

TAX-EXEMPT FOUNDATIONS

TUESDAY, MAY 18, 1954

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

The special subcommittee met at 10 a. m., pursuant to recess, in room 429 of the House Office Building, Hon. Carroll Reece (chairman of the special committee) presiding.

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

Also present: Rene A. Wormser, general counsel; Arnold T. Koch, associate counsel; Norman Dodd, research director; Kathryn Casey, legal analyst; and John Marshall, Jr., chief clerk of the special committee.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.

I think Mr. Dodd remained to be questioned.

Will you take the witness chair, Mr. Dodd?

Mr. WORMSER. Before Mr. Dodd starts, may we introduce a composite copy of the Cox committee record and their report? I certainly hope it does not need to be reprinted, but I think it ought to be part of our record.

The CHAIRMAN. It is submitted to be a part of the record but not for printing, you mean?

Mr. WORMSER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. I see no objection to that. Without objection, it will be accepted.

(The documents referred to are on file with the committee.)

TESTIMONY OF NORMAN DODD, RESEARCH DIRECTOR, SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE TAX-EXEMPT FOUNDATIONS— Resumed

The CHAIRMAN. Congressman Hays had some questions he wanted to ask you.

Mr. HAYS. The record will show that Mr. Dodd is still under oath; is that right?

The CHAIRMAN. Oh, yes. I am assuming that is the case. That is the case, is it not, Mr. Wormser?

Mr. WORMSER. Oh, yes.

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Dodd, I would like to ask you if you prepared the statement that you made to this committee on Monday and Tuesday, May 10 and 11?

Mr. DODD. Did I prepare it, Mr. Hays?

Mr. HAYS. Yes. Did you prepare it?

Mr. DODD. Yes, sir; I prepared it, sir.

Mr. HAYS. Do you have a copy of that statement in front of you?

Mr. DODD. I have.

Mr. HAYS. You may want to refer to it.

Mr. DODD. I have a mimeographed copy right here, Mr. Hays.

Mr. HAYS. On page 14 of the prepared statement, you said, and I quote:

We have used the scientific method and included both inductive and deductive reasoning as a check against the possibility that a reliance upon only one of these might lead to an erroneous set of conclusions.

Is that true?

Mr. DODD. That is true, sir.

Mr. HAYS. In the foreword of the same document, you expressed the hope that your research report would be determined by this committee, the foundations, and the public to be "constructively critical," and I quote the last two words, is that true?

Mr. DODD. That was my hope; yes, sir.

Mr. HAYS. The research report which you presented was your personal report based on the work of the research staff under your direction, is that true?

Mr. DODD. Yes, sir.

Mr. HAYS. Conclusions of your report are presented therefore and represent your personal honest conclusions as to the results of the research work done under your direction?

Mr. DODD. In a descriptive sense, yes, Mr. Hays.

Mr. HAYS. You have not by omission or alteration set forth these conclusions in any way so as to mislead this committee or the public with respect to your findings?

Mr. DODD. On the contrary, I have done everything that I could do to make it helpful to the committee.

Mr. HAYS. I have some notes being typed up which I thought would be here by this time. I have been a little handicapped by not having a complete staff, and there are two quotations in those notes that I would like to read to you from your report. Perhaps I can find them before the girl gets here.

While I am waiting for that, looking for that, have you been able to get together with the staff on a definition of what you mean by pro-American yet?

Mr. DODD. I have, sir.

Mr. HAYS. Could we have that definition at this point?

Mr. DODD. A working definition for this purpose would to me be that which fosters and furthers the principles and the form of the United States Government and the constitutional means set forth to change those principles.

In other words, it would be the reverse of the definition which we used as to what was un-American.

The CHAIRMAN. And the institutions under which we have prospered for some 160 years.

Mr. DODD. I have confined it entirely to the Government, for working purposes, Mr. Hays.

Mr. HAYS. Well, that is merely a working definition, so that we have it in there when we talk about this term and we will have a general idea what is meant by it.

Mr. DODD. I would like to feel that we were very specific in that sense and we knew that we didn't mean something else.

The CHAIRMAN. While you are waiting, would you permit an interjection?

Mr. HAYS. Surely.

The CHAIRMAN. I might ask, Mr. Dodd, if any efforts to influence you or the research staff have been made by the chairman or, for that matter, any other member of the committee?

Mr. DODD. On the contrary, sir, I know of no such efforts to influence, if I understand the word "influence."

Mr. HAYS. I might ask a question right there which is brought to my mind. Have you had very much direction from the chairman or any member of this committee in the way your research would go? I mean, have you been told what general lines to follow, or have you just, more or less, gone on your own?

Mr. DODD. I think it has been a matter of complete freedom of exchange, and keeping the chairman absolutely informed, Mr. Hays.

The CHAIRMAN. But has not the chairman, from the very beginning, advised the staff, as he so advised the committee, that his hope was that the study of this committee would be completely objective in an effort to draw a picture of the whole foundation question for the benefit of the Congress and the people in the years to come?

Mr. DODD. Mr. Chairman, everybody with whom I have had contact in this has taken that exact stand.

Mr. HAYS. I thought I would have these questions typed. But in the meantime I can ask you a couple of others and then we will go back to this original group.

I have here an editorial from the New York Herald Tribune of Saturday, May 15, and I will quote you a statement. It says:

The assumption seems to be—
referring to these hearings—

The assumption seems to be that there is a public interest or an American idea or an accepted body of dogma to which the facts must be made to conform in these hearings.

Now, do you take that attitude, that there is a definitely outlined public interest, and this is in quotes "or an American idea," or an accepted body of dogma that all things must conform to or else they are not in the public interest, and un-American?

Mr. DODD. No, sir. I felt, Mr. Hays, that there was an accepted body of principles which were traditionally American to which these facts, as they unfolded, should be related. It is not made to conform, if I understand what you mean correctly.

Mr. HAYS. You say that you think there is an American body of principles. That is a kind of vague term. I do not exactly know what you mean by that. Could you define that a little more?

Mr. DODD. I can define it by describing exactly how we approached this matter.

Starting with the obligations set forth in the resolution, it seemed to me that the committee was obliged to look over a set of facts against a background of those elements which were used as the basis for a definition as to what was un-American or subversive.

Now, that working definition referred us to the Constitution and a set of principles. Only to that extent do I believe that there is a definable basis against which these facts must be looked at.

Mr. HAYS. The reason I am so careful about this series of questions is that I want them to be exact because there is a considerable principle involved here, Mr. Dodd.

Mr. DODD. We have tried to be very exact, too, Mr. Hays.

Mr. HAYS. Well, that will come.

Now, I will repeat this question No. 6, I am sure that I am just doing this in order to get back on the track, because question No. 7 that I am going to ask you is the key question.

Number six, have you not by omission or alteration set forth these conclusions in any way so as to mislead the committee or the public with respect to your findings?

Mr. DODD. No, sir.

Mr. HAYS. Your answer was "No, sir"?

Mr. DODD. That is right; yes, sir.

Mr. HAYS. Now, Mr. Dodd, I received several copies of your mimeographed statement which you distributed publically last week. I was amazed to find that these include two significantly different versions of your public testimony. I just got a group of your first day's hearings, and I was going over them, and the thing did not seem to be exactly the same, and I got to comparing it more closely.

Upon close examination, it appeared to me that one version has been clearly edited and changed from the other.

Now, under oath, you just said that you had made no omissions or conclusions which might mislead the committee. I have not had time to analyze all of the variations between the 2 editions of the report, both of which you say set forth your conclusions of 8 months' study.

Mr. DODD. May I ask a question, Mr. Hays?

Mr. HAYS. Let me finish this.

But I find, for example, this specific omission which would appear to have been made solely for the purpose of deleting a conclusion of your study, which would have been favorable to foundations.

Specifically, on page 10 of the undoctored version, you conclude that foundations' grants were not directly responsible for an alleged deterioration in the standards of American scholarships. The actual words used in the undoctored version, with reference to the purported deterioration, were:

Cannot be said to have been due directly to foundation grants.

On page 9, with reference to the charge of favoritism in the undoctored version, you conclude that —

We analyzed thoroughly, what was favoritism in the mind of the critic seems to have been little more than a reasonable response to circumstances.

