often decisive is the fact that the money will be available so that the institution will not suffer in the process of the experiment.

Mr. O'TOOLE. Just one more question. This may not be within the purview of this investigation, but it is something that has bothered me for a great deal of time.

As an educator perhaps you can answer it. Do the foundations of the colleges in this country make any distinction between intelligence, native intelligence, and education? I have noticed in my adult life that some of these men that possess a great number of degrees, including Ph. D.'s, many times are what I would term dumb "bunnies." Yet, I have met men who were almost illiterate who possessed a great degree or a high degree of intelligence, and I was wondering whether the schools and the foundation recognize this and whether any real serious effort is made to develop intelligence as compared to literate education.

Mr. HUTCHINS. I think, Mr. Chairman, that this might carry us into a discussion of the whole nature of American education. I will merely remark that I believe that the present situation in American education is the result of the very large numbers with which the American educational system has had to deal.

I believe that one of the most important contributions that America has made to the theory and practice of democracy is the doctrine of education for everybody. We are the only country in the world that has said this and meant it, and actually tried to do it. And you will recall that this process really got under way only 50 years ago.

Now, various peculiar devices have been developed in this process for marking the educational progress of the young. So many hours in class, no matter, really, what you did there, equal so many credits, and when you got to college, 120 semester hours in class, with an average of 65 on examinations given by the teacher who taught you, produced a degree, and you were pronounced an educated man.

This system has meant that there is no necessary connection or, shall I say, there is very little necessary connection between the degree of education that a man has achieved and the number of years that he has spent in the educational system.

Mr. O'TOOLE. It seems to me, Doctor—of course, I am completely uninitiated, but it seems to me from my observations—that we have in this country developed four, five, or maybe more cults of education, and each one of those cults relates to certain schools in certain areas, sometimes in the lower schools, sometimes in the higher schools.

But, wherever they have taken their place, there seems to be a tendency to dogmatically follow that cult, instead of an attempt being made to breed initiative that might develop intelligence. There is too much of a dogmatic worship of the cult itself, whether it is the Dewey school or any other school.



And I think, as I said before, in my uninitiated mind, untrained mind, that is one of the greatest dangers we have in our educational system today, this worship of a particular cult that the teachers have been brought up in themselves.

Mr. HUTCHINS. This is partly, of course, the result of what has to be called, I am afraid the philosophical failure of American education.

The trustees of the foundation in writing their report under which we operate, impose the obligation on us to clarify the goals of education, and the Fund for the Advancement of Education is now embarked in that effort.

I think if the underlying ideas of American education can be straightened out, that the kind of problem that you mentioned, which I agree is very serious and very widespread, may eventually be solved.

Mr. O'TOOLE. Doesn't the failure today to make philosophy the basis of higher education—do you believe that that failure has brought about a great number of minds in the educational field that are not disciplined?

Mr. HUTCHINS. I have to say that I have a very strong prejudice in that direction.

Mr. O'TOOLE. That is all, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. KEELE. Is the Arkansas experiment designed to, in part, rectify that situation?

Mr. HUTCHINS. The Arkansas experiment and the two or three other experiments in the education of teachers that the Fund for the Advancement of Education is carrying on, are all designed to find out how to get a teaching staff in the United States that is liberally educated itself.

I believe that some of these experiments are bound to succeed, and that they will have very far-reaching consequences in solving the problem that has been referred to.

Mr. O'TOOLE. May I interrupt at that point, Mr. Chairman.

You used the words—and I am not saying this in an endeavor to trip you up—"liberal education." Does the term "liberal education" today mean the same as it meant 40 or 50 years ago in education circles in this country?

Mr. HUTCHINS. That depends on what circles you are referring to. Many people would be satisfied, I think, with the notion that the colleges of this country, whatever they are, are engaged in liberal education. If a man has a bachelor's degree, he has liberal education. However, I don't take that view.

Mr. O'TOOLE. Perhaps I can make it a little more clear. When I was a boy a liberal education usually meant an education in the philosophies, in the arts, in the sciences. Is that term used in the same sense today?

Mr. HUTCHINS. I think people who are seriously interested—

Mr. O'TOOLE. Or is "liberal" used today in the political sense?

Mr. HUTCHINS. No. It is—

Mr. O'TOOLE. I am just asking.

Mr. HUTCHINS. The term "liberal education" in this country is never used for anybody in a political sense. Liberal education today—

Mr. O'TOOLE. I wouldn't say never in this country, if you heard some of the arguments before the board of education in the city of New York. You would find out it was in a political sense.

Mr. HUTCHINS. I will only say then that I have never heard it used in a political sense. People in education when they talk about liberal education mean generally nonvocational and nonprofessional education. Now, after you leave that point, the agreement stops. What should liberal education be, and not what should it not be. My own views on that subject are I think not worth going into here.

Mr. KEELE. Perhaps it might help if you would indicate the derivation of the word "liberal."

Mr. HUTCHINS. Liberal education is simply the education of a freeman, education appropriate to freedom. It has been developed in this country by those who are most seriously concerned with it, as the education that all American citizens should have, and in which they should continue to participate all their lives long. Hence the Fund for Adult Education was established by the Ford Foundation.

Mr. O'TOOLE. Who decides what education a freeman should have and which is proper?

Mr. HUTCHINS. That has to be argued out.

Mr. O'TOOLE. And then we have the cults.

Mr. HUTCHINS. Precisely. If you get the underlying philosophy classified, the problem becomes easier to solve. The Fund for Adult Education, for example, decided that it would concentrate on the liberal education of adults, a continuing liberal education of adults, and not on the vocational or professional training of adults.

Mr. HAYS. Why did you select Arkansas, Dr. Hutchins?

Mr. HUTCHINS. I am sure that you can state the glories of Arkansas better than I, so I will pass that reason.

To begin with, the lowest and most elementary reason, the laws governing the certification of teachers, regulations governing the certification of teachers in Arkansas, are much less inflexible than they are in other States. If a good idea can be developed, it can be put in practice in Arkansas much more rapidly than it can in other States.

Mr. O'TOOLE. Just like biology, you start with the primates.

Mr. HUTCHINS. In Arkansas, too, you had the president of the university and the educational interests in Arkansas eager to try an experiment of this kind, so the combination of the fact that there was a real interest in Arkansas, a real capacity in Arkansas, plus the fact that if you really had an idea you might be able to succeed in putting it into effect, plus the things that you know better about Arkansas than I, made Arkansas irresistible.

Mr. HAYS. That confirms the impression I had. We have taken some pride in Arkansas in the fact that we are a sort of proving ground.

We have been willing to try new ideas, and I think in various ways that I will not burden the record with reciting—"we have made a contribution." I think now that we have indulged our pride, we might turn to the attitude of humility.

We aren't the sort of super race that would make the results of that experiment have no value to the rest of the Americans. It is to some extent a typical American State with the devotion to American ideals that makes the results of that experiment valuable and significant in terms of total American life. Is that a fair statement?

Mr. HUTCHINS. That is correct.

Mr. KEELE. Is there anything bold or different, novel, in the Arkansas experiment, Dr. Hutchins; and if so, what?

Mr. HUTCHINS. The Arkansas experiment is novel in the sense that teachers are not customarily trained and certified in this country as they may eventually be trained and certified in Arkansas, if this experiment succeeds.

There has been for years, for a generation, profound dissatisfaction in many parts of the country with the education of teachers and the methods by which teachers have been certified to practice their profession.

The Arkansas experiment is not bold in the sense that it is something that nobody ever thought of or in the sense that we think there is the slightest danger that it will do any damage to the State of Arkansas or to anybody else. It is new only in the sense that it represents a departure from the established traditions of training and certifying teachers.

Mr. KEELE. There has been considerable criticism, has there not, leveled at the Arkansas experiment by various organizations in the educational field?

Mr. HUTCHINS. Yes.

Mr. KEELE. What is the crux or substance of that criticism?

Mr. HUTCHINS. Well, I think it would be improper of me to impute reasons that the critics do not themselves admit. Their reason is that they think that this will not be as good a way of preparing teachers as the one that is now in vogue.

From my long and painful experience in education, I think perhaps it is fair to add that whenever you are changing an institutional situation, the people who have spent their lives in that situation cannot be expected to be very enthusiastic about a major change. This is why any change in education is difficult as it is.

Mr. KEELE. Well, what objection could there be if it is merely an experiment, as you say? Why should it be opposed?

Mr. HUTCHINS. If you firmly believe that the existing situation is as perfect as any human institution can be, why then you are wasting time, wasting money, and toying with the lives of countless people, if you suggest any experiment.

Mr. KEELE. Will you tell us something of the way the Fund for Adult Education is going about its work?

Mr. HUTCHINS. The Fund for Adult Education, as Mr. Hoffman told you yesterday, a very distinguished board, a staff of its own.

The president is Mr. C. Scott Fletcher, who was formerly executive director of the Committee for Economic Development, and later president of Encyclopedia Britannica, Inc. They are attempting to assist groups in American communities who are interested in continuing liberal education, which they interpret roughly to mean a continuing discussion of important subjects.

They feel, I think, that community-discussion groups constitute a very important native American method of continuing the education of the citizen for his understanding of his affairs, American affairs, international affairs, and so on.

The fund has been interested in finding out in the first place what was going on in this field, and they spent a large part of the first year discovering what was going on in agriculture, in business, in labor, and so on.

They have decided to see whether actual demonstrations in 12 communities scattered over the country—by the way, one of the most

promising is in Little Rock, Mr. Hays, where a coordinator will be financed by the fund, and the fund will through the coordinator then seek to develop all the existing agencies in Little Rock and in the 11 other communities, with a view to seeing how much permanent impetus can be given to these various agencies.

The fund has also had to be interested in the media of adult education. As I say, their largest single activity has been in trying to guarantee that some of these educational television stations will get off the ground.

Five million dollars has been divided between assisting communities to get their stations built, and establishing a central program development point at which materials that they can use on the stations will be produced and distributed. In general, then, it is an effort to assist the American people, those American people, at least, who want to be assisted, to continue their liberal education through every device that modern technology now makes available.

Mr. HAYS. Now, right at that point, Dr. Hutchins, someone reading this report or the testimony in this hearing, and not being familiar with the congressional background and the conditions that produced it, might wonder why we have taken so much time with the Ford Foundation, and why we have gone into these explorations of purpose and so on.

I have listened to the statements here that were presented by Mr. Hoffman and Mr. Ford and Mr. Gaither and yourself. I am more convinced than I was when we began, when we decided to devote this much time to the Ford Foundation, that it was a wise decision.

I hope that we can interpret this study to the American people so that they will see that what we are really trying to do is to learn how to take this complicated modern life of ours and relate it to the educational problems.

In other words, it isn't to me some novel new idea, but a reflection of discontent about the failures of education to do what was originally intended in certain fields of American life. Would you agree in general with that statement?

Mr. HUTCHINS. I do entirely, Mr. Hays.

Mr. HAYS. In other words, it was the Jeffersonian idea that popular government would rest upon an educated populace, and unless that educated populace has this liberal education in the sense that they embrace spiritual values and have objectives that can be defined in spiritual and moral terms, then education works against popular government instead of for it.

Mr. HUTCHINS. That is correct.

Mr. HAYS. And the Ford Foundation seems to be just working with that very simple, basic fundamental idea. Now is that an oversimplification; or am I right fundamentally in interpreting what you all have told us?

Mr. HUTCHINS. I think you are entirely correct.

Mr. HAYS. I don't want to oversimplify it myself, but didn't President Garfield say that his idea of education was Mark Hopkins on one end of a log and a farm boy on the other?

Mr. HUTCHINS. Yes.

Mr. HAYS. We are not wanting the boy on the log. We want him in a sheltered place, but his idea was Mark Hopkins, a trained, well educated spiritual leader, drawing from that boy the good that was

in him and the potentialities and convincing the boy that the potentialities were there.

Mr. HUTCHINS. That is right.

Mr. HAYS. And all of these things that we do that look complicated and expensive are really just carrying out the dream of the founding fathers that education would make this a success, this experiment in free government.

Mr. HUTCHINS. That is correct, and if you have the tremendously rapid expansion that American education has undergone, the tremendous difficulties that are involved in having so many people in the educational system all at once, just think of the task of providing the buildings, to say nothing of providing a competent staff.

The results that have been achieved in this country are very remarkable, but in the process of physical expansion it has been almost impossible to keep in mind the purposes for which the whole institution exists, and to make sure that those purposes will actually be attended to in the educational system.

Now we look upon liberal education, education appropriate to freemen, as the central task of the educational system. We look upon it as the task in which every American citizen should be engaged all his life long, and it is to these purposes that the two educational funds of the Ford Foundation have been devoted.

Mr. HAYS. In terms of your own career, your own point of view—I hope you won't mind my reverting to some of your policies that drew attention and the kind of criticism, if you please, that Mr. Keele alluded to, because I feel that you are entitled to this forum to defend those things. I am sure the committee appreciated Mr. Hoffman's statement in speaking of why you were selected, in looking back over your own career.

I believe you stated that many of the things, most of the things, 90 percent, perhaps, he said, of the things you stood for, had worked out as you looked back over your educational leadership.

I wonder, for example, about football. Weren't you the first to advocate the abolishment of football in the University of Chicago, and didn't you carry out that idea?

Mr. O'TOOLE. If I had a team like he had in Chicago, I'd abolish it myself.

Mr. HUTCHINS. We had the only unsalaried team in the region.

Mr. O'TOOLE. Touché.

Mr. HUTCHINS. I first advocated taking the money out of football because I like the game myself, played it when I was a boy, like to watch it, but I did not see any relationship between industrial big-time football and higher education.

We might just as well have a racing stable. Jockeys could wear the university colors, and the horses wouldn't have to pass examinations.

I was interested in higher education, and at every stage this business of, "Well, did the football team win last Saturday," seemed to be the decisive factor in appraising the merits of my institution.

I was very glad, as has been suggested, that Michigan beat the University of Chicago 85 to nothing, because Michigan enabled me, that defeat enabled me, to recommend that the university discontinue its membership in the intercollegiate conference.

I was in favor then of such exercise in athletics as might be the normal accompaniment of undergraduate life, but I was not in favor of carrying this incubus on my back that prevented me at every point from developing education as I wished.

I am of the opinion that most university presidents would do the same if they were only able to get Michigan to defeat them 85 to nothing, and have some hope that their recommendation would be accepted.

The effect of the abolition of football, which I think took place about 10 years ago, was greatly to improve the quality of our student body, because it was then clear that the University of Chicago was an educational institution.

It was greatly to enhance the loyalty and enthusiasm of our alumni, which then became fixed on our scholarly excellence rather than on the numbers on the score board, and the public, after learning from the sports writers that it would be impossible to have a great university without a great football team, suddenly realized that in this point at least the sports writers were mistaken.

As Mr. Hoffman pointed out yesterday with regard to the foundation, a university, like a foundation, is a business without a balance sheet. There is a balance sheet, but it is of no importance in appraising the accomplishments of the institution.

The University of Chicago in the last year of my administration spent \$45 million. Well, suppose it had spent 20 or suppose it had spent 90, it is immaterial. The question is how you spend it.

But in this country education is not too well understood. We are always looking for a quantitative method of appraising an educational institution. How many students has it got? How much money has it got? And finally, what are the figures on the score board?

To get out of this general arena was a great personal consolation to me, and as it turned out, a great benefit to the University of Chicago.

Mr. HAYS. You are convinced of that?

Mr. HUTCHINS. There is no question about it.

Mr. HAYS. I assume that it took a certain amount of soul searching to begin with, the steps you took to improve the educational order in the field in which you were responsible.

Mr. HUTCHINS. Well, like most other things, the horrible consequences that are always predicted when you set out to do what you think is the right thing very seldom materialize, and they did not materialize in this case.

Mr. HAYS. But you weren't saying dogmatically at that time, and as I understand you this morning you aren't saying dogmatically now, that you can't have football and sound educational standards at the same time.

You are simply saying, as between the two alternatives that confronted you, you preferred what you got to the commercialized football that you had.

Mr. HUTCHINS. That is right. I am very much in favor of football. I would like to have football played between students; that is all.

If there were some way of taking the money out of the game as I originally recommended, then I should think that it might be viewed once more as an exercise, as a recreation for the members of the student

body, instead of a gladiatorial spectacle performed by high-priced operators for the benefit of the public on Saturday afternoon.