Now, here is the question: Is it true that both of these favorable conclusions were deleted in the version which you subsequently gave to this committee on Tuesday, not having, as you said then, a mimeographed statement ready, and which you presented to the press?

Mr. DODD. To the best of my knowledge, as I sit here right now, both of those conclusions are in the report.

Mr. HAYS. They are in the report that you gave to the committee on Tuesday?

Mr. DODD. To the best of my knowledge, yes, sir, as I sit here now, because they were a definite part of it.

Mr. HAYS. Let me ask you this, Mr. Dodd: Are there two separate and distinct mimeographed statements that you purported to have made?

Mr. DODD. Not to my knowledge, sir.

Mr. HAYS. Not to your knowledge?

Mr. DODD. No. The mimeographed report, Mr. Hays, that I have here is—

Mr. HAYS. I have in my hand, Mr. Dodd, two reports, with the same cover sheet on them. They are starting out with page i, and with an identical foreword, and that is page ii, it is identical. Then we come to page 1, part 1, page 1, and they are identical. And page 2 seems to be identical. Page 3 seems to be identical. Pages 4 and 5 are identical.

But we come over to page 6, and there are several deletions. The two things do not read the same. And from page 6 on, you cannot compare them because what is page 6 on one, on the Cox Committee criticisms, and that goes on for 3 pages in the undoctored version, is all on 1 page in the doctored version.

Mr. DODD. I can only answer it this way, Mr. Hays, that those are two of our findings, and were reported by me. Those two findings are as you have expressed them.

Mr. HAYS. Well, Mr. Dodd, is it or is it not true that these conclusions that I have read were cropped out of the document you read to this committee?

Mr. DODD. Not to my knowledge, sir.

Mr. HAYS. They were not?

Mr. DODD. No.

Mr. HAYS. Well, we will have to go into the actual hearings. But the version which purported to be the version that came to me on Tuesday is not the same as the one I got by accident when I asked for some extra copies, apparently.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you yield? I would assume that you had various working memoranda and data preliminary to reaching the final draft which you actually presented to the committee. Ordinarily that would be the case. I do not know whether it was in this particular instance or not.

Mr. DODD. There were many working papers, Mr. Chairman, out of which I distilled this report, sir, and the 2 conclusions to which Mr. Hays makes reference are practically engraved in my memory, because they are two conclusions, that you cannot hold foundations responsible directly for this supposed deterioration in scholarship, and the other one is that this charge of favoritism, while it is understandable how it grew up, does not appear to me to be anything more than just what Mr. Hays read, an understandable and logical response to circumstances. I can understand how the criticism grew up.

Mr. HAYS. Well, Mr. Dodd, if you recall last Monday, I was very much surprised, as was the chairman apparently, and I am sure the press must have been, to find that there were no mimeographed copies of your statement. You read, as I recall it, your statement from a looseleaf notebook.

Mr. DODD. I did, sir, and I read it just as you saw me read it, from my own carbon copy.

Mr. HAYS. Do you mean to tell me that you do not have any knowledge of the fact that there was a mimeographed statement like this prepared and then another one which are significantly different?

Mr. DODD. I don't know of any two mimeographed statements, one of which contained that statement and another one which did not.

Mr. HAYS. Well, I have a copy of each one which came up from the committee office, and they are mimeographed obviously on the same mimeograph machine, if we have to go into that.

Mr. DODD. As far as I am concerned, Mr. Hays, I personally have spent and concentrated entirely on the content of the report and the mechanics of it, I have not—

Mr. HAYS. I thought there was a little something funny about it the other day, about the fact there was no mimeographed statement, and the thing sort of began to add up in my mind when I found these two different statements. I thought perhaps that it had been decided that you would not present your statement, but would change it.

Now, was there any editing done at any time prior to your appearance here?

Mr. DODD. Yes, sir; there was editing done.

Mr. WORMSER. Mr. Hays, may I interrupt?

Mr. HAYS. I want to ask Mr. Dodd, and then, Mr. Wormser, if you want to go under oath and have me ask you some questions I will. But I want to get to the bottom of who edited that and when.

Mr. DODD. All right, sir.

Mr. HAYS. That is what I am interested in right now. Can you tell me on what day and hour these changes were made, Mr. Dodd?

Mr. DODD. I don't look upon them as specific changes, Mr. Hays, but Mr. Wormser and I first went over this report on Thursday morning, which would have been 10 days ago. I was in the process of editing it and tightening it up, but that was a normal editing piece of work.

Mr. HAYS. That was not done after it was mimeographed?

Mr. DODD. No, sir.

Mr. WORMSER. Mr. Hays, may I just suggest that Miss Casey can explain. Mr. Dodd does not know the circumstances. And if you will trade, for a moment, Miss Casey for Mr. Dodd, she will explain the mechanics of what happened.

Mr. HAYS. If you can put somebody on the stand who can explain this, I will be glad to have him do it.

The CHAIRMAN. May I interject an amplifying question, Wayne?

During the period that you were formulating this statement and making the various changes which led up to the final draft, did you have any important consultation with anyone other than the members of the committee and the members of the staff involved?

Mr. DODD. None, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. HAYS. Before you leave the stand temporarily, Mr. Dodd, I want to make clear what I am trying to get at. I have gone over this. You say that this purports to be your conclusions, after long months of study. The one version has two very significant statements in it that the other does not. And what I am driving at is: How after long months of study can you suddenly throw out these two important conclusions?

Mr. DODD. I can readily understand the importance of the question, Mr. Hays. This report, if you will recall, at the committee meeting, was my effort to describe for the benefit of the committee the nature of

the work done, a description of its own findings in general terms, and the direction in which the facts tended to point.

That was the purpose of this report, and that report in my estimation should have had in it everything significant to be helpful to the committee.

Now, the two questions and the two statements to which you make reference have in my judgment been an important aspect of it all along.

Mr. HAYS. Then you would say that you want in that the conclusion that foundation grants are not directly responsible for any deterioration in the standards of American scholarships?

Mr. DODD. That is my feeling, sir. Yes, sir.

Mr. HAYS. And you want in there, also, with reference to the purported deterioration, that it cannot be said to have been due directly to foundation grants?

Mr. DODD. Yes, sir. And the other has to do with this inferred criticism of favoritism.

Mr. HAYS. All right.

I would like to have whoever can explain these two mimeographed versions to take the stand, and I would like to ask some questions about it.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth?

Miss CASEY. I do.

TESTIMONY OF KATHRYN CASEY, LEGAL ANALYST, SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE TAX-EXEMPT FOUNDATIONS

Mr. HAYS. Miss Casey, do you have any knowledge of two different mimeographed versions of Mr. Dodd's statement?

Miss CASEY. Yes, I do, may I explain—

Mr. HAYS. Yes. I would like in your own words to have you tell us about it.

Miss CASEY. Well, at the time the hearings were set and it was decided that Mr. Dodd would present a staff report, it was thought that we should have mimeographed copies available. When the report was I thought close to its final draft, I will have to confess I jumped the gun and had the stencils cut. We ran—

Mr. HAYS. Right there, when was that? Can you give us an exact date of it?

Miss CASEY. It was only Friday and Saturday, because we had quite a bit of difficulty getting the copies done by the duplicating office here in the Capitol.

Mr. HAYS. That was Friday and Saturday, prior to Mr. Dodd's appearance on Monday?

Miss CASEY. That is right. No distribution was made, and not even to the members of the committee.

Mr. HAYS. I am aware of that.

Miss CASEY. One reason Mr. Hays, was, that we were at the office until midnight Saturday, and I thought perhaps your office might be closed.

Mr. HAYS. I am sure it was. If it was not, it should have been.

MISS CASEY. I think ours should have been, too. I am sure the girls in the office thought so. But on Monday morning it developed there was going to be a slight rearrangement on one thing, after Mr. Dodd and Mr. Wormser had again gone over it. So new stencils were cut on certain pages, and page numbers changed on the others.

But in reference to what you are talking about, which appears, I believe, first on page 2, at the top of the page of the final report, it says:

Simultaneously, I undertook additional studies—

I believe this is what you read—

to the validity of the criticism leveled against the work done by the Cox committee, to substantiate or disprove the prevalent charge that foundations were guilty of favoritism.

But, Mr. Hays, if you turn over to pages 9 and 10—the reference to foundation criticism starts at the bottom of page 8—

MR. HAYS. That is 9 and 10 of which version now?

MISS CASEY. This is the only version that was distributed.

MR. HAYS. The distributed version?

MISS CASEY. Yes, sir, and let us call it the final version, because the other was a draft.

MR. HAYS. All right.

MISS CASEY. And for which I will take full responsibility, as far as the duplication is concerned.

THE CHAIRMAN. It was primarily an effort to be helpful to the members of the committee and the members of the press?

MISS CASEY. That is right.

MR. HAYS. Miss Casey, right there, now we have got this thing pinned down pretty well, and you mimeographed these on Friday and Saturday. And now when were the changes made?

MISS CASEY. The changes were made when Mr. Wormser and Mr. Dodd met on Monday. Actually, Mr. Hays, they were not "changes" such as you say. If you will turn to pages 8, 9, and 10, the statement which I read before, from page 2, is elaborated in the same way that you found it in the next to final draft. That is on pages 8, 9, and 10, Mr. Hays.

MR. HAYS. Do you have any completely assembled versions, like the one I have, of the original, before it was cut?

MISS CASEY. No, sir, everything, including the stencils were destroyed, and every copy of that was taken to the incinerator, so that there would be no possibility—

MR. HAYS. Every copy was not, because I have one.

THE CHAIRMAN. Every copy so far as you knew?

MISS CASEY. It was my understanding that every copy had been sent to the incinerator—taken there personally by a staff member.

MR. HAYS. Now, I think we could argue indefinitely about whether changes have been made, but in order to get the record straight, would you have any objection, Mr. Reece and Mr. Goodwin, to making this undistributed version a part of the record, just so we can compare the two?

THE CHAIRMAN. My own feeling is that the director of research who submitted his statement should be advised on that, as well as the general counsel.

As I analyze this thing, this situation, Mr. Dodd is the director of research and he had an initial and primary responsibility for digesting

and putting this into written form for presentation to the committee, and he made numerous notes and drafts.

He had made, after consulting with his assistants, what he thought was essentially a final draft for presentation to the committee. But at that time, he had not consulted with the general counsel or the assistant general counsel with reference to the exact wording of part of the report, and they also have a responsibility.

Over the weekend that consultation was had among themselves, that is, among the members of the staff, and certain modifications were made, as Miss Casey states, in some instances something was taken out, and it is amplified in another part of the report.

It seems to me like a perfectly logical way to develop a statement for a committee, that is, for the members of the staff to consult among themselves. They have stated, even under the affirmation of an oath, that they did not consult with anybody, any outside interests, as to what this preliminary presentation to the committee might obtain.

So far as I am personally concerned, I have no objection for their work notes and preliminary drafts to go into the record. But I do not feel that it is the logical way to proceed with a presentation.

That is my reaction to it.

Mr. GOODWIN. Mr. Chairman, I regret that I had to come in late. As a matter of fact, I would have been here when the gavel fell, as you know, except for the fact that I felt I ought to be up in the Armed Services Committee to help save for the Commonwealth of Massachusetts a facility which we believe is very important to us.

So I am a little lost to know what is going on here. Apparently, the question is whether or not there should be put into the record preliminary drafts of a certain statement, is that it?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. GOODWIN. Do I understand that it is a fact that the preliminary drafts show some change of heart, or change of mind on somebody's part?

Mr. HAYS. I would say not that—

Mr. GOODWIN. I should not press that question.

Mr. HAYS. Go ahead and press it.

Mr. GOODWIN. It is in my mind that if this is something simply cumulative, and if what my distinguished friend from Ohio now wants to put into the record is something cumulative and will be of no value to us in the future, I should think that it should be kept out.

If, however, it states a frame of mind on somebody's part who is going to have a portion of the responsibility of directing this investigation, it seems to me that it might be well that we should have it.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you permit Miss Casey—

Miss CASEY. Mr. Goodwin, may I say this: That your first statement about it being cumulative is more accurate than any change of heart.

Actually, it is merely a rearrangement that was agreed on, and a particular statement on page 2 is not elaborated. Mr. Dodd's report said to "substantiate the prevalent charge that foundations were guilty of favoritism in the making of educational grants," and then that is elaborated in the same manner that it was in all of the drafts on pages 8, 9, and 10. Mr. Dodd's statement contains the same language that Mr. Hays read, "we analyzed thoroughly," that is a very reasonable thing to have happened, "the way in which the grants were

originally made by some of the foundations to the larger institutions," and he explains why.

All of that is in the final version which was distributed to the press and to the people who asked for it. It was only rearranged from the next-to-final version for which, as I explained, I had stencils cut with the idea that it would be available first thing Monday morning. sultations among themselves, Mr. Dodd, Mr. Wormser, Mr. Koch,

Mr. HAYS. To put this back in the language of the chairman, he says that this represents a digestion of your findings over a period of 8 months. What I am trying to find out is who caused you to get indigestion over Sunday, here. I will read you some more changes that were made in this, if you would like me to, and in fact I want to question about them.

The CHAIRMAN. I don't remember the chairman's exact words, but he did not intend to say that this was a digest of the findings. I would not want to say that it was a digest of findings.

Mr. HAYS. I don't want to quibble about your words, but I made some notes about them, and if I am wrong, the record will show it.

The CHAIRMAN. I would like to ask Mr. Wormser whether he feels there is any objection to the part that is in the working draft being put in the record along with the presentation which Mr. Dodd made to the committee.

Mr. WORMSER. Before I answer that, may I respectfully request Mr. Hays to excise his word "doctored," and I think that there is no evidence at all that anything was doctored, Mr. Hays. That has rather unpleasant significance.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the purpose of my—

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Chairman, I am not going to delete my language from my statement, and I used the word "doctored" and I am going to stand on it until someone shows me it wasn't doctored, and I am going to right now read you another sentence, and I will use the word "changed," if that makes you feel better, Mr. Wormser.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you permit an interjection there again? As I stated earlier, the staff developed a presentation for the committee. During the course of that they consulted no one except the members of the staff, and the members of the committee, insofar as they did consult the members of the committee. No outside person was consulted. In the process of developing the statement, they had various working data and they had preliminary drafts, and, as is a natural consequence, they ultimately had a preliminary final draft, which might very well have become the final draft. After additional consultations among themselves, Mr. Dodd, Mr. Wormser, and Mr. Koch, Mr. McNiece, and Miss Casey, made some consolidations, tightening it up, and may have taken some things out. But whatever was done was their own work. The chairman can't see any possible grounds for any inferences except that the staff in good faith tried to develop the most perfect and complete presentation for the benefit of the committee.

I, as one, want to commend the members of the staff in their industry and effort in developing and putting out their fullest efforts to develop the best statement possible for presentation to the committee.

That, now, is the chairman's analysis of the way this was handled, and I don't see any possible grounds for any adverse inferences to be drawn from that method of procedure, which is a normal one. I have

been on committees up here around the Hill now for some 30 years, and when I could get a staff to proceed in that way I always felt very grateful.

Mr. WORMSER. May I now answer your question, Mr. Chairman. You asked whether I had any objection to introducing the preliminary draft. I do have an objection, and I think it is unfair to Mr. Dodd, and I think it would be just as unfair as asking a man to publish a draft of a book when he has published the book itself. Mr. Dodd's opinions, as far as I know, have not altered one bit between the drafting of the first one and drafting the second one, but the actual wording of the instrument, or the document, which he wanted to present to the document and read at hearings was in some respects changed and rearranged and what not. I think that he has personal responsibility for issuing this report, and he is entitled to rest on the final report which he gave, and not be confused or made responsible for a draft of any kind. The draft has not been made public, and no effort was made to distribute what we call the preliminary report in any way, and it was not made public as far as the committee was concerned, as far as the staff was concerned. It was not distributed to anyone.

Mr. HAYS. Let me say, Mr. Wormser, that I am not trying to confuse Mr. Dodd. God forbid. According to some of the newspaper editorials, some of the responsible newspapers think he is confused enough as it is, and I am just trying to straighten him out a little bit. I want to say, though, that whether you agreed to introduce it or not is immaterial to me. Apparently I have the only living copy of the so-called preliminary final draft, and I still say that I want to get to the bottom of why this was done after 10 months, Mr. Wormser, after 10 months of study, and so on.