Mr. HAYS. I would like to ask you, too, about another policy that I understand can be attributed to you. I don't know that it is unique, but granting the deans of colleges the right to solicit funds themselves and giving them maximum freedom in the development of their departmental policies—I am speaking again as Mr. O'Toole said he was, as a layman—it seems to me that you might appropriately speak to that point and what that means.

Mr. HUTCHINS. That policy, which is followed not only at Chicago but in a great many other places, has the effect of putting on the individual group some sense of responsibility for the future of that group, and to that extent it is a very desirable policy.

It has one very serious handicap, and that is the policy of the university must be determined. The policy of the university cannot be left to the accidental popularity of one unit as against another.

Suppose, for example, that you say to the dean of the school of business, "You have the responsibility for raising money for your school," and you say to the dean of the divinity school, "You have the responsibility for raising the money for your school." Then you say, "Now, each one of you will get only what you are able to raise."

What you will have is a tremendously swollen school of business, because men with corporations that have resources are now enthusiastic about schools of business in this country, and you will have a highly anemic school of divinity.

So, it is extremely important that the central administration of the university should exercise distributive justice as among these units, and not limit them to the accidental or semiaccidental results of the popularity of their subjects.

Mr. HAYS. Mr. O'Toole.

Mr. O'TOOLE. Do you think, Doctor, that there is a tendency in this rush to education and improve educational standards in these United States to abandon too quickly some of the old tried and true methods of education?

Mr. HUTCHINS. If I am to express my personal prejudices—and you will understand that they are my personal prejudices—I believe that the movement that is called progressive education, which is now perhaps the most popular movement in elementary and secondary education in this country, has performed notable services for our people.

Take, for example, this one point: The restoration of interest to the classroom. What Mr. Dewey and his followers were revolting against as much as anything else was the classical drillmaster.

I was under classical drillmasters in my time, and it never occurred to me that the authors of the classical works in which I was being drilled had any ideas at all, because I was simply being drilled. Now, the progressive educators thought that this was undesirable and unnecessary, and they were right.

But, like most big movements affecting large groups of people all at once, in making this point, they practically eliminated, or they have had the effect, deliberately or not, of practically eliminating subject matter and content from education.

The intellectual content which constitutes the material of real intellectual achievement gradually disappears from the educational system.

The other day the vice president of the University of Chicago saw his 7-year-old boy the first day of school. He said, "Well, what did you study today?" He said, "Oh, we don't study. On the first day we decide what we are going to study for the year."

He said, "Well, what did you decide?" He said, "Well, it was a tie between factories and Eskimos."

He said, "Well, how are you going to work this out?" He said, "Well, we are going back tomorrow and have another conference."

So, the vice president of the university could hardly wait. When he got back he said, "Well, Mike, how did the conference come out?" He said, "We decided to study birds, and I am chairman of the woodpecker committee." [Laughter.]

Now, this focusing on interest which then moves to the point that nothing that doesn't interest the child can possibly be worth studying has meant the attrition of the educational content of the educational system, intellectual content of the educational system. This is a very serious thing.

Now, I think it is not at all impossible to retain interest in the course of study and restore the subject matter.

Mr. O'TOOLE. You and I are both cognizant of the fact that there have been complaints, numerous multitudinous complaints, from all over this country, from business people that children graduating from the high schools today are not well founded in the three R's.

I am not too conversant with it because I am nothing more than a professional politician. I am not a businessman but am strictly a politician. But there must be some reason for this complaint; there must be some basis for it. Do you think that we have gotten too far away from the fundamental three R's, so called?

Mr. HUTCHINS. Yes; I do. This process has been going on for many years.

When I was dean of the Yale Law School in 1927, 1928, and 1929, there were a very highly selected group of students, and the principal characteristic that they had in common was that they couldn't spell.

When I moved to the University of Chicago, one of the first committees that was established there was a committee on graduate study, and the report of the committee could be summarized this way: "We do wish that there was some way in which our candidates for the Ph. D. degree could learn to read and write."

Mr. HAYS. Now, that is the real reason that the proponents of "progressive education" regard those of us that believe Garfield was right, as reactionaries. That is the explanation; isn't it?

Mr. HUTCHINS. Yes; I think it is. They would take the view—and I want to make clear that there are a great many things here that you can't prove; and, if you said to a progressive educator that he was advocating a system under which the people of this country would not learn to read and write, he would deny it. He would say: "We are going to see to it that they learn to read and write, and we are going to see to it that they do it by better methods than you advocate."

Now, I think that may be theoretically possible, but practically it has not turned out to be. Whether it is the tremendous numbers to which I have repeatedly referred, whether it is the spirit of progressive education, the fact is that the result is as you have described it to be.

Mr. HAYS. I am glad you didn't give me a "Yes" or "No" answer on



that, because we certainly want to be fair about it, and we don't want to trap anybody with words and phrases.

But oftentimes those of us who believe in the value, for example, of the Arkansas experiment are really conservatives in our method. That is essentially a conservative idea, and that is the reason I mentioned Jefferson. We are trying to reembrace the techniques or rather find techniques that are appropriate for our twentieth century.

Mr. HUTCHINS. That is right.

Mr. HAYS. That will achieve his idea.

Mr. HUTCHINS. That's right.

Mr. O'TOOLE. Doctor, I am going to express an opinion—I don't know whether it has a basis or a foundation—and then I would like your opinion of it.

It seems to me that under some of our modern educational systems or methods we are failing to instill in the individual the knowledge of the difference between liberty and license.

It seems to me today because of almost a complete abandonment of discipline in our educational methods, especially in the lower schools, we are producing a great number of people who, in the abuse of their own liberty, are antisocial and, who if allowed to continue free and unfettered as they are going, can bring nothing but a state of anarchy to this country, because it is all individual liberty as against the rights of the masses.

Are the foundations and are the educational institutions doing anything to make these individuals recognize not only their rights but their duties to the civilization that they live in?

Mr. HUTCHINS. I think they are.

Mr. O'TOOLE. I am not disputing that. I am just asking.

Mr. HUTCHINS. I think they are. The real object I suppose of liberal education is to get people to think, think for themselves. This requires the mastery of certain techniques.

That is why Mr. Hays has been insisting on reading, writing, and arithmetic—renewal of that system. You can't think unless you know how to read, write, and figure. It requires certain basic information.

You can't think unless you know the facts about what you are thinking; or, if you do think, it is a waste of time. It requires contact with the major ideas that have animated mankind, the tradition of western civilization, and this is a brief summary of what we call liberal education.

The foundations have advanced that kind of education in many institutions. Many institutions are trying hard to advance it.

Mr. O'TOOLE. I work from three to five nights a week among some of the toughest young men in New York, real hard characters. I have been cooperating with a group there that is trying to settle the juvenile-delinquency problem, and I find in my conversation with these lads that for the major part they have no moral values. They are not conscious of any one of the Ten Commandments.

The thought is completely foreign to them. They don't seem to have a moral philosophy of any type. They don't seem to have any idea of their obligations to society or to the country that they live in.

They have been; I don't know whether you would say educated, but they have been taught somewhere along the line that they, and they alone—the individual himself—are the most important unit. As I said before, this is going to continue, is going to spread. It is going

to have drastic results in our way of life. It can breed nothing but anarchy, and is a very serious problem.

Mr. HUTCHINS. That is true, and the educational system must do its part, but it must be recognized that the field of moral education and the field of spiritual education are the fields of the home and the church, and they must not be undermined or minimized by having the educational system move in and assume their responsibilities, as has often been planned or suggested.

You hear talk of the whole child, as though the school were going to stand in as local parent and were going to do the job of the minister and the press and the institution of the church. This, I think, can't be done.

Mr. O'TOOLE. Doctor, I agree with you that the primary place to inculcate morals, all morals, is in the home; but, although I am an uneducated man, I do feel that a man cannot be educated by a school or a university unless he has received some training there, training that comes as a result of research into morals, into moral philosophy at its best in the home. In the average home the training in moral philosophy is a rugged thing.

Mr. HUTCHINS. You are perfectly correct. What the educational system ought to do is to supply the intellectual foundations for the moral and spiritual training given in the home and the church.

Mr. O'TOOLE. The whole existence of our Government and all governments is merely the mechanical method by which people live—that is all it is—just a machine put up so that we can live a civilized life; and, if there is to be peace in the world, if there is to be understanding, if there is to be a Christian way of living, you must have a basis, a moral basis, a solid moral basis, and the educational institutions that prepare our men and women to live in this life, to live in this world, must give them that, too.

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Forand has a question.

Mr. FORAND. Dr. Hutchins, I am very much interested in the number of television channels that have been made available, and what you said on the subject. Did I understand you to say that there are 262 channels?

Mr. HUTCHINS. 242.

Mr. FORAND. 242?

Mr. HUTCHINS. Yes, sir.

Mr. FORAND. And has the Ford Foundation made money available to work with the organizations, the schools, to arrange programs or the handling of those channels? Just what has been done?

Mr. HUTCHINS. The Fund for Adult Education, an independent agency established by the Ford Foundation, has first made some money available to some communities, the ones that are regarded as most critical, for the erection of a station.

If the station cost \$450,000, the Fund for Adult Education will put up \$100,000 or \$150,000, thus supplying the impetus to the community to raise the balance.

The second thing, of course, that is equally important, perhaps almost more important, is the creation of a central program pool in which these stations when operated can draw the material that they will need to put on these channels.

A single institution by itself—and I speak now of an institution like the University of Chicago—would probably have difficulty in

programming a television station from its own resources more than an hour a day. Therefore, the object is to establish a kind of bicycle network in kinescopes, films which can be routed from one of these educational television stations to another. We think that a million and a half as a starter will go into that enterprise.

Mr. FORAND. And who would have control of that?

Mr. HUTCHINS. A separate corporation is being established by the Fund for Adult Education. It will have its headquarters in Chicago. It is a good distributing point.

And it will have on it representatives of education, industry, and various other interests in the community. That board is now being formed.

Mr. FORAND. And they would assemble material?

Mr. HUTCHINS. Yes, sir.

Mr. FORAND. Now, this material would be made available to the other stations, but the other stations would not be compelled to use that material?

Mr. HUTCHINS. No, sir.

Mr. FORAND. That would be to supplement their own programs, so to speak; is that the idea?

Mr. HUTCHINS. Yes, sir.

Mr. FORAND. Thank you very much.

Mr. HAYS. Go ahead, Mr. Keele.

Mr. KEELE. I was going to say, it seems to me implicit in what has been said here that there are certain defects in our educational system. To what extent, if any, can that be attributed to the foundations in the sense that they have supported existing agencies?

Mr. HUTCHINS. I think, Mr. Keele, on the whole the foundations have sought to be in front, that is, they have sought to foster experiments.

I can't connect in my mind defects in the educational system with the activities of the foundation. On the other hand, I can think of a great many ventures that I would regard as very hopeful, looking in this direction, that have been financed by the foundations for many years.

Take at the University of Chicago, whenever we wanted to do anything new, we had to apply to a foundation for assistance. We couldn't expect our alumni or the public to be interested.

Aside from research in the physical sciences, we did not want to apply to the Government. We would always go to the foundation.

When the college of the University of Chicago was reorganized in 1930 with a view to remedying these defects that have been referred to, the Carnegie Corp. made it possible for us, through the release of time of our staff, to reorganize our courses, which we otherwise could not have done.

The first major experience that I had with this was almost exactly 25 years ago. I was dean of the law school and was trying to do something about the subjects that underlie the law, in which very few of us on the faculty had had any education, in which Yale was seriously defective at that time. At the same time the dean of the medical school was trying to do something about the subjects that underlie medicine and the subjects that are related to it, like psychiatry.

We got together and presented a proposal to the foundation in about 1928, for which they gave \$7 million, to establish the Institute of Human Relations at Yale, which brought an entirely new group into the social sciences, psychology, and psychiatry at Yale underlying these professional disciplines. We couldn't have hoped to interest our graduates in that. It would have taken us years to raise that money, but here was a fundamental effort, a new effort, that only the foundation could support.

Mr. KEELE. What do you conceive to be the function of a foundation in society, Dr. Hutchins?

Mr. HUTCHINS. I think the trustees of the Ford Foundation have answered that question better than I can answer it. I think the report that they adopted before we came into office states precisely the role that a great foundation ought to play.

I think that the trustees, both before and after we came into office, have demonstrated their conviction that this is the role, because one item after another the trustees have backed up the officers in the kind of experimentation, the kind of risk-taking, that justified the existence of a foundation.

If you look at almost any one of the things that have been done in the foundation itself, in the educational funds—the creation of the two educational funds was a very bold undertaking on the part of our trustees. The creation of educational publications was a new kind of a thing for a foundation to be doing.

Take the television show, which I hope some of you have seen on the last three Sundays, Omnibus, which is an attempt to see whether it is possible to get commercial backing for a somewhat higher grade of television entertainment than has hitherto been found general. These are all things in which the trustees have shown that they meant what they said.

The object of a foundation ought to be to try to do the things that government can't do, shouldn't do, that the public is unlikely to do, and that ought to be done.

The board began with the statement, and has adhered to it ever since, that its object was not to be popular, to be free from criticism. Its object was to do the things that they thought would be helpful to the community, regardless of whether they might be criticized or not.

Mr. KEELE. That leads to a question I should like to put to you. It has been suggested on numerous occasions to the staff of the committee that criticism is sometimes brought against the foundations because they sponsor studies or finance, finance in part, studies which are new to the public.

I would just like you to comment on whether or not the support of a project which is a pioneering feature in the realm of new or somewhat hazy areas in itself implies sympathy with that, or whether or not those studies are usually conducted entirely objectively.

Mr. HUTCHINS. It is my impression that the study of a subject does not necessarily imply sympathy with it, and that experimental ventures in these fields are conducted objectively with a view to discovering what is in the subject.

Mr. KEELE. For instance, we have had the criticism that the foundations have supported an institute of Russian languages or a study of Russian languages, and the inference made was that because they were

studying them, it showed a sympathy, shall we say, with the Russian people, or perhaps that is not so important as a sympathy with the existing structure that governs the Russian people.

Mr. HUTCHINS. I suppose it will not be denied that Russia, unfortunately, is very important to this country. To be ignorant of it, then, may be suicidal.

We ought to know all we can about it, and I am sure that those responsible for our foreign policy regret every day that there are not more experts on Russia that are available in the United States. This implies no sympathy with the men who are now dictating the policy of Russia. It is a simple recognition of the facts of life.

Mr. KEELE. It has also been suggested that perhaps the greatest danger, our greatest danger, to the infiltration of subversive doctrines is inadequate education. Will you comment on that?

Mr. HUTCHINS. Well, that is an opinion that I suppose you will expect me to share, and I do. I believe that anybody who learns to think and who tries to do it, must conclude that the tradition of western civilization, of free and independent thought, of free institutions, democracy, is the only way of life that is suitable for human beings.

He must reach this conclusion. He could reach an opposite conclusion only if he were ignorant or if he were sick or if he were vicious.

Now, the educational system, then, if it will conscientiously go about the task of having people think, helping people learn to think for themselves, helping people to learn to think about important matters for themselves, will accomplish the great protective task that needs to be performed in this country.

Mr. KEELE. In other words, more and better education is the answer to the danger of infiltration?

Mr. HUTCHINS. That is my view.

Mr. KEELE. I would like to refer to an article written by the late Edward Embree. I am sure you knew Dr. Embree.

Mr. HUTCHINS. I knew him very well. I first met him when I was an undergraduate at Yale. He was then assistant secretary of the university. He later became a vice president of the Rockefeller Foundation.

He then became president of the Rosenwald Fund, and after his retirement from that post he became the consultant to the John Hay Whitney Foundation in New York.

Mr. KEELE. He then had a great deal of experience, did he not, in foundations?

Mr. HUTCHINS. He probably had more than anybody else in this country.

Mr. KEELE. I am referring to an article that appeared in Harper's magazine in March of 1949, and I would like to ask the indulgence of the committee and of the witness, to read a paragraph from that, and then have your comment on it:

My criticism is not so much of given individuals or given board, as it is of the present trend—

he is speaking of foundations—

and I speak not only for people outside the foundations but for many trustees and officers who are distressed at the present lack of pioneering.

Somehow policies have got confused and timid. Foundation giving instead of concentrating on the social frontiers is losing its leadership and becoming conventional and stereotyped. Medicine and health meant pioneering 50 years ago. Today they are the philanthropic fashion so firmly established, and private individuals support them abundantly. Yet the best reports available show that almost half of all foundation appropriations still go to these fields. Another third goes to colleges and universities and various phases of education.