I am sure that you have known for a long time that these hearings were going to start last Monday, and as a matter of fact they have been postponed 2 or 3 times, and it seems to me a little bit queer, to say the least, that after this draft was mimeographed on Saturday, that it was gone over and completely edited on Monday morning, and the committee itself didn't even have a copy of it, and only by accident I got a hold of a copy when I phoned down to one of the staff the other day, and I can't even remember the gentleman's name. I was sent up a couple of copies, and only probably by accident I discovered the changes in them. But to me, after 10 months of study, the fact that these significant changes were made either Sunday night or at breakfast Monday morning or sometime, deserves a little bit of comment. If this 10 months of study hasn't firmed anything up at all yet, why, then, let us develop the testimony here in hearings and throw Mr. Dodd's statement clear out and start afresh. I think that that would be an invigorating way of doing it.

Mr. GOODWIN. Mr. Chairman, I always like to be on even terms with my associates on the committee, and might I inquire whether there would be any facilities for all members of the commission to have made available to them whatever there is by way of working sheets, and I don't know what it is that my distinguished friend from Ohio has before him. Whatever is available to me, should it not be made available to other members of the committee?

Mr. HAYS. It seems that I have the say about that, and since I have the only copy, I will promise right now I am not going to yield it to

anybody, but I will have my staff make some exact duplicates of it, but I am not going to trust it out of my hands.

The CHAIRMAN. For Mr. Goodwin's benefit, I think Miss Casey might state how this draft came into being.

Mr. GOODWIN. Perhaps she stated it once, and I don't want her to repeat anything.

Miss CASEY. I will be glad to, Mr. Goodwin. At the time Mr. Wormser left, after going over the statement with Mr. Dodd on Thursday—and at this point I would like to say that I hope we are not asked to give copies of all of the drafts, because that would entail a considerable amount of work—

Mr. GOODWIN. I am sure Miss Casey will know I was somewhat facetious. I don't like to feel that I am at a disadvantage, and here is my associate here with a lot of material before him, which apparently he finds most interesting, and I haven't anything.

Miss CASEY. The chairman and the staff are at the same disadvantage, because we don't have copies of the document that Mr. Hays has now, except perhaps in a penciled draft that is crossed out and whatnot from which we would have to make another copy just like that, if we were asked to do it. I don't say it is impossible, but it might vary from comma to comma unless we had access to proofread it against his copy.

Mr. HAYS. I will be glad for you to do that.

Miss CASEY. If it is decided that we cut the stencils, Mr. Hays, I will take advantage of it. To answer Mr. Goodwin, after telephone conversations between Mr. Dodd, and Mr. Wormser, and Mr. Koch, and myself, the last copy of Mr. Dodd's report seemed to me to be approaching a point where it was possible to mimeograph it. I had the stencils cut, and I had the stencils run with two things in mind.

The hearings started at 10 o'clock on Monday, and Saturday was half a day, as far as the duplicating room at the Capitol was concerned. We had them run, I have forgotten the exact number of copies, but there were enough for copies to be available to the press, and available for each member of the committee.

On Monday morning, it developed that—well, a rearrangement and not a deletion, Mr. Goodwin, was made in Mr. Dodd's report. The entire material that is in the unpublished draft version that Mr. Hays has, is in this one, but it is in a slightly different position. It may not be expressed at as great length, but everything is there.

Now, I am responsible for having the stencils cut, and having the stencils run and finally having those stencils destroyed, and I thought all of the copies were taken to the incinerator.

Mr. GOODWIN. Could I ask Miss Casey one question, whether or not when she started work on whatever was necessary to be done before it was actually distributed, whether or not the material placed in your hands then appeared to be a finished product, and ready to go ahead with?

Miss CASEY. Yes, I knew in a sense there might be—or rather, there is always a possibility that changes might be made afterward, but considering the length of this, Mr. Goodwin, and I think it runs some 36 pages, the sheer mechanics of it somewhat overwhelmed me between Saturday morning and Monday. It may have been an error in judgment on my part to have had the stencils cut and run.

Mr. HAYS. Were there two complete? Now, this thing comes to us in two sections, the Monday section and a Tuesday section. Did you rerun both of them?

Miss CASEY. Yes, we reran it. You see, by rearranging it, some of the page numbers varied, and so in those cases, I think that I am right, we had to rerun it. We had to rerun most of it, let me put it that way.

Mr. HAYS. I only have the original of Monday's version, and it is hard to tell what has been lost to the world by the fact I didn't get Tuesday's, too.

Mr. GOODWIN. Is there something else you want, Mr. Hays?

Mr. HAYS. Well, Mr. Goodwin, this is a little bit serious, I think, because some of the changes in language, in here, would indicate that the staff was prepared after 10 months of study to damn these foundations pretty severely, and then apparently somebody came along and said, "Look, I don't think we can get away with quite this, we had better tone this thing down a little bit, because if we go out at it too badly we may just get run clear out of the Capitol. We had better move into this thing a little more gradually."

So, instead of saying in some places, for instance, here it says, these penciled notes are mine, but in one place it said, "Our studies indicated conclusively that the responsibility for the economic welfare of the American people had been transferred completely to the executive branch."

Well, in the new version, they took out the word "completely" and said "heavily" and you see they didn't want to go whole hog on that particular one.

The CHAIRMAN. There is nothing unusual in changing phraseology and words.

Mr. HAYS. Now, Mr. Chairman, may I finish? There is something unusual in this whole procedure. It was unusual Monday, and I was amazed—and maybe this isn't true; Miss Casey is still here, and she can tell us to read in the papers that when the press came up to look at the final complete version, or we have used so many terms here, this is the preliminary final version, but then the final version—which was in looseleaf typewritten pages, that Miss Casey grabbed it and refused to let them look at it.

Miss CASEY. Let me clear that up. In the first place that was not the final draft. Those were Mr. Dodd's notes, and he had a great many penciled notations for his own guidance. I did not feel, and I don't feel now, nor I feel sure would you that the press could just take that and say, "Well, Mr. Dodd said this," because it happened to be a notation. That could be misconstrued, and I felt in justice to the committee it should not be done.

Mr. HAYS. That is an explanation, and I just wondered about it, but of course the whole crux of the matter goes back to the fact that you did have a version ready, and then that version was changed Monday morning rather significantly, and then you didn't have any ready.

Miss CASEY. I would give you the same protection if you were going to make a speech on the floor of the House and had some penciled notations on what you were going to read which might even be in a sort of, in hybrid shorthand, which could easily be misconstrued. I would feel you should be protected against someone misconstruing it.

Mr. HAYS. I will say this, Miss Casey, you needn't worry much about that, because if you will sit on the floor and hear what some of the Members say and then read the Congressional Record the next day, you will know that we have complete protection.

MISS CASEY. If you were speaking at a dinner perhaps it would be a better illustration.

Mr. HAYS. As a matter of fact, and I am sure the chairman won't take anything personal about this, I read with great interest just recently what he is alleged to have said when he was getting this resolution through and there was a lot of stuff that was introduced by unanimous consent that he didn't say, but it looks like he said it in the record. You see, we are protected, you don't need to worry about us.

The CHAIRMAN. Anything I didn't say in the record was for want of time and not disposition. Are there any other questions?

Mr. HAYS. I have some more questions.

Mr. WORMSER. May I correct the record in one respect? You have been talking about 10 months of preparation and it has been 6 months and not 10, and may I recall also that this report was drawn in great haste. I am not trying to detract from its character, but at a committee meeting, and I don't know whether you were there or not, Mr. Goodwin, it was agreed that Mr. Dodd would prepare such a report for the express purpose not only of informing the committee, but of giving the foundations notice of what our main lines of inquiry would be. It was done in great haste, and we had only a week, or something slightly over a week, to produce the thing and get it out. I could not see it nor could Mr. Koch until it had been finally drafted.

Mr. HAYS. You don't need to apologize, Mr. Wormser. You told me a month ago that Mr. Dodd was going to be your first witness, at least a month ago. As a matter of fact these hearings were set down originally for sometime way back in April, and even then I knew he was going to be the first witness. Let us not quibble about a week or so.

Mr. WORMSER. It was not intended then, Mr. Hays, that he would file a report. Now, this report had to be finished in approximately a week.

Mr. HAYS. I have some more questions I want to ask Mr. Dodd.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Dodd, did you want to make a statement?

Mr. DODD. May I make a comment on something Mr. Hays said a few minutes ago? Mr. Hays mentioned that the atmosphere behind this whole thing is as though the staff had set out to damn the foundations.

Mr. HAYS. Now, just a minute, don't put words in my mouth. I think what I said was that it would appear from this original, what do we call it, the final preliminary draft, I can't remember that term—

Mr. GOODWIN. How about the unexpurgated?

Mr. HAYS. That is a good word.

Mr. DODD. May I ask that that be read.

Mr. HAYS. I would say that this report would seem to indicate that and then it was changed and they decided not to go quite so heavily. That is what I meant.

Mr. DODD. I don't think that that is exactly what you have said, sir.

Mr. HAYS. The record will show.

Mr. DODD. In any event, I would like to go on record as emphatically as possible that there has never entered into this work to my knowledge a desire to damn the foundations, and thereby get in a position such as Mr. Hays mentioned, namely, "Do we dare go this far at this time?" This investigation has been carried on in a manner which permitted the facts to tell their own story, and I am certain that as these hearings go forward that is the way in which it will be done. Nothing that I have had anything to do with has ever lost sight of that one purpose, to actually permit the facts to tell their story.

The CHAIRMAN. Certainly, so far as the chairman has had anything to say, with you or the other members of the staff, he has certainly indicated that he wanted that course to be followed. And, as chairman, I want to say that I have not observed any other disposition on the part of Mr. Dodd, or Mr. Wormser, or Mr. Koch, or Miss Casey, Mr. McNiece, or any other member of the staff to do otherwise.

Do you have some further questions?

Mr. HAYS. I sure do.

Miss CASEY. Could I make one statement further, and that is Mr. Hays asked this of Mr. Dodd and he might want to ask it of me. No one has ever attempted to influence my opinions, or the way in which I brought out the facts on any of the foundations that I worked on, and no one attempted to gear my thinking in any respect at all.

The CHAIRMAN. However, it is not at all illogical to me to learn that members of the staff, especially as important members of the staff as we have here, might have different views, at least in a tentative way, that would ultimately need to be harmonized and brought together among themselves. There is nothing unusual about that that I can see at all, if such should happen to be the case. I cannot imagine that group of men and women starting out with exactly the same views expressed in the same language.

TESTIMONY OF NORMAN DODD, RESEARCH DIRECTOR, SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE TAX-EXEMPT FOUNDATIONS—

Resumed

Mr. HAYS. Do you consider the New York Times to be a rather fair and impartial newspaper?

Mr. DODD. May I answer that to give my opinion or judgment?

Mr. HAYS. I want your opinion, and I have my opinion, and Mr. Reece has his.

Do you consider that to be a fair and impartial newspaper?

Mr. DODD. My own opinion of it, Mr. Hays, is no.

Mr. HAYS. In the light of the editorial they wrote, I suppose that you wouldn't be consistent if you didn't say that.

Mr. DODD. Mr. Hays, may I remark that I have not read the editorial?

Mr. HAYS. Let me read a sentence of it to you, and see if you think so, and may I say that I have gotten several dozen letters which drew the same conclusions from your statement: The New York Times on May 13 says:

What is alarming about Mr. Dodd's opening statement is that it indicates a belief that intellectual advancement, if any, must conform to a rigid pattern of those set in the 18th century.

And you know something, independently I arrived at just the same conclusion from reading your statement, because I didn't see this editorial until this morning. I have been questioning you trying to bring that out.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't reach the same conclusion yourself, did you, Mr. Dodd?

Mr. DODD. No, sir, I did not, Mr. Chairman, and I don't know where it says that in the statement.

Mr. HAYS. Well, do you recall having a conversation with me back in November, at Bethesda Naval Hospital?

Mr. DODD. Very definitely, Mr. Hays.

Mr. HAYS. Now, perhaps fortunately for both of us, I will tell you right now, there is no transcript of that conversation available, and we will have to rely upon our memories. But do you recall telling me generally that you believed there had been some sort of—and I may be using the wrong word when I say plot or arrangement—among all of these foundations to change the whole concept of the social sciences?

Mr. DODD. I remember talking to you about that, that that is what the facts would ultimately disclose, but it is not between the foundations.

Mr. HAYS. But you told me back in November that that is what the facts—

Mr. DODD. That is what the story would unfold, probably.

Mr. HAYS. That there is some kind of a big plot?

Mr. DODD. Not a plot.

Mr. HAYS. What do you want to call it? Let us get a terminology there.

Mr. DODD. It is a happening.

Mr. HAYS. Well, now, there is a good deal of difference, Mr. Dodd, isn't there between a happening, and something that is brought about deliberately?

Mr. DODD. Very definitely, sir and I am one of those who strongly advocates and takes the stand that this has not been brought about deliberately by the foundations.

Mr. HAYS. It is just sort of an accidental thing?

Mr. DODD. I don't know as you could call it accidental; it is a development. But I do not feel that it has been brought about deliberately by foundations.

Mr. HAYS. Do you think it is bad?

Mr. DODD. I have attempted to be objective, and I don't think of it in terms of bad or good, and I think it is something we should know about.

Mr. HAYS. Well, I don't think that there are any of us here who wouldn't know that the concept of the social sciences has changed even in my generation.

Mr. DODD. Yes; but I don't think it is a question of whether it is good or bad; I think we should know that it changed.

Mr. HAYS. Well, we don't need a \$115,000 investigation to know that, and you can find that out. Most anybody on the street could tell you that; is that right?

Mr. DODD. But this is in relation, as I understand it, to a resolution which asks 5 Members of Congress to make 5 determinations.

Mr. HAYS. The way we are going, we may wind up with five determinations; I don't know.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you permit an interjection? I was going to say, Mr. Dodd, after he had his conferences with you at the naval hospital, expressed to me great satisfaction with the conference, and reported to me something to the effect that if he followed the factual line of presentation which he discussed with you, that you hoped he wouldn't be blocked by the majority members of the committee, or impeded by the majority members of the committee in the proceeding. He was very much pleased.

Mr. HAYS. I was too weak to argue with him much then. But I want to say this, for the benefit of counsel, and Mr. Dodd: I like Mr. Dodd as an individual. He and I don't see eye to eye on a great many, shall we say, concepts about social sciences, but I believe Mr. Dodd is sincere in what he thinks he believes, as I am, and perhaps in the process that he will educate me or I will educate him; I don't know. But I want to make that perfectly clear. In any questions that I may ask you, Mr. Dodd, they are not asked in a spirit of animosity at all, and I am trying to get some answers that we can hang something onto here before we go any further.

Mr. DODD. I feel that that is the spirit in which they are being asked, Mr. Hays.

Mr. HAYS. But the only reason I ask you about that conversation—and, of course, you recall, it lasted for some little time, and we talked about many things, but I was disturbed then as I am still disturbed in the light of what has transpired so far—that the impression at least is getting abroad that we think that this committee may come to the conclusion that change is bad, per se. Now, if we are going to accept the premise here that there has been a lot of change, and we will bring the facts out as they are, and then let the public decide whether it is good or bad, that is one thing, but if this committee is going to come to the conclusion or try to arrive at a conclusion about what is good or bad in education, I think that perhaps we are a little bit out of our field, and we have strayed pretty far.

Mr. GOODWIN. Will you yield there?

Mr. DODD, with reference to something in between Mr. Hays' plot and your—

Mr. HAYS. Don't call it my plot.

Mr. GOODWIN. Mr. Hays' reference to a plot, and your designation of a happening, would it help any if the suggestion were made that what you had in mind was a trend or a tendency?

Mr. DODD. It is a very noticeable trend, Mr. Goodwin, and it involves the coordinated activity of a variety of seemingly separate institutions. What to call it, and what name to give it, I don't know. I think we will just have to wait until the facts appear, and allow the committee to characterize it for itself.