Support of welfare agencies and research in the natural sciences account for much of the rest of foundation giving. Even in these conventional fields foundations are tending more and more to avoid enterprise and initiative. Instead of pouring brains and moneys into frontal attacks on fresh problems, they now tend toward what Frederick Gates used to call the great foundation sin, scatteration, that is, the sprinkling of little grants over a multiplicity of causes in institutions.

Would you comment as to your views with reference to that paragraph I have read?

Mr. HUTCHINS. This business is a good deal like running a university in one respect. There are no sins of omission in the foundation business. If you are a university president and don't do anything, it is unlikely that you will be criticized. It is certain that you will be if you do anything.

And so it is in a foundation. If you don't do anything, or if you give every professor in the United States \$7,500 for the prosecution of research, or if you spread your money over other respectable causes, you are unlikely to be criticized.

Now, this is a perfectly natural human desire, the desire not to be criticized. Everybody would rather be liked than disliked. Consequently, both in the universities and foundations there is, of course, a gradually growing tendency to become more and more conventional. This is inevitable.

I don't believe that there is any remedy for this except, first, an understanding on the part of the people of the peculiar reason and value of a foundation, so that instead of criticizing the foundation for pioneering, taking risks, the people would applaud and say, "Well, maybe this isn't what has always been done, and perhaps this experiment may fail, but this is precisely the kind of thing that a foundation ought to do."

If the criticism that now falls upon foundation executives for doing anything were not to appear, of course the effect of it would not appear, either. I think, also, with any university, that one of the answers to this inevitable tendency is the constant infusion of new blood in the administrative staff.

I think it would be unfortunate if the officers of the Ford Foundation held office to the point where they had been criticized so much that they were afraid to be criticized any more. I believe that Mr. Embree is right in stating an inevitable tendency that much afflict all institutions of this type, that must afflict any institution in which the profit-and-loss statement really is of no significance.

As long as the profit-and-loss statement of a business is good, the business can go ahead and make progress. But here we have nothing to guide us except our convictions and the convictions of our people as to what ought to be done for the welfare of the community.

Mr. KEELE. Perhaps along the same line, but I think the phrase is so provocative, I would like to read it; he said this:

Occupational diseases that easily infect foundations are traditionalism and self-preservation. Officers and trustees constantly appealed to and deferred to by applicants can scarcely avoid getting an exaggerated idea of their own

importance and becoming preoccupied with holding and enlarging their roles. The easiest way to hold a traditional place is to play it safe. Far from contemplating bold experiments or risking fresh ventures, the tendency is to invest in social welfare as in bonds, only in the safest securities.

It seems to me that is pretty much along the same line.

Mr. HUTCHINS. Mr. Embree is perfectly correct.

Mr. KEELE. What are you doing in the Ford Foundation to guard against this occupational disease?

Mr. HUTCHINS. Well, of course, we haven't been in office long enough to suffer from this disease in any acute form.

In the first place, we have the trustees' report, and this report is nothing, really, but an exhortation to the staff to try to avoid the errors that Mr. Embree speaks of.

In the second place, we have the trustees themselves. You heard Mr. Ford yesterday, you heard Mr. Hoffman, too, who is also a trustee, and you recognized if a firm resolution to avoid this result that Mr. Embree predicts can be of any value, we at least have taken that firm resolution.

The boards of the independent funds will provide a constant source of stimulus to us, because they are not letting us rest in the areas in which they are concerned.

I have no doubt that the time will come when we shall feel that we have been very much criticized for doing something that we thought was very wise, and that possibly we ought not to do that kind of thing again, and I hope that the trustees will suggest to us that it is time we moved on to more restful occupations.

Mr. KEELE. I would like to read two other excerpts from that article and get your comments on them. First:

The trustees of foundations are heavily weighted toward conservatism.

The CHAIRMAN. What is that?

Mr. KEELE (reading):

The trustees of foundations are heavily weighted toward conservatism. A study made some years ago by Edward C. Linderman showed an overwhelming preponderance of bankers, lawyers, and friends of the founders.

There are directors of industry but few of the active scientists and technicians who are daily pushing the industries ahead. There are university presidents, but few active scholars or teachers. Labor is not represented on any of the big boards.

And I stop there. He goes on to a further digression along that line. What would you have to say about that statement, Dr. Hutchins?

Mr. HUTCHINS. I would say it was not strictly true. For example, on the board of the Fund for Adult Education is Mr. Clinton S. Golden, who is not there because he is a labor representative. He is there because he is an intelligent man interested in this field, but he is also, as you know, regarded as one of the outstanding labor leaders of this country. I think that since Mr. Embree's time numerous improvements have been made in this respect.

It must be clear that every university is confronted with the same problem that Mr. Embree referred to here as to the foundations. It is indispensable that you have people who know how to handle your funds. It is indispensable that you have people who command confidence, and I think that an examination of the boards of the various foundations will show that those criteria have been the principal cri-

teria in the minds of the persons who selected these trustees, and I think that these criteria are perfectly proper.

Mr. O'TOOLE. What makes the doctor think that the labor leaders don't know how to handle their funds?

Mr. KEELE. Are there any other examples, Dr. Hutchins, of labor leaders being on the boards of foundations that come to your mind?

Mr. HUTCHINS. I am sorry I just don't know. I don't know the present enrollment of the boards of any foundation except our own.

Mr. KEELE. I think the interesting point is, and it ought to be noted here, that after Mr. Embree has made these criticisms he said this:

And I remember with contrition the foundations which I helped to direct were not without certain of the faults I censure.

Mr. HUTCHINS. As a director of one of Mr. Embree's foundations, I can testify that that statement is correct.

Mr. KEELE. I have one final quotation:

If trust funds are to continue to have the great benefit of tax exemption, which means extra taxes for all the rest of us, they must be subject to public interest at least as strict as that required by the Securities and Exchange Commission of companies whose stocks are listed on the public marts.

This does not mean that a commission would regulate the gifts of a foundation. The commission would simply require and supervise a public accounting which at a minimum would mean publication of the names of all trustees and officers, a listing of the capital holdings, together with all changes in those holdings each year, a detailed statement of income, and a listing of expenditures, including both gifts and compensation to individuals. Pitiless publicity and objective accounting are strong forces in America.

I wonder if you would give us your views with reference to the statement I have just read.

Mr. HUTCHINS. I agree with the statement. I think it will be very helpful with the larger foundations, though of course it is unnecessary with most of the larger foundations. They already comply with this suggestion.

I do not think it would be particularly helpful with the flock of smaller foundations in this country, because I don't think that anybody would bother to read their reports. I think the House Ways and Means Committee might well give attention at the proper time to the methods by which foundations are established. I think that this problem can be minimized if it is handled at the source rather than being handled after the foundations are established.

I have the impression, though I can't prove this at all, of course, that there are a good many very small foundations in the country that really have no title to be called such at all.

Mr. KEELE. I have two or three more questions and then I shall be finished.

Mr. SIMPSON. Do you think as a matter of public policy that the growth of foundations should be encouraged and that our laws should be so adjusted?

Mr. HUTCHINS. I believe that the foundations are one of the glories of the free-enterprise system, and that they should be encouraged.

Mr. KEELE. Dr. Hutchins, in your experience as an educator and as a trustee of a foundation, and also now as an officer of a foundation, have you observed a tendency on the part of foundations generally to support projects which tended to throw into disrepute or to weaken the capitalistic system?



Mr. HUTCHINS. I am at a loss to think of any action of any foundation that I can recall that could possibly have tended in that direction.

I can think of any number of actions by foundations that have seemed to me to tend in the opposite direction. My knowledge of the officers of foundations, which goes back 30 years, and my knowledge of many trustees and directors of many foundations, make me think that it is inconceivable that they would set out to do anything to weaken the American system. Nor do I think of any occasions on which this has accidentally occurred.

The CHAIRMAN. Doctor, I didn't intend asking any questions until later on.

Mr. KEELE. I have finished. I have no further questions. I merely suggest this. Do you want to adjourn at this time or do you want to go on right now? It is 12 o'clock.

The CHAIRMAN. I would just as soon adjourn because I am not very well.

Mr. HAYS. What time should we reconvene?

The CHAIRMAN. Any time.

Mr. KEELE. I merely suggest this. There are a number of people trying to catch planes this afternoon for the west coast. Could we resume at 1:30? Would that be agreeable with the committee?

The CHAIRMAN. I won't take long with the doctor.

His last statement would indicate that he has closed his eyes as to much that some of the older foundations have done in the way of financing projects, the purposes of which were to undermine our whole system of government.

For instance, I have particularly in mind what the Rockefeller Foundation did for Mr. Lattimore's outfit, which was laboring along with the Communist movement all over the country to liquidate China or deliver the whole of China into the hands of the Communists. Mr. Lattimore was successful in getting a great deal of money which was used for subversive purposes.

I presume the doctor would not approve of those grants, and therefore the observation that he made, he must not have had in mind much the Rockefeller and some of these other foundations have done.

Mr. HUTCHINS. May I comment, Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. I am going to question you a little while. You can do it now.

Mr. KEELE. Would you rather wait?

Mr. HUTCHINS. I can answer in a sentence, I think. I believe that the interests of the Rockefeller Foundation in the Institute of Pacific Relations was a perfectly bona fide sincere interest in trying to find out all that was possible about the Pacific countries and our relations with them.

I will not say, I could not say, that in the course of 40 years the foundations in the pursuit of perfectly bona fide interests which we would all share, and after the most careful investigation, would not occasionally be deceived.

But I am perfectly positive that no foundation of the major group that you, I assume, have in mind, that I have in mind, I am perfectly certain that no one of those foundations has ever consciously gone into anything that would weaken the American system.

The CHAIRMAN. Then you find no fault with the Rockefeller Foundation in spending much of its funds in the support of near-Communist activities?

Mr. HUTCHINS. I would say that exercising the very best judgment in the world, a foundation over a period of 50 years might find itself having made a mistake, and at least I would feel sorry for anybody who made a mistake.

The CHAIRMAN. But considering the fact that there were a great number of grants made by the Rockefeller people and by others to people who were disloyal to the Government, would you say that accident was responsible in every case for the expenditure of these funds, or for financing these projects which were being conducted by disloyal people?

Take for instance Hans Eisler, you recall that he was given, I believe it was \$2,500.

Mr. KEELF. \$25,000.

The CHAIRMAN. \$25,000. He had already been ordered deported, and some influence arising somewhere had his deportation deferred until this \$25,000 grant made by the Rockefeller people could be expended. Now the Rockefeller people knew he had been ordered deported, and yet they went along with the scheme.

Mr. HUTCHINS. I cannot condone grants to subversive individuals or organizations if the donors, the foundations, had any reason to suppose that these individuals or organizations were subversive. Nor could I condone it if through carelessness they made grants to individuals or organizations that were subversive.

As far as my knowledge goes, no foundation of the major group that we have in mind has, after it has been suggested in any responsible quarter that an organization was disloyal or subversive, made a grant to that organization.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there some obligation upon the foundations to determine as to the loyalty of people or institutions which it finances?

Mr. HUTCHINS. Certainly.

The CHAIRMAN. You spoke in reference to the Institute of Pacific Relations. In view of the record that has been made as regards that set-up, do you consider it a subversive organization?

Mr. HUTCHINS. I don't know what its condition is at present. I consider that there is evidence that I have read in the newspapers that shows that there was a group in it at one time that was very eager to make it a subversive organization.

The CHAIRMAN. Well now, you say at one time.

Mr. HUTCHINS. I don't know anything about it at present, Judge.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, I will defer until later on, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. HAYS. Shall we adjourn until 1:30?

Mr. O'TOOLE. Could I ask one question before we adjourn, because I can't be back here this afternoon?

Doctor, if a beggar comes up to me on the street and asks me for a half a dollar to eat, and I think that he is starving and I give him the half a dollar so he can eat, and he then spends that 50 cents for liquor or for dope, am I responsible for him buying the dope or the liquor?

(Whereupon, at 12:05 p. m., a recess was taken until 1:30 p. m., of this same day.)

## AFTERNOON SESSION

Mr. HAYS. The committee will resume.

Dr. HUTCHINS, I believe Mr. Cox was ready to proceed when we recessed.

Mr. HUTCHINS. Yes, sir.

Mr. HAYS. Judge, if you will resume.

**STATEMENT OF ROBERT M. HUTCHINS, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR OF  
THE FORD FOUNDATION—Resumed**

The CHAIRMAN. Doctor, I have not wanted to be vexatious in the kind of questions I might propound and, as a matter of fact, would probably have passed up the idea of questioning you at all, except for the reading of excerpts from the Harper's Magazine which Mr. Keele did just before the committee recessed for lunch.

I believe in that article that the author made the statement that the trustees of the foundations were heavily weighted on the side of conservatism.

I do not mean to take issue with that statement, but I have had the feeling, and regretfully I still maintain it, that the trustees of the foundations have not had too much to do with the formulation of programs, and in administering funds, and so forth; that they have relied upon officers chosen to run the foundations for the doing of those things, and that these officers have had rather a strong leaning toward radicalism.

As I said, I do not want to be impolite or vexatious, but I had put in my hand some days ago a document which consisted of evidence taken by a select committee set up by the Legislature of Illinois investigating communism in certain schools, and in the body of that report I find testimony that you gave.

I am not taking you by surprise in referring to this, because in a desire to be perfectly fair to you and courteous and decent, I have called your attention to what it was.

Mr. HUTCHINS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. To be very frank with you, I was greatly disturbed over what you had to say. Maybe there is no sound reason why I should have had that reaction, but I did get it.

I think you have been somewhat controversial since you were a boy, since you were first in your early 20's, when you became known as the "boy wonder" in the educational world. You were succeeding brilliantly then, and you continued to move upward, and now have reached the point which, I think, is the most important spot that a great educator might have the ambition to fill.

In that testimony I could not find any evidence of your being greatly disturbed, or maybe disturbed at all, over what the Communists were doing in our country, what they were doing in our great schools, in the school of which you are the head, and many others, and as to just what they were doing in Government.

In that testimony you virtually said that you knew little about communism. This was in 1949, and even at that time great concern was being shown by a great number of people over what was being done to the people of our own country and, particularly, the student

body and the teachers in our great universities and other schools of lesser importance.

I quote from what purports to have been your testimony given in that investigation, and here you are quoted to have said, and I quote:

The fact that some Communists belong to, believe in, or even dominate some of the organizations to which some of our professors belong does not show that these professors are engaged in subversive activities. All that such facts would show would be that these professors believe in some of the objects of the organization, and so forth.

In other words, the point that you were discussing then as to what influence it would have upon you as the head of Chicago University to learn that a very large percentage of your faculty belonged to a great number of organizations that had been designated by agencies of the Congress and by the Attorney General as having been Communist controlled. I am wondering if since 1949 your thinking has undergone any sort of a change as regards what we should do in an endeavor to combat the spread of this Communist ideology in our own country? In other words, has your thinking undergone a change, or may I put it this way: Has the threat or has what is happening under our noses been such as to create a great concern?

I think I have said enough to enable you to at least start to give us an answer.

Mr. HUTCHINS. Well, may I first, Judge, correct what I took to be the implication of your remarks as to the facts. I do not concede that a great number of the members of the faculty of the University of Chicago belong to a great number of organizations—

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you had about a thousand members of your faculty, and 165 of them did belong to those Communist-front organizations. That is a pretty good percentage, is it not?

Mr. HUTCHINS. If that were the percentage, I would think that was a good percentage. But you will remember from the rest of the transcript that you are holding in your hand—

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. HUTCHINS (continuing). That up to the bitter end there was a dispute as to who belonged to what, the university contending that about one to seven current memberships had been maintained, and the opposition contending in the figures that you have indicated. But I will pass the point.

I merely wanted to call attention to the fact that the university never admitted that the professors or any such number of professors, belonged to any such number of organizations as was alleged.

I want to direct myself further to this specific issue, and then come to your question as to my attitude about communism then and now.

The charge that was made here was made against persons of very long standing in the university, for the most part, with all of whom the officers and many of the trustees of the university were intimately acquainted.

We were prepared to state in the case of Prof. Harold Urey, for example, who played a tremendous role in the atomic bomb project, when the first chain reaction was carried out in our abandoned football stands, we were prepared to assert without qualification, particularly in view of the fact that he had been repeatedly cleared by various agencies of the Government, that the motives that had led Professor Urey to join some of the organizations that were referred to, in no

way cast any reflection upon his character or upon his loyalty to the United States.

The Attorney General, in releasing this list in 1947, said that guilt by association is not a principle of American jurisprudence. These memberships in these organizations have lately been held by the Circuit Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia not to constitute grounds for the removal of a Federal employee, and it is my understanding that such listing is not admissible in a criminal case to show even the character of the organization, to say nothing of the members who compose it.

My testimony in this case was directed to the proposition that members of the faculty whom we knew, who had worked loyally for the university and for the country, many of whom had been cleared by Government agencies, were not disqualified to be members of the faculty by reason of membership in this organization, nor was such membership evidence that the university was conducting seditious activities, and whether or not the university was conducting seditious activities was the gravaman of the charge.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. HUTCHINS. I come then to the question of communism, and what to do about it. My view is, and has been, that it is necessary to resist the threat of Communist aggression by military means, that without this we may be overwhelmed by the tremendous masses of the Red army.

It is also my impression that along with this effort, which is now consuming the greater part of the resources of this country, that are dedicated to governmental purposes, along with this effort we must maintain and develop the basic sources of our strength, and the basic sources of our strength are the western tradition of freedom, freedom of thought, freedom of discussion, and freedom of association.

We have then, as we have had for the last several years, the very delicate problem of balancing security and freedom.

Now, a university is a place that is established and will function for the benefit of society, provided it is a center of independent thought. It is a center of independent thought and criticism that is created in the interest of the progress of society, and the one reason that we know that every totalitarian government must fail is that no totalitarian government is prepared to face the consequences of creating free universities.

It is important for this purpose to attract into the institution men of the greatest capacity, and to encourage them to exercise their independent judgment.

Education is a kind of continuing dialog, and a dialog assumes, in the nature of the case, different points of view.

The civilizations which I work and which I am sure every American is working toward, could be called a civilization of the dialog, where instead of shooting one another when you differ, you reason things out together.

In this dialog, then, you cannot assume that you are going to have everybody thinking the same way or feeling the same way. It would be unprogressive if that happened. The hope of eventual development would be gone. More than that, of course, it would be very boring.

**A university, then, is a kind of continuing Socratic conversation on the highest level for the very best people you can think of, you**

can bring together, about the most important questions, and the thing that you must do to the uttermost possible limits is to guarantee those men the freedom to think and to express themselves.

Now, the limits on this freedom cannot be merely prejudice, because although our prejudices might be perfectly satisfactory, the prejudices of our successors or of those who are in a position to bring pressure to bear on the institution, might be subversive in the real sense, subverting the American doctrine of free thought and free speech.

The principal guide in this matter is due process of law. The limits that are set, then, on this dialog, on this conversation, on this independent thought and criticism, are the limits set by the law.

Now, in the State of Illinois, the Espionage Act was upheld by the Supreme Court, and it forbid the advocacy of the overthrow of the Government by force and violence, and the university would never allow any member of its faculty to remain a member of the faculty and violate that statute, to say nothing of the statutes of the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. But you did tolerate having in the faculty a great number who admittedly belonged to these subversive organizations.

Mr. HUTCHINS. These organizations—membership in these organizations requires that the individual be examined, looked into, if he is not already fully known, but it does not lead to the determination in and of itself that the individual is not qualified to be a member of the faculty, and no such individual was ever found.

The University of Chicago over a period of 25 years was, as a part of a general investigation of the institutions of the State, twice investigated, and it was never charged that any member of our faculty was engaged himself in subversive activity.

The CHAIRMAN. No; but charged that a great many of them—I believe 136, was it not?—you know, belonged to about 465 Communist-front organizations, as characterized by the Attorney General.

Mr. HUTCHINS. I still do not accept the figure, but I am repeating that although membership in these organizations raises a question about people, and a perfectly legitimate question about them, it does not in and of itself show that they were engaged in subversive activities, and nobody ventured to charge that any member of the faculty was engaged.

The CHAIRMAN. In the school, you refused to indulge in any sort of a prejudice against anybody, members of your faculty or what not, because of their membership in these Communist-front organizations, is that true?

Mr. HUTCHINS. No, I would not say that that was true, although I am not sure that I understand the full meaning of the question.

I am asserting that if a member of this faculty had been engaged in subversive activity, and it had been brought to our attention by any means, we should have taken immediate action. No such evidence was ever offered, beyond membership in some of these organizations on the part of some of them.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you did indulge the advocacy of communism on the campus, did you not?

Mr. HUTCHINS. No, we did not indulge in—

The CHAIRMAN. Did you not charter, did not the university charter, a Communist club out on the campus?

Mr. HUTCHINS. Students alleged that they were engaged in the study of Marxism, and the study of Marxism is a perfectly legal activity in this country, and it was the practice of the university to permit the students to engage in any legal study in which they were interested. This club—

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, to conduct such study, did they have to be set up and be chartered by the university to teach communism?

Mr. HUTCHINS. Again, you have this question of what are the limits that you are going to set to the dialog. Is it admitted that communism is important? If it is, then I would have no objection to saying to students, "You may get together and study it."

As a matter of fact, out of, I forget what our total enrollment was in those years, but we must have had 14,000 different students in the institution, and I think the maximum registration achieved by this club was something like 11, and it died of its own volition very shortly thereafter.

The CHAIRMAN. The point that I am undertaking to make is that the foundations, in the selection of the people who run them, have been interested in whoever they might choose to fill those responsible positions—they are being known as liberals, contrary to what the gentleman, whoever it was, who wrote the articles that Mr. Keele read, said about the trustees being weighted on the side of conservatism. In other words, I am trying to bring out the point that the people who run these organizations are weighted on the side of liberalism and ultraliberalism, I mean.

Mr. HUTCHINS. That would not be my impression. My impression is that the officers of these corporations, and here I will not speak of the Ford Foundation, are selected because it is thought they have some competence in the field which they have charge of.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, I will not question you about a great deal of what you are purported to have said in the investigation in Chicago, but I do want to quote here the following question. You were asked this question:

Now, Doctor, let us get to the point of what educators think about this. Is there any doubt that the Communist Party is a conspiratorial fifth column operating in the interests of a foreign state?

In answer, you said:

I am not instructed on this subject. I understand many Communists say that they do not operate under instructions of a foreign state. I know nothing about the Communist Party except what I have read and the various writings from various types of books.

Then, you were asked this question later on:

The records which I shall present through other witnesses show in summary that some sixty-odd persons listed in the latest available directory of the University of Chicago as professors or professors emeritus have been affiliated with 135 Communist-front organizations in 465 separate instances. Is that not something for which the university might well be alarmed?

You are said to have answered:

I do not see why.

Is that still your feeling?

Mr. HUTCHINS. What was the first quotation, please?

The CHAIRMAN. Let me go back and see if I can find it, Doctor. The first question was, were you not asked this question in the investigation conducted in Chicago:

Now, Doctor, let us get to the point of what education thinks about this. Is there any doubt that the Communist Party is a conspiratorial fifth column operating in the interest of a foreign state?

Well, is that your view? Is the Communist Party a conspiratorial fifth column?

Mr. HUTCHINS. May I refer to the context of this question? At this time, the 11 Communist leaders were on trial in New York. The Government's charge was that they were engaged in a conspiracy to overthrow the Government by force and violence. This involved, of course, the constitutionality of the Smith Act. In United States against Dennis, the Supreme Court held that they were involved because of their membership in the Communist Party, as leaders in that party, in a conspiracy to overthrow the Government of the United States by force and violence. I take this as conclusive on this subject.

On the second point, at this date, which was not too long after the Attorney General's list was published, many Americans, and many American professors, had in the course of previous years joined many organizations, some of them at the solicitation of the Government, in connection with the recognition of Soviet Russia after 1932.

Evidence of membership in organizations listed as subversive, as of that date, is, therefore, a different matter from membership in such organizations today.

If today when the Attorney General's list and the list of the House Committee on Un-American Activities is a matter of common knowledge, if many members of the faculty turned out to have joined these organizations, it would raise a presumption that they ought to be very carefully looked into to see that they were not engaged or were not subversive and not engaged in subversive activities.

The CHAIRMAN. Doctor, you were asked this question in this investigation:

Do you consider that the Communist Party in the United States comes within the scope of a clear and present danger?

You are charged with having answered:

I don't think so.

Do you still adhere to that view?

Mr. HUTCHINS. The Supreme Court has decided that question.

The CHAIRMAN. I know, but I am not talking about the Supreme Court; I am talking about your views now. The Supreme Court is not running the foundation; you are, so far as the educational work of the Ford people are concerned.

Mr. HUTCHINS. Well, you were asking me what my attitude toward the Communist Party would be as an officer of the foundation?

The CHAIRMAN. That is right.

Mr. HUTCHINS. Well, as an officer of the foundation, I would not support the Communist Party. What the definition of "clear and present danger" is, I am not at all sure. I regard the—

The CHAIRMAN. You know what "clear" means, and you know what "present" means, and you know what "danger" means.

Mr. HUTCHINS. I also know that this is a phrase used by Mr. Justice Holmes and Mr. Justice Brandeis, and it has a very precise meaning.



As far as I am concerned, the Communist Party is a clear danger. Whether it is in this country an immediate danger so that every day we should think that here is something really dangerous that is going to overwhelm us, I do not know. It certainly is dangerous.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you expressed the view here that the Communist Party should not be outlawed. Is that still your view?

Mr. HUTCHINS. I understand that the FBI, and I know that Governor Dewey, in his campaign against Governor Stassen in Oregon in 1948, took the view that the Communist Party should not be outlawed.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. You are evasive about it. I asked you for your view of it.

Mr. HUTCHINS. I am of the same opinion because it seems to me the effect of this would be to drive the Communist Party underground.

The CHAIRMAN. In Chicago you were asked:

Do you favor the enactment of legislation to make the Communist Party illegal—

and you said "No."

Mr. HUTCHINS. That is precisely what I mean.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. HUTCHINS. I understand that it is the judgment of experienced people who cannot be accused of communism, and it is also my judgment, that it would be unfortunate to declare the Communist Party illegal, because it would force it underground, and it would be more difficult to cope with it.

The CHAIRMAN. Doctor, did you take into the Ford Foundation some of your old associates from the Chicago University?

Mr. HUTCHINS. I think there is no University of Chicago man in the foundation proper. The Fund for the Advancement of Education has Mr. Faust in it as president, and Mr. Faust was, before he went to Stanford, a professor and an administrative officer at the University of Chicago.

The CHAIRMAN. What about Mr. Adler? Where did you know him, the man who said—

Mr. HUTCHINS. Mr. Adler was at Chicago; he is a very intimate friend of mine. We have been associated ever since he was on the Columbia faculty and I was on the Yale law faculty. He established the Institute for Philosophical Research at San Francisco. That is supported by the Mellon Fund, the Old Dominion Trust, of which Paul Mellon is the benefactor, and by the Fund for the Advancement of Education.

The CHAIRMAN. He is the man who preaches the overthrow of the United States or the abolishment of the United States.

Mr. HUTCHINS. Mr. Adler is in favor of world government, and Mr. Adler has said, as the people in Virginia and Georgia said at the time of the framing of the Constitution, "Let us see if we can establish a larger and more perfect union." It is only in that sense that he is—

The CHAIRMAN. He takes the position that what we have we should abolish.

Mr. HUTCHINS. No more than the framers of our Constitution took that position.

The CHAIRMAN. What position does he occupy on your staff?

Mr. HUTCHINS. None. The Institute for Philosophical Research was not established by us. It is not supported by the Ford Founda-

tion; it is supported by the Fund for the Advancement of Education and by the Old Dominion Trust.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Keele, do you have any further questions?

Mr. KEELE. What part is the Ford Foundation playing in the education of the Armed Forces, Mr. Hutchins?

Mr. HUTCHINS. The Ford Foundation came to the conclusion, and the board of the Fund for the Advancement of Education came to the same conclusion, that the total male population of the United States might spend many years in the Army, and it raised a question of the kind of education that was to be conducted there; what kind of education should a soldier have in order to be a better soldier, and what kind of education should he have while he is in the Army so as to come out a better citizen.

At the request of the Department of Defense, the foundation has been working on that, or the Fund for the Advancement of Education, rather, has been working on that problem with the Department of Defense for the past year, and I think now has some programs that are going to be worked out with the Department to try to solve these problems.

Mr. KEELE. A question has been suggested: What precautions are you taking to see that the programs on TV which the Fund for Adult Education is sponsoring do not become a propaganda medium?

Mr. HUTCHINS. We conduct two operations in the field of television. One is the show Omnibus that we conduct directly through the Television-Radio Workshop, which is a division of the Ford Foundation. The other is through the Fund for the Advancement of Education on the education television channels that I described this morning.

In the case of the commercial show, it goes through the regular screening that every commercial show experiences, and we are not interested there in propaganda of any kind. We are interested in trying to find that combination of entertainment and education that will make a salable product for a commercial sponsor. We are trying to raise the level of commercial television.

In education by television, the institutions themselves decide what material they are going to use.

Mr. KEELE. Do you think there is any probability that the, shall we call them coordinators, in the adult-education program will tend to become themselves propagandists?

Mr. HUTCHINS. In the first place, when the Fund for Adult Education was established, the main theme of the discussion in the board of trustees was that the Ford Foundation and this fund were not going to tell people what to think. They were going to try to make it possible for them to think about and talk about the things that they wanted to think about in their own way, and the Fund for Adult Education has taken this position remorselessly to the present time.

The test-city projects are 3-year projects. The Fund for the Advancement of Education contributes in a local community, like Little Rock, on a declining basis for 3 years, and the fund then moves out, so that even if a coordinator were to go into a community and start to lay down the law it would not last very long, and, of course, it would last a shorter time than that if we found out about it.

Mr. KEELE. I have no further questions, Mr. Hays.

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Simpson?

Mr. SIMPSON. Doctor, I believe, you distinguished between a membership in an organization on the Attorney General's list or similar lists, based upon the matter of time of membership?

Mr. HUTCHINS. I think that has some importance.

Mr. SIMPSON. Would you, as a director of the fund, recommend the granting under any circumstances to an organization that is on that list at the present time?

Mr. HUTCHINS. I think a grant to an organization on that list at the present time is impossible.

Mr. SIMPSON. Would you permit the money to pass through one of these other corporations to such an organization?

Mr. HUTCHINS. I think the notion that an organization, pronounced as subversive by some agency of the United States Government, some responsible agency of the United States Government, could receive Ford money is impossible.

Mr. SIMPSON. Would you permit money to pass directly from the foundation or through the secondary organization, the corporation, to an individual who is a member of one of the organizations at the present time?

Mr. HUTCHINS. Not until very carefully investigated, his own individual case, and offered a sufficient explanation of his membership, and shown that he was completely loyal.

Mr. SIMPSON. You maintain that at the present time, despite the fact that the organization is being listed on such a list, that it is possible for an individual to be a member of the said organization which is on the list, and yet be what you described as perfectly loyal?

Mr. HUTCHINS. It may be unlikely, but it is possible, and the circuit court of appeals has so held in the case of governmental employees.

Mr. SIMPSON. In such a close case, you say that the foundation might see fit to make a grant to him?

Mr. HUTCHINS. I think it is conceivable. I think it is unlikely; that is, it would be, in the first place, that you would have to make sure that he was a man who was uniquely qualified to do the particular job that you had under consideration.

In the second place, you would have to make sure that he was completely loyal in spite of the presumption raised by membership on this list.

Mr. SIMPSON. This goes into a mental process. Why would a man so pure, and so on, why would he belong to that organization?

Mr. HUTCHINS. That would be what you would have to find out.

Mr. SIMPSON. Why would you want to deal with a dumbbell like that?

Mr. HUTCHINS. If you were engaged, as I was, for a very long time in such projects as the atomic-bomb projects, you find that there is no necessary correlation between political sagacity and scientific eminence.

Mr. SIMPSON. That is a good statement, sir.

I wish the foundations would make our job easier by saying that no grants would be made to either organizations or members of organizations which are on those lists, which are determined by proper governmental agency.

Mr. HUTCHINS. I think that the foundation can assure you that no grants will be made to subversive organizations or subversive individuals.

Mr. SIMPSON. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Would the presumption of guilt be sufficiently strong to prevent the making of a grant on the part of your foundation to one who, in some congressional investigation, had refused to answer the question as to whether or not he had ever been a member of the Communist Party or on the ground of self-incrimination had refused to answer that question?

Mr. HUTCHINS. Certainly, the presumption of guilt would be sufficiently strong, extremely dubious, and he would have to be investigated with the most extraordinary care.