But I have been guided all along here by the fact that nothing that this staff did, or nothing that the staff plus counsel attempted to do should be other than that which would make it helpful or help the committee to discharge its obligations under that resolution. The guiding factor behind that was an assembly of the facts as they fell.

Now, Mr. Hays is making reference to the fact that I had ideas on this subject, seemingly, prior to my assumption of my duties. It is very hard to have been a student of these changes and these trends for 25 years and not to have some knowledge of it. It was out of that knowledge that I was able to give Mr. Hays assurance the day we first

met, that this investigation could be carried out in terms of trends, in terms of practices, in terms of events, and in terms of political action, and in terms of historic changes, and not have to be carried out in terms of personalities or general opinions.

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Dodd, in the final draft which you made available to the press and the committee of your first day's statement, among the criticisms that you directed at the Cox committee was this, and we have been over it before:

Foundations were not asked why they did not support projects of a pro-American type.

Now, I am going to read you a short sentence, and ask you if you ever heard this before:

The significance of this was bound to be missed unless the determination of foundations to break with tradition had been previously identified.

Mr. DODD. Yes, sir, that is in the first draft.

Mr. HAYS. But not in the second draft?

Mr. DODD. That is right, sir.

Mr. HAYS. Why was that taken out?

Mr. DODD. Well, it was deemed by counsel to be too conclusive.

Mr. HAYS. That is a good answer.

Mr. GOODWIN. It seems also to have been a very good determination.

Mr. HAYS. What do you mean, "It is a good determination"? Is that the determination of foundations to break with tradition or the determination to take this out?

Mr. GOODWIN. I think the substance as appeared in the final draft is certainly nearer to what I think ought to be a statement to come from this staff than what appeared or what you say appeared in the other draft that you have there.

Mr. HAYS. Let me say this—

Mr. GOODWIN. It was the result of some careful thinking on somebody's part.

Mr. HAYS. If that is true, then I am very happy, but I am wondering if it was a result of the fact that they have arrived at this conclusion, but didn't want the public to know it just yet.

The CHAIRMAN. The discussion, as I recall, which the members of the staff had with the members of the committee as a whole, as well as the chairman individually, indicated very clearly that they were not stating conclusions, and I am sure and I can very well understand, in a preliminary draft some might use a word that after reflection or after another member of the staff who had not been quite so closely associated with the writing itself, would readily recognize it as being too conclusive or too strong a language, which would result after a conference in a modification of language.

That is the way good results are arrived at. And again I just feel that I want to say that I feel the staff went about this in a very satisfactory way to get the kind of presentation which the committee was interested in having.

Mr. GOODWIN. I am sure, Mr. Chairman, the gentleman from Ohio will expect me to be a little jealous of the Cox committee because I happened to be a member of that committee.

Mr. HAYS. Let me say to you, Mr. Goodwin, right here, to get the record straight, that I think the Cox committee did a good and adequate job, and I think that the Congressional Record will show

that I said on the day this resolution was being debated that I felt the Cox committee had done the job and it was unnecessary to rework the ground. So, let me compliment you, and I hope this committee will come up with as good a one.

The CHAIRMAN. As a member of the Cox committee, I am very much gratified.

Mr. HAYS. As I recall it, you were a little critical of the Cox committee.

Mr. GOODWIN. I compliment Mr. Hays for coming along with me.

Mr. HAYS. I hope the investigation that we are conducting will have as salutary and final effects as the Cox committee did.

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed.

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Dodd, in the original speech on the floor last year, which is now part of the record of this committee, there were quite a number of pages devoted to the Ford Foundation. There is one whole series of statements under a subtitle called, "Subversive and Pro-Communist, and Pro-Socialist Propaganda Activities of the Ford Foundation." Have you found any evidence of such activity?

Mr. DODD. That will come forward, Mr. Hays, if I may say so, and that will be brought out in the formal testimony here in the hearings which is about to consume one or more hearings in its own right. I would not like to anticipate that at this time.

The CHAIRMAN. I hope, Mr. Hays, that you won't hold Mr. Dodd responsible for my speech.

Mr. HAYS. Oh, no, as a matter of fact, after discussing it, I won't even hold you responsible.

Mr. DODD. May I mention, Mr. Hays, that the strict definition that we have been guided by as far as the word "subversive" is concerned is quite different than that used in the excerpt that you have mentioned.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your definition, or would you mind restating your definition?

Mr. DODD. We used the one, Mr. Chairman, that Brookings arrived at after having been requested to study this subject. I believe it was for the House Un-American Activities Committee. That was: That which was action designed to alter either the principles or the form of the United States Government by other than constitutional means, was subversive.

Mr. HAYS. In other words, then, we wouldn't call social security and bank insurance subversive under that definition would we?

Mr. DODD. I wouldn't think so.

Mr. HAYS. I wouldn't think so either.

Mr. DODD, do you know anybody, and I am sorry, I don't at the moment have the notes I made on it, and have the man's first name, but I think you will recognize a man by the name of Conrad from Chicago?

Mr. DODD. Yes, I do, sir.

Mr. HAYS. What is his first name?

Mr. DODD. Arthur.

Mr. HAYS. That is right; I thought it was Arthur. Has he been in touch with the staff at all during your preliminary work?

Mr. DODD. He was at the first day's hearings, and I met him, I only met him once during the time that I have been here.

Mr. HAYS. He hasn't offered any advice or information to the staff, has he?

Mr. DODD. No, sir.

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Dodd, I have some more questions, but the Chairman has suggested that you have a witness here who wants to be heard today, or tomorrow, and since it will give me more time to get some of these notes I have in form, if it is satisfactory then we will excuse you, and call you back sometime subsequently in the hearings.

Mr. DODD. All right, Mr. Hays.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that satisfactory?

Mr. GOODWIN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is the other witness?

Mr. WORMSER. Professor Briggs, will you take the stand, please?

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Briggs, will you be sworn. Do you solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Dr. BRIGGS. I do.

TESTIMONY OF DR. THOMAS HENRY BRIGGS, MEREDITH, N. H.

Mr. WORMSER. Will you state your name and address for the record?

Dr. BRIGGS. My name is Thomas H. Briggs, and my legal residence is Meredith, N. H.

Mr. WORMSER. Professor Briggs, to save you the effort, may I identify you by reading part of your record, and if I make a mistake, please correct me. You have the degrees of doctor of literature, and doctor of philosophy, and on January of this year, received the honorary degree of doctor of human letters from Columbia University. You have been a teacher in various secondary schools, and later in Eastern Illinois State Normal School where you were professor of English. Before that you were professor at Stetson University. You were a professor at Teachers College at Columbia from 1912 or at least you were on the faculty from 1912 and you became a professor there in education in 1920, and held that position until 1942. You have been emeritus since 1942, is that correct?

Dr. BRIGGS. That is correct.

Mr. WORMSER. You have been on quite a multitude of commissions, I notice, consumer education study, of the National Association of Secondary School Principals, and you were a director, I believe, of that organization for many years. You were on the commission on the reorganization of secondary education, the commission on teaching science and industrial subjects in war emergency, the syllabus committee on junior high schools in the State of New York, on the reviewing committee of the National Education Association, on the National Committee on Research in Secondary Education, on the Teachers College Faculty Committee, and on the committee on orientation in secondary education of the NEA, and on the World Congress on Education for Democracy at Teachers College, and you were chairman of that group, and on faculty advisory committee to the dean at Teachers College, and you were chairman of that group.

You are the author of numerous books, Formal Grammar as a Discipline, and the Junior High School, Curriculum Problems, The Great Investment, Secondary Education, Improving Instruction, Pragmatism and Pedagogy, The Meaning of Democracy, and you have contributed to numerous publications.

Dr. BRIGGS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have a formal statement that you wish to first present, Professor Briggs?

Dr. BRIGGS. I do, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed.

Mr. HAYS. Do we have copies of this statement, sir, so that we can annotate it and make notes of it as we go along, or do we have to pick it out of the air.

Mr. WORMSER. I have only one copy which I am perfectly willing to let you have before you if you wish it.