The CHAIRMAN. In answer to a question propounded by Mr. Simpson, you said that in instances where an agency of the Government had designated one as Communist-controlled that you would accept that as binding upon you until otherwise proved. Would you regard the Committee on Un-American Activities to be such a governmental agency?

Mr. HUTCHINS. I would think that the House Un-American Activities Committee is a responsible agency of Congress.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you familiar with the work that that committee has been carrying on over the past several years?

Mr. HUTCHINS. Only as a newspaper reader.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, as such, do you approve or disapprove of the record that they have made?

Mr. HUTCHINS. I think that the House Un-American Activities Committee has performed a useful service. I cannot—

The CHAIRMAN. That is enough, Doctor.

Mr. HUTCHINS. Excuse me.

The CHAIRMAN. If there is anybody here that can embarrass you in any sort of cross-examination he might conduct, I would like to see him come forward.

Mr. HAYS. Do you have any questions?

Mr. FORAND. I have no questions.

Mr. HUTCHINS. I am not sure that is a compliment.

The CHAIRMAN. I have been trying to embarrass him, but I know I could not do it if I tried.

Mr. HAYS. Dr. Hutchins, thank you very much.

Mr. HUTCHINS. Thank you very much.

Mr. HAYS. Do you have anything to add?

Mr. HUTCHINS. No, sir. Thank you very much. I think the investigation of the committee is most constructive.

Mr. HAYS. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. We all think it is.

Mr. KEELE. Thank you.

I would like to offer an exhibit, if the committee permits, which consists of the article, from which I read excerpts entitled, "Timid Billions," by Edward R. Embree, in Harper's Magazine of March 1949.

I think, if it may be permitted, that it ought to be set out in the record because it is a criticism of foundations written by a man whom Dr. Hutchins has characterized, and whom I think is generally known, as one of the most articulate and thoughtful men in foundation work.

Mr. HAYS. I am sure the committee will agree to include any passages that you think pertinent in your discretion.

Mr. KEELE. I think the whole article itself, which is only about six pages, should be in the record. I think it is perhaps the best critique that has appeared in popular form on foundations.

Mr. FORAND. You would like to make it a part of the record?

Mr. KEELE. That is right; I would like to make it a part of the record.

Mr. FORAND. Rather than merely referring to it?

Mr. KEELE. Yes.

Mr. FORAND. I have no objection to that, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. HAYS. Without objection, it will be made a part of the record.

(The document referred to is as follows:)

[Article from Harper's Magazine, March 1949]

TIMID BILLIONS—ARE THE FOUNDATIONS DOING THEIR JOB?

By Edwin R. Embree

Mr. Embree, the author of *Investment in People*, has been vice-president of the Rockefeller Foundation, president of the Julius Rosenwald Fund, and is now president of the Liberian Foundation.

American foundations grew out of the spectacular fortunes amassed during the swift expansion of this new country. They were created to bring to bear on human welfare that private initiative and free enterprise that their founders had so boldly used in the building of commerce and industry. In addition to endowments for specific subjects and institutions—churches, hospitals, colleges, and the like—there are over 500 general foundations in America with charters as broad as the whole of human progress. They own capital of over two billion dollars and pour into the stream of American philanthropy a hundred million dollars a year.

Are foundations showing the imagination and resourcefulness on social issues that their founders showed in business and that modern society so desperately needs?

Basic American industries are represented in the fortunes that created these foundations. Iron and steel made the millions that appeared in various Carnegie endowments. Oil produced the great Rockefeller boards, the (Harkness) Commonwealth Fund, and the new Cullen Foundation of Texas. Cotton built the John F. Slater Fund and harvesting machinery, the McCormick Memorial Fund. The financing of pioneer industry created the Russell Sage Foundation. Copper was the base of the several Guggenheim endowments and the Phelps-Stokes Fund. Tobacco produced the Duke and Reynolds trusts. The typically American automobile industry made possible the Ford and Sloan funds, and food processing created the Kellogg Foundation. From merchandising on the grand scale came the Kress and Kresge and Field Foundations and the Julius Rosenwald Fund.

The aims set for them by their founders were ambitiously broad. Andrew Carnegie endowed the Carnegie Corp. for "the advancement and diffusion of knowledge and understanding among the people of the United States and the British Dominions and Colonies." "The well-being of mankind throughout the world" is the chartered purpose of the Rockefeller Foundation. The Milbank Memorial Fund was set up "to improve the physical, mental, and moral condition of humanity" and the Markle Foundation was endowed "to promote the advancement and diffusion of knowledge among the people of the United States and the general good of mankind." The Julius Rosenwald Fund was directed by its founder to expend its total resources in a single generation "for the well-being of mankind."

In pursuing these broad purposes, foundations are unique in their opportunity to pioneer. They have free funds and freedom of operation. Not restricted to narrow purposes, their mobile resources can be used on any front for any cause that presents special need or special opportunity. They do not have to cater to a standardized constituency by doing popularly accepted things. They are not engaged in the direct operation of large plants and so do not need to be engrossed in details of administration nor bound by institutionalized traditions. Many of them are permitted by their charters

to expend principal as well as income and can rush huge forces into any enterprise they select. They can assemble the keenest minds from all over the world and provide stimulating settings for conference and planning, and they can provide ample funds to experiment and to demonstrate new procedures for human welfare. If their experiments do not come up to expectation, there is no social catastrophe. If they succeed, the work is taken up by the State or by general giving, leaving the foundation free to move on to pioneering in other fields.

A few of the foundations, especially in the freshness of their early years, have lived up to their high opportunities. Nothing in American achievement is more brilliant than the practical application of ideas by the group of men associated with John D. Rockefeller as he set up his foundations at the turn of the century. Frederick T. Gates, a Baptist preacher and early Rockefeller adviser, was probably the greatest statesman in American philanthropy. Mr. Gates found worthy associates in Wallace Buttrick, another Baptist preacher; in William H. Welsh and Simon and Abraham Flexner, who represented new ideas in medicine; in Wickliffe Rose and General Gorgas, pioneers in public health. Just look at the scope and achievement of some of the early efforts of the Rockefeller group.

Fifty years ago medicine and public health were only at the threshold of their growth in America. Medical schools for the most part were taught by busy practitioners in their spare time; research scarcely existed; preventive medicine was a stepchild. Wise use of the Rockefeller millions was a transforming force in this whole field. The Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research was set up so that doctors and scientists could give their full time to the study of disease and its prevention and cure. Into this institute, Mr. Rockefeller and the foundations he set up poured 67 million dollars—a bold attack on a basic need. To remedy the mediocrity of medical education in America, Abraham Flexner was commissioned to study the medical schools of Germany and other countries. And on the basis of his findings, demonstrations of modern medical education at a number of our leading universities were supported by 100 millions of Rockefeller dollars as well as by millions which flowed in generously from other foundations and individuals. Today American medical education leads the world.

In applying the new knowledge to human welfare, the Rockefeller Sanitation Commission (later merged into the International Health Division of the Rockefeller Foundation) undertook dramatic demonstrations of the ability of man to rid himself of one after another of the great contagious diseases. Starting with the homely hookworm, members of the commission showed how simple it was to curb an infection which had lowered the vitality of hundreds of thousands of people in the southern United States and of millions throughout tropical and semitropical lands. They moved on to conduct war on a wide front against malaria, one of the world's oldest and greatest scourges. And in a concerted attack on yellow fever, they have actually eliminated this deadly plague from all but a few isolated spots in Africa and South America.

These were magnificent attacks on one phase of human welfare; and in a quite different field the early Rockefeller advisers took up an equally creative enterprise. They stimulated the building of a great university in the capital of the Middle West. Contributing \$78 million to the University of Chicago, the Rockefeller fortune helped to raise the level of higher education throughout the region. The galaxy of Midwest State universities—Illinois, Wisconsin, Michigan, Minnesota, Iowa—could scarcely have come to their current high standards without the compelling influence of the University of Chicago.

There are other examples of bold and persistent attack on basic problems: the early Carnegie program that put public libraries in hundreds of cities and towns and affected the reading habits of the Nation, and the Carnegie insurance and annuity plan which has added to the security of thousands of professors and scholars; the 40 years' service of the Russell Sage Foundation in transforming social work from fumbling and patronizing charity to a skilled and constructive profession; the application of social science to public administration by the Spelman Fund; the cultivation of the finest young talent through the Guggenheim fellowships; the contributions to music of the Juilliard Foundation; the 30 years' work of the Julius Rosenwald Fund in equalizing opportunities for all the people in America, especially in enlarging and enriching education and other facilities for the Negro tenth of the Nation. And, of course, many foundations have lavishly supported the physical sciences, which have added so much to our wealth—and our dangers.

## II

Unfortunately, comparable instances of creative attack on basic problems are singularly lacking today. In spite of the increasing number of funds and the desperate needs of the world, there is an ominous absence of that social pioneering that is the essential business of foundations.

I undertake the criticism of current foundation work with modesty and respect, for I recognize the traditional and potential greatness of American philanthropy. The Rockefeller family, for example, has a record for wise and generous giving, extending now over three generations, that is probably unequaled in human history. The various Carnegie boards have been a strong influence in education and many other phases of American life for nearly half a century. The officers of the Carnegie funds, running from Henry S. Pritchett and Frederick P. Keppel to Charles Dollard, the present president of the Carnegie Corp., have been leaders in the intellectual life of the Nation for two generations. Among the trustees and officers of many of the five hundred or more foundations are some of America's finest thinkers and leaders. And I remember with contrition that foundations which I helped to direct were not without certain of the faults I censure.

My criticism is not so much of given individuals or given boards as it is of the present trend. And I speak not only for people outside the foundations but for many trustees and officers who are distressed at the present lack of pioneering. Somehow policies have got confused and timid; foundation giving, instead of concentrating on the social frontiers, is losing its leadership and becoming conventional and stereotyped. Medicine and health meant pioneering 50 years ago; today they are the philanthropic fashion, so firmly established that governments and private individuals support them abundantly. Yet the best reports available show that almost half of all foundation appropriations still go to these fields. Another third goes to colleges and universities and various phases of education. Support of welfare agencies and research in the natural sciences account for much of the rest of foundation giving.

Even in these conventional fields foundations are tending more and more to avoid enterprise and initiative. Instead of pouring brains and money into frontal attacks on fresh problems, they now tend toward what Frederick Gates used to call the great foundation sin, "scatteration"—that is, the sprinkling of little grants over a multiplicity of causes and institutions.

The published reports of almost any of the foundations show this trend. A recent report of the (Rockefeller) General Education Board, for example, lists 49 "major grants" to southern white colleges and 28 "major grants" to Negro colleges, thus covering with a light philanthropic dew a cross-section of the respectable institutions of the region. In addition during the same year this foundation made scores of smaller gifts ranging from \$4,100 to as little as \$300 to 137 separate individuals and projects, such as a study of Blue Ridge flora by Lynchburg College, help in a nutrition laboratory for the University of Alabama, part of the salary of a bacteriologist at the University of North Carolina, a dairy technologist at North Carolina State College, a teacher of nursing at Florida A. & M. College, training in laundry and dry cleaning at Piney Woods. Such grants are not only a dissipation of the attention and resources of a great foundation; they are a usurping of the administrative function of the duly constituted authorities of these institutions.

The only even moderately large grants of the year by this board were conditional pledges totaling \$950,000 to the endowments of Millsaps College, Randolph-Macon, Southern Methodist, Sewanee, and Washington and Lee. Another \$620,000 was spread over capital additions to Erskine, Guilford, Hampton-Sydney, Hendrix, and Salem Colleges and the University of Tulsa. These are proper enough institutions and it may be argued that such grants contribute a multifold attack upon a single problem, that of higher education in the South; but the addition of around \$140,000 each to the buildings or endowments of these 11 respectable colleges for white southerners is not going to bring any profound changes to the education of the region.

The Rockefeller Foundation, one of the greatest of the philanthropic boards (holding securities with market value at the beginning of 1948 of over \$230 million), is now divided into five divisions or bureaus. These divisions cover a wide gamut of human interests from the humanities through the social and natural and medical sciences to public health. But they so sharply divide the field that it is hard to get any project considered which does not fit snugly into the set pattern of one of these compartments. Yet most of the fresh ventures

which lead to social progress are by the very newness of their concepts outside of the ancient molds. This foundation lists in its recent report grants in a single year to over 1,000 separate projects and individuals, ranging all the way from a few hundred dollars for graduate medical education in an Army hospital and for instruction in German at Connecticut College, to gifts of a hundred thousand dollars or more to the National Research Council and to the building of a cyclotron at the University of California. One is staggered by the sweep of the gifts, covering almost every subject in institutions in almost every State of the Union and many foreign countries. But one cannot but feel that these gifts are so thinly spread over such a diversity of projects that they are not doing much more than pouring oil on the existing machinery. The officers of such a foundation are engrossed in the review of hundreds of projects for which they have assumed some responsibility as well as in consideration of thousands of appeals from a welter of needy agencies and individuals. Just to keep the wheels of such a philanthropic factory going becomes as absorbing a task as running a hospital or managing a department store.

Occupational diseases that easily infect foundations are traditionalism and self-preservation. Officers and trustees, constantly appealed to and deferred to by applicants, can scarcely avoid getting an exaggerated idea of their own importance and becoming preoccupied with holding and enlarging their roles. The easiest way to hold a traditional place is to play it safe. Far from contemplating bold experiments or risking fresh ventures, the tendency is to invest in social welfare—as in bonds—only in the safest securities.

The trustees of foundations are heavily weighted toward conservation. A study made some years ago by Eduard C. Lindeman showed an overwhelming preponderance of bankers, lawyers, and friends of the founder. There are directors of industry but few of the active scientists and technicians who are daily pushing the industries ahead; there are university presidents but few active scholars or teachers. Labor is not represented on any of the big boards. When the Julius Rosenwald Fund elected Negroes to its membership, many thoughtful people approved. But none of the large foundations have followed this example, though several include Negro institutions and race relations among their contributions. Often the founder's eccentricity or special interest determines policy, and in the case of the family foundations, friends and business associates on the board often serve more as executors to carry out his will than as socially responsible trustees. There is little evidence to support the claims of some critics that these conservative trustees try to use the power of foundations to bolster up the status quo and oppose change. And still less to support the recent diatribes of the Chicago Tribune that foundations are "fostering the red menace." The real criticism is not that foundations are vicious, but that they are inert.

In several foundations new proposals are passed around among a large staff. To get by the doubts of half a dozen distinguished and self-important critics, a proposal has to be so sound as to be almost innocuous. In such an atmosphere cynicism easily develops; one seldom finds foundation groups on fire with new ideas, enthusiastically discussing new ventures, fervently struggling to find fresh procedures and wider horizons.

In what seems to be an effort to concentrate on fresh ventures, several boards have recently announced that they will no longer give to building or endowments but will support only special projects and those only for a trial period. But often the support is so small and so brief that little lasting good results. Colleges and social agencies busily scan their programs looking for some item they can call special. They peddle this project to a foundation only to find that often they have to spend a great deal of their regular budget in bolstering up the special item. And they find that, after 3 or 5 years, the tapering off of the foundation grant leaves them saddled with a department swelled beyond its merit by temporary foundation aid and not necessarily any more useful than other departments that have been starved to cater to a philanthropic fad.

A natural foundation practice is to put off action in a given field until it has studied and deliberated, often for years. When this means keen analysis, looking toward active work after the facts are in, it is wise procedure. But often the surveys seem to become ends in themselves and the deliberations trickle off into nothing. A wealthy New Yorker recently incorporated a substantial part of his fortune, and the new foundation employed consultants and settled down to studies of what fields it should enter and what procedures it should follow. At the end of a year the nub of its findings was expressed by one of the men who had taken part in the studies by this quip:



"A foundation is not justified in giving to a project until that project has proved its usefulness, and after a project has demonstrated its value it should not need foundation stimulus." So that particular fund settled quietly back to supporting the pet charities of its founder.

Bureaucracy perpetuates its own molds. One of the older foundations has a professional staff of nearly a hundred persons highly trained in work started more than a generation ago. However competent in their own profession, these officers cannot be expected to do much pioneering in other fields. So this foundation is almost doomed to continue in a realm which, however fresh and significant 40 years ago, is now so firmly established and fully accepted that it should be turned over to support by the state and by popular giving.

Concern for self-preservation often leads trustees not to search for ways to use their funds most effectively, but to be preoccupied with conserving their assets. One foundation, during the depression of the thirties when funds were more needed than ever by social agencies, deliberately voted to withhold \$2 million of its income each year as "reserves to protect capital." A year ago this foundation put more into capital reserve than into all its philanthropies, and over the years by curbing its gifts, it has added some \$25 million to its permanent assets. Reports of generous giving sometimes turn out to be merely the passing around of funds among allied boards. For example, nearly half of all "payments for philanthropic purposes" made by the Rockefeller Foundation in 1947 were transfers to its sister funds, the General Education Board and the China Medical Board. Expenditures over the years by the Carnegie Corp. include payments of nearly \$100 million to other Carnegie boards and allied agencies. A foundation with a capital of \$50 million lists expenditures for a year of only seven-tenths of 1 percent. Another has set aside nearly half its present resources as a "reserve fund to assure income for administrative expense."

An attack on the diseases of hoarding and traditionalism was made by Julius Rosenwald. In setting up his foundation, he provided not only that it might spend principal as well as income but that it must spend its total resources within one generation. He wanted his money spent while vision was fresh and enthusiasm high. The various Rockefeller boards and several of the newer trusts have the right to spend principal as well as income and from time to time are making substantial allocations from their capital funds. But in general, prudence, not boldness, is the rule.

Of course imaginative projects are not absent from current foundation grants. Henry Allen Moe and his associates continue with uncanny insight to search out and give opportunity to the finest young talent through the Guggenheim fellowships. And in special fields other foundations are generous in providing opportunities for young Americans to pursue the highest reaches of education at home or abroad and for students from many foreign countries to travel and learn. While foundation "studies" have become a byword, several of them are of wide influence, notably the brilliant analyses of economic issues by the Twentieth Century Fund and the study of race relations a few years ago by Gunnar Myrdal, initiated and supported by the Carnegie Corp., which resulted in the outstanding treatise, *An American Dilemma*. The medical sciences of the Rockefeller Foundation have been extended under the leadership of Dr. Alan Gregg to include the newer fields of psychology and psychoanalysis. And no one could accuse the Rockefeller Foundation of conventionality in its support of the studies of Alfred Kinsey which brought forth the provocative report, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male*.

New leaders are coming into many of the larger foundations at just this time. They have an opportunity to turn these great social forces from traditional activities to fresh attacks on currently pressing problems. An encouraging sign is the recent decision of the Carnegie Corp. that it had reached the point of diminishing returns in programs which it had been carrying for two decades or more. It has announced that it is moving out of its long-continued efforts in adult education, library developments, and college art. It has also divested itself of its long concern with college examinations by helping to set up and endow an autonomous agency in that realm, the Educational Testing Service. As a result of its self-discipline the Carnegie Corp. is able to turn to fresh problems, especially in the social sciences. During the past year, for example, it has put three-quarters of a million dollars into the Russian Research Center of Harvard University, which aims to keep us acquainted as fully as possible with all phases of Russian life and to make the results of its research fully available to government, industry, and education.

Such decisions are terribly hard for any foundation to make. Yet they are necessary if these potentially creative funds are to avoid traditionalism and vested bureaucracy.

## III

Whatever lacks may exist in the classic foundations, they are at least within the recognized patterns of tax-exempt philanthropy. But many of the newer funds do not recognize even a minimum of social responsibility. Two or three hundred of the so-called foundations, including some of the biggest, are simply family trusts: receptacles into which men put funds which thereupon become free of taxes. Their boards of trustees are often simply the founder, one or two members of his family, and his attorney. The money in course of time presumably finds its way into charity, and may thus justify its tax exemption. But there is strong suspicion that in given instances the "trustees" have used these funds to bolster up a family business. The founder continues, in fact if not in law, to control the funds of many of these trusts and can invest them in any way that suits his whim or his business interests. In some cases a foundation holds the controlling stock of a company, and the administrative expenses of the fund may provide tax-exempt management for the corporation.

Suspensions grow because many of the foundations publish no accounts of their holdings, their expenditures, or their procedures. The careful surveys periodically made by the Russell Sage Foundation and others have to report "no information available" or "data refused" in the case of scores of these trusts. In the most recent survey 240 foundations, out of the 505 canvassed, refused to give any information.

Some of these were among the biggest aggregations of wealth in America. The Ford Foundation is reputed to have assets even greater than the Rockefeller and Carnegie endowments; it is reported that in addition to his earlier gifts, the late Henry Ford willed to this foundation most of the nonvoting stock of the Ford Motor Co. Yet this foundation during all the years of its existence has never made any report to the public, nor furnished any detailed information for publication in the national surveys. The Cullen Foundation of Texas, with assets said to exceed \$100 million, the Charles Hayden Foundation, with a reported capital of \$50 million, and many other large foundations give no public accounting of their holdings or their expenditures. Even so long established a board as the New York Foundation, which has done some fine things, has made no report to the public during the 40 years of its existence.

In the absence of regulation of trust funds, abuses of tax exemption are springing up. One device is for the owners of a business to offer it as a "foundation" to a college or charity, with the unwritten understanding that the institution will thereupon hire the former owners at fancy salaries as managers of the business. This is a very pretty deal. The institution gets tax-free revenue from the trust and the former owners get a larger net income from their salaries than they would get from the earnings of the company after normal business taxes. The only losers are Uncle Sam and all the rest of us in America who have to pay larger taxes to make up for this evasion.

A congressional committee this very winter is unearthing some strange manipulations of tax-exempt funds, for example the Textron trusts. Whatever the legality of particular transactions, the current carelessness—or callousness—in failing to give any public accounting of tax-exempt funds is intolerable. If these trusts were treated as a regular part of the businesses that are creating them, the annual earnings would be subject to a tax up to 33 percent. If they were treated as personal holdings the individual income taxes would of course be much greater. This means that for every \$10 million received as income by philanthropic trusts, there is a loss in normal business taxes of \$3,800,000, or loss in income taxes that might run as high as \$7 or \$8 million.

If trust funds are to continue to have the great benefit of tax exemption—which means extra taxes for all the rest of us—they must be subject to public accounting at least as strict as that required by the Securities Exchange Commission of companies whose stocks are listed on the public marts. This does not mean that a commission would regulate the gifts of a foundation. The commission would simply require and supervise a public accounting which at a minimum would mean publication of the names of all trustees and officers, a listing of the capital holdings together with all changes in those holdings each year, a detailed statement of income and a listing of expenditures including both gifts and compensation to individuals. Pitiless publicity and objective accounting are strong forces in America. These regulations need not affect colleges and

churches and similar institutions. A clear distinction has been recognized between agencies engaged in operating their own services and trusts set up to hold capital and disburse funds to others.

Public regulation of trust funds is high on the legislative agenda for the year 1949.

#### IV

Questions of tax evasion and unfair manipulation of trust funds must be handled by law. Questions of service to society are less easily appraised but are equally important.

Insofar as foundations let themselves become concerned with self-preservation, bound by tradition, and busy with hundreds of small projects, they cannot have time or creative energy for viewing the basic needs of society and devising fresh ways to meet them. Before turning to examples of fields in which foundations could be doing creative work, let us mark off some large areas that, however worthy in themselves, no longer have any special need for foundation stimulus.

*Research in the physical sciences.*—Of course we need to continue to study natural forces. But the Armed Forces and industries are pouring hundreds of millions of dollars into the natural sciences. And already our physical knowledge is so far ahead of our understanding and control of ourselves that the whole human race is in danger of being destroyed by its own scientific miracles.

*Medicine and public health.*—These are now thoroughly accepted in principle if not always in practice as public responsibility both by Government and by community chests and private givers. The difficulty here is not so much to enlist public support as to persuade private groups to relinquish monopoly control of pet charities. One foundation trustee is reported to have complained recently, "We raised \$3 million for cancer research and then read that the Government proposes to appropriate \$30 million to the same cause; it's very discouraging." This competition to control causes and win credit may be very human but it has no place in foundation policy. Of course new movements in medicine as in any subject are always calls on foundation interest. But in general medicine and health, which were such crying needs 50 years ago, are no longer pioneer areas.

*The regular run of schools and colleges.*—Education is now firmly established as a public responsibility in America. There is still need for experiment and pioneering; foundations may well continue to support fresh spurs to the learning process. The Bureau for Intercultural Education, for example, is pioneering in finding ways to introduce democracy both in the organization of our school systems and in the education of the students. At least a dozen colleges are working at fresh methods of stimulating the educative process. Sarah Lawrence in quality and Roosevelt College of Chicago in democracy are notable deviates from tradition. Ironically, pioneering colleges and fresh experiments in education—the only points at which foundations can make creative contribution—are just the ventures that find it hardest to enlist philanthropic support.

*Social agencies and local charities.*—No foundation has staff enough to judge the merits of the thousands of appeals that pour in from hospitals and charities and local agencies of every sort, nor money enough to cover even a fraction of the needs. And carrying the burden of accepted institutions is not the special function of foundations.

If foundations will leave to the State and to general giving the support of work being done in areas already established in popular acceptance—into which at least three-fourths of all foundation money is now going—they can turn their energies to social pioneering as heroic as any of the achievements of the earlier days. And there are urgent needs today, maybe greater than ever before. Here are a few areas calling for the very kind of initiative and enterprise that foundations are created to give:

##### (1) TEACHER EDUCATION

America has developed good professional training in medicine, law, and engineering. We have sadly neglected preparation for the most important profession, teaching. The need is not for more or bigger normal schools and teachers' colleges. God forbid. The need is to find and demonstrate sound and realistic preparation for a great profession. The improvement in medical education indicates the profound influence a foundation can have. One of the clearest and greatest opportunities today for private enterprise in philanthropy is in showing the way to make teaching the magnificent profession it must become if America and democracy are to grow to full stature.

## (2) HEROIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE HUMAN STUDIES

The fabulous support given to physical research during the past 50 years has brought rich rewards but it has squeezed the study of social organization and personal growth into the shadows. We need to understand the processes of child growth at least as fully as we understand the growth of plants. We need to know the causes of mental derangement as well as we know the causes of bodily disease. We should study just as objectively the types of family life and social organization that will be most useful to mankind as we have studied what physical forces can be most destructive. It is true that vested interests will oppose objectivity in the social studies. They have opposed all science, yet in the end objective truth has triumphed.

The whole range of human studies must be fostered. Creative students will be found not only in universities but in business houses, advertising firms, diplomatic corps, psychiatric clinics—wherever keen minds are grappling with problems of understanding and influencing human conduct. And revealing insights will come not so much by cloistered study as by participation in various realms of active life where human behavior may be experienced in the raw. Many procedures to stimulate additions to knowledge will be found by any foundation willing to give to the human studies the resourceful imagination and magnanimous support that have gone into medicine and the physical sciences.

## (3) HUMAN RELATIONS

Along with human studies must go active application to human relations, just as public health is an active partner of medical research or as improved agriculture and industry are tied in with scientific study. In our American democracy there is need for continued effort to equalize opportunities and bring all groups of our people into the full stream of American life. Negroes are not the only sufferers; 3 million Spanish-Americans live under gross discrimination; 4 million Jewish Americans are subject to slights and abuses; Catholics and children of recent immigrants, especially from Asia, are handicapped by prejudice; women are not yet given full equality; labor and management are still struggling for a fair balance in their common task of producing our wealth. We must find ways within the democratic framework of curbing discrimination and give members of all groups a chance to make their full contribution and receive their full share of our material and spiritual riches. Cities and States and the Federal Government are beginning to give official attention to these problems; they will promptly make use of any new findings that study and experiment can offer.

In the larger field of human relations, we must fit ourselves for wise action in our new role as leaders in a closely interdependent world. Agencies in many cities and towns throughout the country, notably the Foreign Policy Association, are spreading knowledge of current world affairs and stimulating the thinking of hundreds of thousands of influential citizens. They deserve magnanimous and persistent support in their cultivation of this new frontier.

## (4) THE ARTS

It is amazing that American foundations have done so little for the arts. In olden days this was the realm patronized most heavily by rich men and nobles. The Juilliard Foundation has fostered music, the Guggenheim and Rosenwald fellowships have cultivated artistic promise as well as talent in other fields, and other foundations have taken some interest in art. But the great emphasis of American philanthropy has been on scholarship and social reform. Some foundation can have a wonderful time developing civic theaters, promoting literature and the dance, fostering the whole realm of folk and fine arts.

## (5) A GREAT UNIVERSITY FOR THE SOUTH

This is a very specific project as contrasted to the more general programs outlined above, but its results would be of benefit to a whole region and to the Nation. Early Rockefeller leadership in the building of the University of Chicago transformed the scholarship and the cultural level of the Midwest. Leland Stanford's munificence did somewhat the same thing for the Pacific coast, setting standards which had much to do with the quickly emerging greatness of the University of California. The South needs such a standard desperately. A great university could rise above the parochial problems and the petty restrictions of race and caste that beset the region. It would draw to its faculty the finest thinkers of

the world regardless of creed or color or class. It would naturally admit to its select departments of higher learning whatever students would meet its high requirements. Its scholarship would enrich the region through the application of every phase of scientific knowledge and human understanding. Many foundations have scattered gifts over scores of the existing institutions both white and Negro. In fact southern education has long been a pet hobby of American philanthropy. But no concerted attempt has been made to erect a great intellectual pinnacle in the region.

(6) WORLD PEACE AND PROSPERITY

World issues may seem too vast for any private foundation to tackle. It is true that the fateful decisions are made by governments. But responsibility for peace must be assumed by the people as a whole just as the consequences of war fall on the whole people. The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace was created specifically for work in this area, and several foundations are making contributions largely in the form of "studies." The need of the times is for much more aggressive effort on many fronts. Here is a place for initiative and enterprise of the highest order. I cite two examples of creative concepts in quite different phases of world problems.

The Great Island Conference under the leadership of Beardsley Ruml has proposed assembling the top brains of the country to attack the moot problems of world organization and world prosperity. The issues are so varied and so knotty—as shown by the struggles of the United Nations—that the most resourceful minds both in and out of Government should devote themselves to the search for solutions. Private individuals from the various countries can discuss issues with an objectivity and frankness impossible to Government representatives who are bound by current national policies and questions of national prestige. Yet governments, however proud and jealous, would gladly use ideas and procedures that could be shown to be feasible and for the common good. Ruml and his associates have not suggested particular projects or specific personnel, but have urged that foundations set aside \$20,000,000 to bring the ablest men of the country into continuous thinking and planning. The conference suggests salaries comparable at least to the secondary brackets of law and industry, say around \$50,000. So far the foundations have shuddered at the mention of such large sums and have doubted the possibility of enlisting the ablest brains for such tasks. Yet this is not an issue to be attacked with the conventional social-service hand-out of a few tens of thousands of dollars to be used by the conventional run of social bureaucrats. Either big thinking and basic planning will come out of it or nothing. And if any ideas can be produced to prevent war and promote cooperation, they will save not millions but billions of dollars, to say nothing of blood and sweat and tears. It is a gamble, but a magnificent gamble.

Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., and Nelson Rockefeller are working out, with business and educational associates, new patterns of cooperation between nations which stress the equal development of natural resources and human resources. They point out that one-quarter of the people of the earth now have most of the wealth and the scientific and technical know-how, while three-fourths of the world's people are poor, ridden with disease, and ignorant of the technology by which they could raise themselves to higher living. They believe that the present balance is unnecessary and that the peace of the world depends on bringing all people into a fairer share of education and prosperity. They are setting out, independently of each other and by quite different methods, one in Africa and the other in South America, to help to develop the resources and the peoples of those continents.

These projects represent a new form of investment. Trustees of endowments have too often followed opposite policies in the dealings of their right hand and their left. They devote their income to gifts for social betterment with no regard for money value, while they invest their capital with a sole view to financial returns without regard for social welfare. Here are investments that combine financial returns and human development. An evidence that American industry is still more willing to pioneer than American philanthropy is that practically all of the thinking and financing of these new ventures in world cooperation have come not from foundations and the directors of social agencies but from businessmen.

These are just examples of opportunities lying ready at hand for foundations to turn their unique energies to the solution of acute and basic problems.

Arnold Toynbee, in his monumental Study of History, points out over and over again the transforming power of the "creative minority" in the development of civilizations. He and many other historians have recorded the decline of peoples when this minority becomes complaisant and formalized—more interested in the preservation of itself and its world than in stimulating further growth. By the very nature of their organization, foundations are especially fitted to be the creative minority to spur society on.

Mr. FORAND. I think it might be wise also to have Chairman Cox identify the document from which he was questioning Dr. Hutchins for the record.

The CHAIRMAN. I will do that. I tried to do it before.

Mr. FORAND. Identify it.

Mr. KEELE. Do you want us to get that?