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Wormser, I want to be very patient about this, but in case I haven't I would like to make it very clear that when you are bringing in witnesses to set up your case—and I assume they would be called committee witnesses, since they have been secured by the staff, and you have invited them here—it seems only fair that you should get the statements ready so that the committee can have a copy to follow along, as the witness reads it in case we would like to make a note. Now, it is going to be pretty difficult to try to write down what he says and then write down your question, if you have one, afterward, it is just not in line with committee procedure around here.

Mr. WORMSER. Well, of course, the statement would be—

Mr. HAYS. You have a copy but we don't, I don't want to take unfair advantage of Mr. Goodwin here, and I have already done it once today.

The CHAIRMAN. It will be here for reference.

Mr. GOODWIN. We can take care of that.

Mr. WORMSER. I would like to say, Mr. Chairman, that Professor Briggs' testimony is somewhat out of order in this sense, that I would have preferred to call him later, but he is retired and he is leaving for New Hampshire in a few days, and I took the liberty therefore of calling him today.

The CHAIRMAN. We will receive his testimony.

Mr. HAYS. Suppose we let him read it in, and then defer questioning until we get a copy of the hearings tomorrow so we can have a chance to look it over and see what he said.

Dr. BRIGGS. It is my fault. I didn't finish this until Sunday.

Mr. HAYS. I don't think it is your fault, sir, and I think the committee should have forewarned you and helped you have the copies ready.

Mr. WORMSER. We couldn't, Mr. Hays, if you will pardon me, because I didn't want to bring Professor Briggs down from New Hampshire and he is leaving on the 23d.

The CHAIRMAN. The chairman might state, when it is feasible and convenient, we will ask Mr. Wormser to have the statements available in advance to the members of the committee, or at least during the hearings, but in some cases it is not and I am sure when it is feasible and convenient that he will do so. It has been my experience in the past on committees that it was not unusual for a witness not to have statements available, for members of the committee, although I will agree with you, it is a convenience to have the statements.

Mr. HAYS. It has been customary in the committees I have been on.

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed.

Dr. BRIGGS. There are now in the United States several thousand foundations, most, if not all of them, chartered by the Federal Government or by individual States and freed from obligation to pay taxes on their income. The purposes for which they were established are variously stated, but in general the establishment is said to be a— recognition of the obligation involved in stewardship of surplus wealth, abetted by a reverent faith in man and his possibilities for progress.

But whatever the stated purpose or purposes, the public has a deep concern and an actual responsibility to see that the activities of each and every foundation, whether its resources are large or small, not only does not harm but also contributes to a maximum degree possible to the welfare of the Nation. This right and this responsibility are derived from the fact that the public has chartered the foundations and also that by remission of taxes it is furnishing a large part of the available revenue. In the case of the Ford Foundation, which has an annual income in excess of \$30 million, the public contributes more than \$27 million, or \$9 to every \$1 that comes from the original donor.

In addition to the right and the responsibility of the public to insure that foundation moneys are spent for the maximum good of society in general, the public is concerned that no chartered foundation promote a program which in any way and to any extent militates against what society has decided is for its own good. To ascertain if foundations have either intentionally or because of poor judgment contributed to the weakening of the public welfare this committee, as I understand it, was authorized by the Congress.

I should like to insist at this point that the committee should be equally concerned to consider whether or not any foundation is spending its income wastefully or on projects that promise benefit to only a favored section of the country or to arbitrarily favored individuals.

Two principles that should govern all foundation appropriations are, first, that each supported project should promise to result not only in good but also in the maximum possible good; and, second, that each supported project should promise to benefit, either directly or indirectly, the Nation as a whole. Since, as already noted, a large part of the income of every foundation is contributed by the general public through the remission of taxes, these principles are incontrovertible.

My competence to testify before this committee is based largely on my knowledge of the Fund for the Advancement of Education, a subsidiary of the Ford Foundation. This fund was established on recommendation of a committee of which the late Commissioner of Education of the State of New York, Francis T. Spaulding, was chairman. Announcement of the establishment of the fund was greeted with enthusiastic approbation by the entire educational profession, the members of which saw in it great potentialities for the betterment of public schools. The expectations of the profession were raised by the announcement of the membership of the board of directors, each one a citizen of the highest reputation for integrity and sound judgment.

But unfortunately these hopes have been in large measure disappointed by the selection of the administrators and the staff of the fund and by much of the program that they have developed. Not a single member of the staff, from the president down to the lowliest

employee, has had any experience, certainly none in recent years, that would give understanding of the problems that are met daily by the teachers and administrators of our schools. It is true that they have from time to time called in for counsel experienced educators of their own choosing, but there is little evidence that they have been materially influenced by the advice that was proffered. As one prominent educator who was invited to give advice reported, "any suggestions for changes in the project (proposed by the fund) were glossed over without discussion." As a former member of a so-called advisory committee I testify that at no time did the administration of the fund seek from it any advice on principles of operation nor did it hospitably receive or act in accordance with such advice as was volunteered.

Of course, one can always secure acceptable advice by the selection of advisers, and equally, of course, advice, however wise, can be ignored or interpreted as favoring a policy already determined upon.

There are educators who holding to a philosophy to that generally accepted will give advice that is wanted, and unfortunately there are individuals who can be prevailed on by expectation of grants of money to cooperate in promoting projects that have no general professional approval.

Because of the failure of the fund to clarify the functions of the so-called advisory committee, an able body that was given far more credit by the administration than it was allowed to earn, or to use it in any effective way, in March of this year I submitted my resignation in a letter that was later published in *School and Society*.

Although this journal has only a modest circulation, the number of commendations that I have received, both orally and in letters from all parts of the country, have been surprising and gratifying. It may be asserted that I am disgruntled because policies and projects which I favored were not approved by the fund. Whether or not I am disgruntled is not important. What is important for the committee—and, for that matter, for the public at large—to consider is the validity of the criticism that is leveled against the fund as administered.

Especially disturbing in a large number of the responses to my letter of resignation was the fear, often expressed and always implied, of making criticisms of the fund lest they prejudice the chances of the institution represented by the critic or of some project favored by him of getting financial aid from the fund at some future time.

It is tragic in a high degree that men who have won confidence and position in the educational world should be intimidated from expressing criticism of a foundation whose administrators and policies they do not respect.

I am not inclined to criticize severely the board of directors of the fund, for they are busy with their own affairs and naturally are inclined to put trust in their elected administrative officers, all of whom were directly or indirectly nominated by a formerly influential officer of the Ford Foundation who is notoriously critical—I may even say contemptuous—of the professional education of teachers.

These administrative officers doubtless present to the board, as they do to the public, a program so general as to get approval and yet so indefinite as to permit activities which in the judgment of most competent critics are either wasteful or harmful to the education program that has been approved by the public.

Uninformed laymen are likely to accept with proud endorsement, for instance, a proposal to raise the standard of teachers, without being concerned to consider critically the projects proposed to achieve that desirable goal as related to a philosophy of education or as contrasted with other possible and perhaps more practicable means.

I charge that the present officers of the Fund for the Advancement of Education have arrogated to themselves an assumption of omniscience, which responsibility for distributing millions of donated dollars does not automatically bestow, nor does it bestow a becoming humility and respect for the judgment of others.

Presidents Jessup and Keppel and Dr. Abraham Flexner have been honest enough to say that the great foundations which they represented made mistakes. But the officers of the fund under discussion have as yet admitted no such frailty. Whenever foundation officers, subordinate as well as chief, confuse position with ability and power with wisdom, losing the humility that would keep ears and mind hospitably open to what others think, the welfare of the general public is endangered.

It can hardly be wondered at that the officers of a foundation steadily tend, as Dr. Keppel once said, toward "an illusion of omniscience or omnipotence." Even a chauffeur feels that the powerful engine in the car that he is hired to drive increases his importance, is in a sense his own personal power.

The fund officers have either made grants to any of the professional organizations of teachers or of school administrators, nor has it even sought their counsel. But it is obvious, or it should be obvious, that no proposed program that affects education, however heavily financed by a foundation, can be successful unless it is understood and approved by those who will be called on to interpret and to administer it. The officers of the fund may feel themselves superior in wisdom and foresight to teachers and administrators, but the fact remains that these people are employed by the public and have been entrusted with the responsibility for carrying on an approved program of educating the young people of the Nation.