The CHAIRMAN. It is a record in an investigation of the University of Chicago and Roosevelt College for seditious activities made by the Legislature of the State of Illinois in 1949.

Mr. KEELE. Dr. Eurich.

#### STATEMENT OF ALVIN C. EURICH, VICE PRESIDENT, FUND FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF EDUCATION

Mr. KEELE. Dr. Eurich, would you give your name, residence, and your position with the Ford Foundation, or the Fund for the Advancement of Education, for the record.

Mr. EURICH. My name is Alvin C. Eurich, and I live in New York City, and I am vice president of the Fund for the Advancement of Education.

Mr. KEELE. Before you became an officer of that fund, what had been your work and experience, Dr. Eurich?

Mr. EURICH. Before coming to the fund I was president of the State University of New York, and before that I was acting president of Stanford University for 1 year, and prior to that for 4 years vice president of Stanford University. Prior to that I was on the faculties of Northwestern University, University of Minnesota, and University of Maine.

Mr. KEELE. All right.

Tell us in as concise a fashion as you can the aims and objectives of the Fund for the Advancement of Education. I recognize that much could be said on that, but I wonder if you would summarize it for us and point out, if you can, where there is anything that is new or different or bold in the approach that is being taken.

Mr. EURICH. I think, first of all, Mr. Keele, in response to that question, I might refer to the annual report, the first annual report, of the Fund for the Advancement of Education. I think you have copies of that report before you.

The report is now in press and will be distributed to the public within a month or so.

I might refer to two brief statements in that report, one on page 2 of the report, saying:

In announcing its creation—

that is, the Fund for the Advancement of Education—

Mr. Paul Hoffman described its functions as follows: "The Fund for the Advancement of Education will devote its attention to educational problems at primary, secondary, college, and university levels. It will authorize basic studies con-

cerning contemporary goals in education and educational procedures, and encourage experimentation for which no machinery or funds are available at present.

That, I think, states briefly what was in the minds of the trustees of the Ford Foundation at the time they decided to establish the fund.

Then, on page 6 of this document there is a brief statement which was adopted by the board of directors of the Fund for the Advancement of Education as a policy statement:

The trustees of the Ford Foundation, in authorizing the establishment of the Fund for the Advancement of Education, directed it to devote its attention to experiments and new developments in education. The directors of the fund are, consequently, concerned with seeking, appraising, and supporting improvements and experiments in education which promise to have some general application and are not being adequately supported by existing private or public funds; and, second, with providing aid which may be required for putting into effect practices which experimentation or other proven experience has demonstrated to be sound. Within these limits the operation of the fund will be directed by the particular program of activities which the board, from time to time, formulates on the basis of its judgment of the most critically important matters in the areas specified. In its initial program the Fund for the Advancement of Education will not make grants for building programs, the increase of endowments or general operating expenses of institutions.

Starting with that general statement as a policy statement, the officers and directors of the Fund for the Advancement of Education attempted to make an analysis of the most critical areas, the most critical issues in American education, to which the fund might direct its energies and its resources.

After consulting many people throughout the country, some in terms of visiting them on campuses, or in communities of the country, others by bringing together in committees or advisory groups, the fund decided upon five critical areas. Those five critical areas are these: First, the clarification of the purposes or functions of the school. The fund decided upon that area because of the confusion that exists in many communities throughout the country in regard to what the schools are to do for the community.

The second area was that of closer articulation or coordination between the parts of the school system. As Mr. Hutchins has pointed out, the school system in this country has developed very rapidly in response to a definite need. In developing rapidly, the elementary school developed independently of the high school, the high school independently of the college, the college independently of the professional schools, so that there is general agreement throughout the country that there is a need for closer coordination between the parts of the school system.

The third area was in the improvement in the preparation of teachers and in the use of teachers in the school systems in order that they might do their work more effectively.

The fourth was improved financing of the schools; and the fifth, better education in the Armed Forces.

Mr. KEELE. All right.

Would you say a word about the third program that you mentioned, the improvement in the preparation and utilization of teachers. Under that, I suppose, comes the Arkansas experiment?

Mr. EURICH. That is right.

Mr. KEELE. The experiment at the University of Louisville is another one, and there are others.

Would you tell us just a little about what you are trying to do in that Arkansas experiment which has been touched upon by Dr. Hutchins?

Mr. EURICH. There again, after extensive discussion with an advisory committee and with people in education throughout the country, we found a concern over the fact that basically many teachers in the country do not have an adequate preparation for teaching, that is, basically they do not have an adequate education themselves which, in part, is understandable in terms of the extent to which we have had to expand our school system in recent years.

So we began there with the assumption that if something could be done to improve the basic education of teachers that, in turn, we would have a better school system.

Then, the question immediately arises what can be done to improve the basic education of teachers? There again, it was a concern in many quarters throughout the country, with the fact that many teachers, upon graduation from high school, go directly into professional work in normal schools and teachers' colleges, without extending their general or liberal education; whereas in most other professions we have taken steps throughout the country to extend the general or liberal education of people before they actually go into the professions.

In medicine, for example, it is common practice now to require 4 years of basic education before the student goes on into the medical school.

In law, 3 years is generally required. The engineering schools have shown a greater concern with the general education of students coming into the engineering colleges.

So that this really was a natural concern in view of what has happened to the training of people for other professions.

It was a concern, too, growing out of the fact that many of the teachers coming out of the professional preparation that they had were not really prepared to answer basic questions which the pupil might ask them.

So, in looking around the country we found that particularly people in Arkansas were concerned with this question. President Lewis Jones, of the University of Arkansas, had long been concerned with the basic preparation of teachers. We carried on discussions with him, and he brought together representatives from other groups in Arkansas, representatives of the parent-teachers association, of the State education department; the Governor of Arkansas attended one of the sessions that President Jones called, and there seemed to be unanimous concern with this problem in the State of Arkansas, and they raised the question with us as to whether we would be interested in financing, as Mr. Jones stated at the time, a bold State-wide experiment, which would attempt to provide, first, a liberal or a general education for all teachers before they are certified, and then follow that with some professional education, which would be related to an internship program which the students carried on in the schools of Arkansas.

That was later discussed with the presidents of all colleges and universities in the State concerned with the preparation of teachers, and the group as a whole, in cooperation with the State department of education, prepared a proposal which they submitted to us.

The first proposal was a request for \$85,000 to make their plans in somewhat greater detail, and then they came back with a second



proposal, actually to undertake the work this year, which is going on now since September.

Mr. KEELE. There was quite a bit of outspoken criticism against this plan or experiment on the part of educational groups, was there not?

Mr. EURICH. That is correct.

Mr. SIMPSON. What educational groups?

Mr. KEELE. Well, specifically, the National Education Association was one, I think.

Mr. EURICH. Yes; the American Association of Teachers' Colleges.

Mr. KEELE. That is right; I was going to mention that next.

Mr. EURICH. Yes.

Mr. KEELE. Are there any other educational groups that you could mention who were articulate in their criticism of this plan?

Mr. EURICH. I think the Association of Colleges for Teacher Education was really the only association that actually went on record as being against the program.

Mr. KEELE. They actually issued a statement, did they not.

Mr. EURICH. That is right.

Mr. KEELE. Which they criticized.

Mr. SIMPSON. Do they give their reasons?

Mr. EURICH. At their meeting.

Mr. KEELE. Yes; here it is, a three-page statement. Perhaps Dr. Eurich could give you the substance of their criticism.

Mr. SIMPSON. I think it would be well to have that. I would like to know whether it is based on practical or theoretical considerations.

Mr. EURICH. I think I might read just two brief statements, or excerpts rather, from the statement which they issued. They read as follows:

Domination of a State's educational system by a central agency, whether governmental or private, is extremely unwise. Centralized control by the proffer of money with strings attached can be just as effective as control by regulation and dictation. The association, holding its fourth annual convention at the Congress Hotel, also called the Ford proposal an eighteenth century model for teacher preparation.

In response to that, Dean Kronenberg, who was the director of the study, and chairman at the time of the State-wide committee, issued this statement, which was printed in the New York Times:

Dr. Kronenberg told the New York Times by telephone today that the statement or resolution passed at the AACTE meeting in Chicago was premature since no specific plan has been devised by the people in Arkansas.

"The AACTE," he said, "has placed itself in the position of criticizing a plan which does not exist."

That was the statement by the chairman of the State committee. Another statement in an editorial of the Arkansas Gazette—and the Arkansas Gazette maintained a close relationship in order to keep informed at all steps of the development of the program, and his statement reads as follows, in part:

The authors of the resolution adopted by the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education, condemning the Ford Foundation proposal for teacher education in Arkansas, proclaimed midway in their overheated pronouncement, "however, we have open minds." This is a rather remarkable statement since the resolution condemns in detail a plan that has not yet been worked out in detail, and includes the ridiculous charge that the foundation is seeking to dominate Arkansas' public school system.

Mr. SIMPSON. Everything the foundation did was done with the approval of the State authorities, was it not?

Mr. EURICH. It was done at their request in terms of a proposal which they submitted to us.

Mr. KEELE. May I just read, in response to your question—there are two short paragraphs, which you touched upon, Dr. Eurich, in which they stated—first, they characterized it, as Dr. Eurich has said, this adoption of an Eighteenth century model for teacher preparation, which is called a bold experiment in teacher education. They say:

The AACTE is strongly dedicated to a scientific experimentation as a means for improving education.

Then, skipping:

In this instance, we find it impossible to describe what is being proposed in Arkansas as a promising experiment. In the first place, its earnings are those of almost irrevocable commitment to a predetermined uniform pattern. No trial run or pilot study in one or two institutions is contemplated, no comparative evaluation of products of the new program with products of a concurrent program or any other character is proposed. We doubt that the experiment properly describes this proposal. It appears that uniform reorganization would be a more proper designation.

Then they say:

In the second place, the hypothesis upon which the proposal seems to be based is far from promising. Something comparable to this scheme for educating teachers was quite commonly used in Europe 500 years ago. It has since received extensive application in the secondary schools of dual-system countries.

Then they do say:

However, we have open minds. As long as there is a reasonable chance that a genuine experiment can throw light on the improvement of teacher education we do not disapprove it only because it contains certain dangers. When danger exists we insist that the scope of the experiment be limited, that adequate control be established, and that very careful measurements be provided. No one of these conditions prevails in the Arkansas proposal as it has been presented to us. Instead it seems to contemplate the universal imposition of a highly unpromising pattern upon all participating institutions. We cannot endorse any such proposal.

Mr. FORAND. What statement is that you are reading from, Mr. Keele?

Mr. KEELE. That is a statement by the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education, which was issued at their annual meeting, I believe, held in Chicago in February of 1952.

Mr. FORAND. I think that ought to be made a part of the record, Mr. Chairman, and I so request.

Mr. HAYS. Without objection, so ordered.

(The document referred to follows:)

THE FORD FOUNDATION TEACHER EDUCATION PROPOSAL TO ARKANSAS—A STATEMENT  
BY THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF COLLEGES FOR TEACHER EDUCATION, CHICAGO,  
FEBRUARY 1952

The American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education has been asked to advise its member colleges in the State of Arkansas regarding our attitude toward a State-wide, drastic reconstitution of teacher education curricula in the colleges of that State. This reconstitution, we understand, would take the direction of establishing as the teacher education curriculum in all colleges, a 4-year program of general education to be followed by a year of professional internship. We are told that such drastic action is necessary in order to qualify for a grant-in-aid from the Ford Foundation's Fund for the Advancement of Education.

This adoption of an eighteenth century model for teacher preparation is called "a bold experiment in teacher education." The AACTE is strongly dedicated to scientific experimentation as a means for improving education. Time after time in the past we have sponsored, and have encouraged our member institutions to sponsor, promising experiments in curriculum organization. Our standards have never been employed to inhibit such experimentation; instead, they have been designed to encourage it. Our association is dedicated to experimentation, when that experimentation is genuinely scientific and is surrounded with adequate measurement and controls, and when the hypothesis upon which the experiment is based is promising.

In this instance we find it impossible to describe what is being proposed in Arkansas as a promising experiment. In the first place, its earmarks are those of almost irrevocable commitment to a predetermined uniform pattern. No "trial run" or pilot study in one or two institutions is contemplated; no comparative evaluation of products of the "new" program with products of a concurrent program of any other character is proposed.

We doubt that "experiment" properly describes this proposal; it appears that "uniform reorganization" would be a more proper designation.

In the second place, the hypothesis upon which the proposal seems to be based is far from promising. Something comparable to this scheme for educating teachers was quite commonly used in Europe 500 years ago. It has since received extensive application in the secondary schools of dual-system countries. Extensive investigations have focused upon one aspect or another of this hypothesis, and the results of these investigations almost without exception tend to indicate that the hypothesis is an unsound one when measured against the criteria of what public-school leaders and citizens expect the beginning teacher to be able to do. In brief, we see little that is promising in future testing of this particular kind of curriculum for educating teachers.

However, we have open minds. As long as there is a reasonable chance that a genuine experiment can throw light upon the improvement of teacher education, we do not disapprove it only because it contains certain dangers. But when danger exists, we insist that the scope of the experiment be limited, that adequate controls be established, and very careful measurements be provided. No one of these conditions prevails in the Arkansas proposal as it has been presented to us. Instead, it seems to contemplate the universal imposition of a highly unpromising pattern upon all participating institutions. We cannot endorse any such proposal.

We point out that the standards of the AACTE place great stress upon providing every prospective teacher with a broad general, liberal education. Outstanding exponents of general education and liberal education, including the University of Chicago, the University of Minnesota, Stanford University, Macalester College, and others, are members of the AACTE and meet its standards. The Arkansas proposal seems to assume that there is a dichotomy between general education and professional education courses for teachers. We submit that there is no evidence that any such dichotomy exists; we further submit that there is a great weight of evidence to show that professional education courses make outstanding contributions to general education. We aver that general education is being provided as fully and completely by institutions operating within the standards of the AACTE as by any institutions anywhere in the United States. We reject the divisive point of view that would separate teacher education from general education.

The people of Arkansas have every right to determine for themselves what kind of education they want for their teachers, and what kinds of curriculum organization will provide for them the supply of teachers they need for their schools. We should point out to them that the proposed curriculum organization presented to us is replete with dangers to teacher supply in the State. However, a more serious matter appears in the record of the negotiations with the Fund for the Advancement of Education. This record indicates that a tax-exempt foundation controlling large sums of money is offering highly attractive financial support if a particular pattern of education is accepted—not tried out, as we have pointed out earlier, but put into operation. In our considered judgment, this approach is not only unsound but dangerous. Domination of a State's educational system by a central agency in the United States, whether governmental or private, is extremely unwise. Centralized control by the proffer of money with strings attached can be just as effective and consequently just as dangerous as control by regulation and dictation. We condemn attempts to control by either means.

Mr. SIMPSON. But the sovereign approves it regardless of those comments, is that correct?

Mr. EURICH. That is right.

Mr. KEELE. To what do you attribute the criticism contained in that statement, Dr. Eurich?

Mr. EURICH. Well, I think Mr. Hutchins indicated, in part, in answer to that question when he said there is always resistance to any kind of a change, and here we had a group of people who were primarily concerned with professional education, professional education throughout the undergraduate and the graduate levels, and they felt that this was a threat to their interest in professional education, since the Arkansas experiment was developed in terms of eliminating professional education from the undergraduate work and putting it at the graduate level, or at a period after the students had completed their general or liberal education.

I might add, however, one other experience that I had personally in connection with it. Some of the executive officers of this association stopped at my office on their way to their Chicago meeting to raise the question about another proposal that they had. This was the Saturday before their meeting opened in Chicago, and they did not raise with me a single question about the Arkansas experiment at that time, so we had no chance to discuss it with them before the resolution was passed.

Mr. KEELE. If this experiment should give conclusive results along the lines which you have indicated, I assume it might have a disastrous effect upon education in the higher institutions of teachers for secondary work, is that not right?

Mr. EURICH. Not necessarily. It might.

Mr. KEELE. What would it do where, let us say, for example, a university that has 100 courses in teacher training, in comparison with eight courses which, I believe, is the fact in history, one of which only deals with American history now? It seems to me that is a very heavy emphasis on methodology as compared to one of the important humanities.

What would be the effect of demonstrating through this experiment that the plan that is there suggested is the better plan? Wouldn't it tend to cut down the degree of emphasis placed upon teacher education or shorten the courses?

Mr. EURICH. It would develop at the undergraduate level. It would not at the graduate level in terms of this particular experiment.

Mr. KEELE. But at the undergraduate level, that is my point.

Mr. EURICH. At the undergraduate level it would, it would virtually eliminate the courses in professional education until the student had completed a program of general or liberal education, but that does not mean that professional education is being ignored in the training of teachers because the plan definitely provides for a year's internship upon the completion of undergraduate work, with the provision that during that year of internship the student will study professional education that can be helpful in relation to the specific problems which he has while carrying on his practice teaching.

Mr. KEELE. But that is as opposed to 4 years of training and teaching at the undergraduate level.

Mr. EURICH. That is right.

Mr. KEELE. It would be compressing into 1 year instead of 4, and at the graduate level instead of the undergraduate level, in teacher training.

Mr. EURICH. I might add, however, that this program merely accelerates a process that has been going on in some of the best teachers' colleges of the country. The best teachers' colleges during the past 25 years have been concerned with an extension of their programs of general education only because they recognized that the teachers were not being adequately prepared by the programs that they had.

Mr. SIMPSON. Are they not doing it by increasing the number of years they go to school?

Mr. EURICH. Yes; that has also been done. In fact, there has been a great increase in that.

In fact, 30, 35 years ago, it was possible for teachers in many States to get a teacher's certificate by taking a 6-week county normal course.

Mr. SIMPSON. From high school, and then—

Mr. EURICH. From high school, and then going on to the 6-week county normal course.

Mr. SIMPSON. Then 1 year in the county normal school?

Mr. EURICH. No.

Mr. SIMPSON. I mean at another time, at another place.

Mr. EURICH. At another time. Then, that was extended to 1 year, 2 years, and then the normal schools were extended into 4-year teacher-training institutions. So it was virtually an extension of this very short normal course that was offered in many counties throughout the country into a 4-year program in professional education.

Mr. SIMPSON. If this plan should work out, as it may, and be desirable, could it be accomplished by increasing, adjusting the courses in a so-called normal school today, adding additional time for study, and so on?

Mr. EURICH. Well, it would mean, as it does in Arkansas, in connection with the teachers' college, really reconstructing the faculty in order to provide a more extensive program of general or liberal education.

Mr. SIMPSON. Are you making the point that the instructors in the normal schools are not qualified?

Mr. EURICH. They are not qualified to carry on the program of general or liberal education.

Mr. SIMPSON. I thought your point was with reference to the graduate of the normal school who began to teach in the public schools.

Mr. EURICH. Well, you see, many of the teachers—not all, many of the teachers—in the teachers' colleges or normal schools are people who have specialized in professional education, and because they have specialized in professional education they are not qualified to carry on the work in the natural sciences or physical sciences or in the humanities or in the social studies.

Mr. O'TOOLE. Question please, Doctor: Several times I have heard you use the phrase, "The best teachers' colleges." Who rates them the best and how are they so rated?

Mr. EURICH. Well, there are various ways that have been attempted to rate educational institutions. In some cases educational organizations, such as the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools have developed very elaborate procedures for evaluating institutions.

In those procedures they have attempted to take into consideration the financial resources that are available to the institution, the library, the training of the faculty, the scholarly work of the faculty, as shown by various types of publications, the kind of services provided for the students, and the educational program.

Mr. O'TOOLE. There are several of these authorities?

Mr. EURICH. There are several of those authorities.

Mr. O'TOOLE. Is it not possible, Doctor, that one group of authorities might decide that the A Normal School might be a good school, and another group of authorities might decide, due to a different theory of education, that it is a poor school or an inferior school? Can that happen?

Mr. EURICH. Yes; that can happen.

Mr. O'TOOLE. That does happen?

Mr. EURICH. And it does happen. It has happened, and for that reason, some of the associations that have been concerned with the accreditation of institutions have directed their attention more and more to measurement of what the individual student has accomplished regardless of the institution where the student is located.

Mr. O'TOOLE. Then these various accreditations are really relative. If group A says it is a good school, and group B says it is an inferior school, then we, the general public, or we, the legislators, do not know where first base is.

Mr. EURICH. No. Then you have to get an evaluation of group A and group B, by groups doing the accrediting, and an attempt is being made to do that right now.

Mr. O'TOOLE. When we do that we have to find out the members of the board on A and B, and go all the way to the beginning with them.

Mr. EURICH. A National Commission on Accreditation Procedures has been set up, and that national commission has for several years had representatives before it of the various accrediting associations, because the colleges and universities have been more and more concerned with the multiplication of these associations that come in to accredit various parts of the institution.

Mr. O'TOOLE. But the basis of all this accrediting is according to the tastes, training of the individual making up these groups, the same as one man might say a certain piece of music is classical, and another man might say it is rubbish.

Mr. EURICH. Not quite to that extreme, because I think you would get more general agreement if you picked—

Mr. O'TOOLE. Do you not think some of the battles that are taking place among the educational groups are just as bitter as those in the field of music and art and politics? I did not mean to bring in the—

Mr. EURICH. Well, there are striking differences in various groups. But the differences are not so striking among the agencies that are doing the accrediting of institutions.

Mr. O'TOOLE. Do you not think that the chaos that exists in the minds of the general public on education values is just as great in the minds of the authorities themselves as to what is proper education and how it shall be achieved? Do you not think there are just as many divergent views—

Mr. EURICH. I think probably the educational authorities have contributed to the confusion that exists in the minds of the public, and I think that is why there is great need for clarification of what the schools should do. That is really one of our major critical problems.

Mr. O'TOOLE. I say, like lawyers, they create a greater degree of chaos.

Mr. EURICH. I have no opinion about the lawyers.

Mr. FORAND. Would you tell me, Doctor, and tell the committee, why the yardstick used seems to be the number of years that a person attends school rather than the knowledge that that individual has absorbed?

Mr. EURICH. I think that is an excellent question.

Mr. FORAND. I would like to have an excellent answer to it.

Mr. EURICH. I think we ought to be concerned much more with what the individual has absorbed and the extent to which the individual has developed than we are with the number of years that he has spent in school.

Mr. FORAND. What is being done about it?

Mr. EURICH. Well, there are a number of things that are being done. Some of the experiments which we are supporting in the field of articulation are directed toward that particular problem.

Mr. FORAND. Some effort is being made so that the bright student will not be held back because somebody at the foot of the class is holding him down.

Mr. EURICH. That is right. We, at the present time, are supporting four different experiments in that field in different sections of the country.

Mr. FORAND. That applies as well to a person with native ability who has been deprived of a formal education but has acquired an education through just hard plugging.

Mr. EURICH. That is right.

Mr. FORAND. Yet because of the accreditation of colleges here and there and everywhere, he is deprived of an opportunity to enter the college.

Mr. EURICH. That is right, and I might say that one association has recognized that. The Association of American Universities looked at this problem a few years ago, and particularly noted the results of the study supported by the Carnegie Corporation. This study was concerned with the evaluation of records that students made in graduate schools and the study compared students coming from the accredited institutions with students coming from the nonaccredited institutions, and found that basically in terms of their records in graduate schools, there was not much difference between the two groups.

So, in terms of those considerations, the Association of American Universities abolished its list of accredited institutions.

Mr. KEELE. But there was a possibility, was there not, that that was not all that it appeared to be. It might mean that they were measuring fellows from those groups that were appointed to other schools, is that right?

Mr. EURICH. No, they were measuring the achievement of graduate students registered in the graduate schools of various universities throughout the country.

Mr. KEELE. It was suggested here, I think, by Dr. Wriston in connection with that study that it might be that they had been more

casual in accepting graduate students from accredited schools and, therefore, had allowed lower groups to drop in of that larger group, whereas they might have been more careful about their selection of their graduates or the graduates from the nonaccredited schools.

Mr. EURICH. I think that may be true.

On the other hand, this study does demonstrate that you can have students coming from the nonaccredited institutions into graduate schools and succeed in the graduate schools.

Mr. O'TOOLE. Do you, or do you not, think that we here in America, our tests for employment, tests for entrance into colleges and into the various professions, are placing entirely too much stress on education as compared with intelligence? And there is a vast differentiation between education and intelligence.

Mr. EURICH. Well, in general our tests have emphasized verbal facility or ability to use words growing out of the early intelligence tests developed and the kind of achievement tests we have developed in schools, largely because we found in working in the field of testing, that it is much easier to test that kind of ability, it is much easier to test knowledge of facts than it is to measure the extent to which a student is able to think.

Mr. O'TOOLE. Well, I noticed that here in the Government in the years that I have been in Congress, in all applications for employment there are vast spaces left to put in the applicant's education, and in judging these noncompetitive applications, all the judgment is based on the education that is shown in that applicant's statement.

I don't think it always works out right, because I have seen many of the directives that have been written after these people have gotten jobs in Government, and there is anything but intelligence in them.

Is there some way that applicants of this type, whether they have education or not, could be tested for their natural or native intelligence?

Mr. EURICH. Well, none, aside from the intelligence tests that have been developed which attempt to do that.

As I have indicated, they have stressed verbal ability rather than ability to make inferences, for example, from a set of facts, or to draw conclusions from a set of facts, or to engage in other types of thinking.

It is much more difficult to guess at that through tests, at least in terms of the kind of tests we have been able to develop up to the present time.

Mr. SIMPSON. I see you have a project under financing here to work with others and teach them how to raise money, is that right? Isn't that one of your projects?

Mr. EURICH. We are concerned with the two aspects of financing education in the projects that we have financed to date.

The first part of it is concerned with the extent to which the money which educational institutions have available at the present time is being used efficiently and economically, and to that end we have financed a number of management surveys of educational institutions, and those surveys in turn have pointed out to the institutions ways in which they might operate more effectively within the income that they now have available.

Mr. SIMPSON. How do you teach them to increase the income?

Mr. EURICH. That is the other part of the project.



Mr. SIMPSON. Do you tell them how to write letters to foundation heads and so on?

Mr. EURICH. No. Our only concern up to the present time has been in terms of discussion with a group of business executives, including Mr. Abrams, chairman of the board of the Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey, Mr. Alfred P. Sloan, Mr. Irving Olds, Mr. Prentice, of the Armstrong Co., and Mr. Walter Paepcke, of the Container Corp. of America.

These gentlemen have long been concerned with the importance of having corporations contribute to educational institutions.

Mr. SIMPSON. How long has that been going on, since taxes have gone up high on individuals, or has that always been the idea?

Mr. EURICH. There has always been some concern with the matter of gifts from corporations, but for the most part those gifts to educational institutions that have come from corporations have been given for specific purposes, to carry on research that in turn might lead to new developments that in turn would help the company making the gift.

These gentlemen to whom I referred are concerned more with the problem of corporation gifts to institutions carrying on a general or liberal education, because they reason that what they need in business in terms of the training of business executives is a group of people who are liberally educated, and that is just as important to them in business as financing a given piece of scientific research.

Mr. O'TOOLE. Do you admit, Doctor, that there is a tendency in this country in educational circles to create an aristocracy, or maybe I shouldn't say an aristocracy of education, but a closed shop of education? We have seen in the social field that the trained so-called educated social workers have created a closed shop that nobody else can get into, and in many cases these social workers are completely unfitted for their work because they have no elementary humanity at all. They are merely professionals.

There is a feeling in this country among a great number of our American people that the same thing is transpiring in the field of education, that this acquiring of degree after degree, not only the bachelor and the master's, but the doctor of philosophy and the various other degrees that are now being given out is slowly but surely closing the field of opportunity for people who have great intelligence, but who have not had the opportunity to get this full number of degrees that seems to be so necessary today, and there are people who think that this is a part of an organized thought.

Mr. EURICH. I would agree with you definitely that we have worshiped degrees far too much in this country; that these degrees in and of themselves are not important.

They are important only if they indicate that the man has acquired an education, and altogether too frequently there is too little relationship between the education a man has acquired and the degrees that he has obtained, and we hope that some of our experiments can lead to a closer relationship between the education a man has acquired and the degree he has attained.

Mr. O'TOOLE. But there is thought in this country that there is a systematized effort being made to require degrees and to close the field to many forms of employment or in many fields of employment to those who are not the possessors of these degrees.

Mr. EURICH. I think that has been the tendency. Certainly in various professional groups—it has happened in law, certainly, it has happened in teaching to a very great extent.

Mr. O'TOOLE. I myself have nothing whatsoever against education. I certainly realize the necessity and wish that I myself had more of it. I am really hungry for it, but on the other hand I can see, and I have seen, so many men and women, great, fine intellects, being deprived of a future and opportunity because we have built up this cult of degrees in this country.

Mr. EURICH. I personally hope very much that we can eliminate that emphasis upon degrees.

Mr. KEELE. I only have about two other questions, because it is getting late here. It has been suggested in testimony given here that what was called the detachment of the private or personal economy of teachers from the general economy, in other words, the fact that they were underpaid, plus the fact that particularly in the State institutions it would be that there is a natural tendency for the teacher, seeing that he is dependent on the State, to enlarge the functions of the State in supporting various activities, those two things coupled might tend to produce on the part of teachers generally a, shall we say, sympathetic attitude, or perhaps a turn toward socialism or State-supported activities, to the point where it is socialistic.

Would you comment on that? I think Dr. Wriston enunciated that thought here.

Mr. EURICH. Well, I think the best means we have all the way through of preserving the concept of democracy that all of us are interested in is to see to it that the education of our teachers, the general or liberal education of our teachers, is extended and is the best kind of education that we can provide, so that when he have teachers coming into the school system, we have people who are concerned not only with the problem of how they are going to carry on their teaching, the methods which they use in teaching, but we will have in the school system people teaching our children who really have an education and understand the development of our form of government, the development of western thought.

Mr. KEELE. I think I have no further questions.

The CHAIRMAN. No questions.

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Simpson.

Mr. SIMPSON. There are certain colleges I believe which encompass what I think you have been describing, namely, they might be called the old-line liberal-arts colleges.

I have seen some I think in that category in Pennsylvania. Do you recognize that there are today certain colleges in that area or not?

Mr. EURICH. Liberal-arts colleges?

Mr. SIMPSON. Yes.

Mr. EURICH. Yes, there are many of them throughout the country.

Mr. SIMPSON. What is being done to protect them or to help them continue—and they are in financial difficulty—while at the same time as I understand your testimony, you are seeking to reopen that area? Is there being anything done by the foundations to protect those colleges, or are they being allowed to change their methods and are they being encouraged to remain liberal-arts colleges?

Mr. EURICH. Well, we hope that several efforts which we are financing may help them somewhat. The concern that we have had

with better financing of institutions of higher learning, the management surveys which I mentioned and this effort to obtain more funds from corporations to help liberal-arts colleges, are two efforts we think will be helpful to the liberal-arts colleges throughout the country.

In addition, we are carrying on—financing rather—a program of self-studies of liberal-arts colleges.

We have asked liberal-arts colleges throughout the country to apply for funds in order to make a self-study of their programs in the hope that that in turn will eliminate some of the nonessential features of the college and strengthen their programs so that the resources that they have available at the present time can be used more effectively and go further.

Mr. SIMPSON. Well, you do recognize that they should be preserved, and you want to help them to be preserved?

Mr. EURICH. Definitely.

Mr. SIMPSON. But you are not making grants at this particular time to that type of college, are you?

Mr. EURICH. We felt in terms in the resources we had available, if we began distributing those resources among all the liberal-arts colleges—and there are about 700 of them throughout the country—that we wouldn't be helping any of the liberal-arts colleges very much.

We felt that by tackling these critical areas in American education and by devoting our resources to some of these broad programs, in time we can help strengthen most of them.

Mr. SIMPSON. Well, they are the fruit in one of the critical areas that you want to preserve, aren't they?

Mr. EURICH. That is right.

Mr. O'TOOLE. One more question. Doctor, whenever money is being distributed in different ways, being loaned out, there seems to be a peculiar degree of initiative developed to obtain that money.

You have heard during the war years of the development of the 5-percenters, the go-between man to get war contracts. I was wondering—and I don't say this in the spirit of humor—have you people discovered that there are certain groups now who endeavor to act as go-between between those who desire funds and those who give them out?

In other words, if College X is looking for a grant from the B Foundation, are there groups who come in and act as middlemen?

Mr. EURICH. No, we have not had that experience in the fund for the advancement of education. In fact, our dealings are in most cases directly with the president of the institution.

Mr. HAYS. Dr. Eurich, thank you very much for your statement.

The committee will be in recess until 10 o'clock Tuesday morning. (Whereupon, at 3:15 p. m., a recess was taken until Tuesday, December 2, 1952, at 10 a. m.)