All thinking about education should start with an understanding that it is not primarily a benevolence but, rather, a long-term investment by the public to make each community a better place in which to live and a better place in which to make a living. Like stockholders in any other enterprise, the public has a right to determine what it wishes the product to be. The principle that the public should decide what it wants in order to promote its own welfare and happiness is unquestionably sound. An assumption that the public does not know what is for its own good is simply contrary to the fundamental principles of democracy.

Having decided what it wants its schools to produce, the public leaves, or should leave, to management the selection of employees and decisions about materials and methods to be used. No more than a stockholder of General Motors, General Electric, or General Mills does it have a right to go to employees and tell them how to do their job.

This the officers of the Fund for the Advancement of Education are assuming to do. But the public does have a right and an obligation, which it seldom fully satisfies, to require an audited report of the success of the management that it employs. If the product is not

satisfactory, the public must decide whether to modify its demands as to objectives, to employ new management, or to make possible the procurement of better operatives or the purchase of better materials with which they can work.

All this being understood, we can assert without fear of successful contradiction that any attempt by outside agencies, however heavily they may be financed and however supported by eminent individuals, to influence school administrators and teachers to seek other objectives than those which have public approval or to use methods and materials not directed by responsible management is an impudence not to be tolerated. Though cloaked with declared benevolence, it cannot hide the arrogance underneath.

This argument with its conclusions is easily seen to be sound when applied to military or industrial organization and administration. It ought to be easily apparent as well when applied to public education.

It would be manifestly absurd to assert that all of the activities of any foundation have been bad in intent or in effect. As a matter of fact, the activities of all but a minority of the foundations of which I know anything have been both benevolent and beneficial to the public at large. It is only when a foundation uses its resources, which in large part you and I made available through waiving their payment of income taxes, to propagandize for something that the public does not recognize as for its best interest, that there is reason for concern, alarm, and perhaps control.

It is admitted that in this country an individual is free to argue for or to spend his own money to popularize any theory or any proposed change that he approves, so long as it does not violate the laws of the land. But that is very different from authorizing or condoning the use of our money to promote what we do not approve.

I should like to say at this point that if a fraction of the money and effort that has been spent recently to detect and to eradicate the advocacy of communism had been spent to inculcate in youth an understanding of the American way of life there would now be no danger from communism or from any other alien philosophy.

It would be a great contribution to the promotion of the welfare of our Nation if agencies of the public were to devote themselves to a constructive campaign to educate our young people to enthusiastic devotion to what we know is the best way of life possible in this modern world. Cultivation of a good crop is far more sensible and economical in terms of ultimate results than neglect of cultivation for the purpose of eradicating a few weeds.

Representing, as I think I do, the sentiment of the vast majority of educators of the country, I am deeply concerned that a major part of the program of the Fund for the Advancement of Education deprecates the professional education of teachers and of school administrators.

It apparently is assuming that a good general education is sufficient to insure effective professional work. Such a belief underlay a program which proved unsatisfactory not only in England, Germany, France, and other civilized countries, but also during earlier days in the United States.

Consequently, realizing the necessity of professional education, we have developed during the past two generations a program which, approved by legislation and by financial support, has resulted in a

system of schools unparalleled elsewhere in the history of the world. Whatever their shortcomings, our schools enroll a larger percentage of children and youth, retain them longer, present courses of study more continuously adapted to the life of today, and use better methods developed by science as well as by common sense than any other schools have ever done before.

There can be no sound argument against an assertion that teachers need more liberal education than they now in general have. But we are getting what we are willing to pay for. If we demand teachers who have a broader background and more cultural education, we must pay enough to justify young people in spending the necessary time and money to get it.

This, as is well known, we are not now doing. The salaries of teachers do not compare favorably with the wages of workers in fields that require little education and even less special training. During the renaissance one Italian city devoted half of its income to education. In the United States today we devote only a little more than 2 percent, with 1 State spending as little as 1.75 percent. If we want teachers with a larger amount of general education, we simply shall have to pay salaries that will justify young people in making the necessary investment in themselves to qualify to satisfy our demands.

The desired increase in general education of teachers will not result from the projects, costly as they are, of the Fund for the Advancement of Education. They may improve a small fraction of teachers, but they are unlikely to have any widespread national effect.

One of its projects finances for 200 or 300 high-school teachers annual fellowships that permit advanced cultural studies. At the present rate the fund would require 750 years and an expenditure of \$1,200 million to give such advantages to all secondary-school teachers at present in service, and even at that, because of the turnover of staffs, it would never catch up. The officers of the fund have stated that they hope their project would stimulate local school boards to finance similar leaves for study by other teachers.

But after 3 years of what the fund erroneously calls "a great experiment" there is no evidence that the hoped-for result is in sight. Nor, according to reports from a number of schools from which the favored teachers were selected, has the expenditure of several million dollars on the project produced any material improvement in education or in the increased ambition of other teachers.

This is but one of several expensive projects that the fund has financed for a purpose praiseworthy in itself but wastefully unlikely to have any significant results on education throughout the country. The relatively few fortunate teachers probably profited from their year of study, but it was unrealistic to expect that their experience would materially affect all, or any considerable part, of the schools of the Nation.

There is no time to comment here on several other projects financed by the fund. It is sufficient to assert that though some good may come out of them they are for the most part propagandistic of the idea that professional education is of far less importance than the public is convinced that it is and also of the idea that secondary education is important only for naturally gifted youth.

Moreover, these projects violate the principle that foundation funds should be expended economically with a reasonable expectation of beneficent results for the whole Nation.

It cannot be successfully denied that schoolteachers and administrators need professional training, just as doctors, dentists, and ministers of the Gospel do. The education of our children cannot safely be entrusted to untrained teachers any more than their health and moral development can safely be entrusted to untrained physicians and ministers.

How much professional education and of what kinds is needed we are trying by experiment and by experience to ascertain. It may be that in the rapid development of professional-education programs there are now some wasteful courses and some poor instruction, which may also be found in liberal-arts colleges, and that there is an overemphasis on theory and on techniques. But the improvement that is needed and the desired balancing of general and professional education will not come about by a condemnation of the whole program and an attempt so to discredit and subordinate it that it becomes insufficient and ineffective.

What is needed, and what as a member of the Advisory Committee I recommended with what seemed to be the approval of my fellow members, is an objective study of the whole program of professional education of schoolteachers and administrators, a study conducted by an impartial and able investigator that will show up any existing faults, including an overemphasis on pedagogy, and at the same time recognize and record practices that are sound in theory and of proved effectiveness.

Such an objective study was made of medical education some years ago by Dr. Abraham Flexner with an appropriation from the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching.

Flexner's objective and sensible report caused a revolutionary improvement in medical education, a revolution so sound that it has been universally approved by physicians and by the public alike. But concerning the professional education of school people the officers of the fund begin their propaganda against current practices by an assumption that they know what the preparation should be with such an assumption, however unsound, would not be disturbing if these officers did not have at their disposal millions of money, yours and mine, as well as Mr. Ford's to promote their theories. To whatever extent successful their propaganda, disguised under declared benevolence, the effect is likely to be decreasing public confidence and perhaps decreased public support for what is desirable and necessary.

In this extended statement I am not attacking the phenomenon of foundations that are established with benevolent intent. They have great potentialities for benefiting mankind, and I say without reserve that on the whole the major foundations deserve and have won by their activities the respect, the confidence, and the gratitude of informed people.

It has been stated that, unlike colleges and universities, foundations have no alumni to defend them. But they do have influential people as members of their boards, and these members have powerful friends, some of whom are more inclined to be partisanly defensive than objectively critical. Moreover, there are also thousands who,

hopeful of becoming beneficiaries of future grants, either conceal their criticisms or else give expression to a defense that may not be wholly sincere.

Asking nothing for myself and at my age having nothing to fear by way of reprisal, such professional reputation as I have being firmly established, I make my criticisms of the foundation that I know best as a matter of duty. To be constructive, I propose the following statement of functions which seem proper for any foundation:

1. To seek the advice of official or generally recognized representatives of the public in formulating policies or on the soundness, feasibility, relative importance, and timeliness of important proposed projects. The advice received, along with the recommendations and supporting reasons of the administrative officers, should be considered by the board of trustees in making final decision as to appropriations.

This stated function does not suggest that the administrative officers should refrain from seeking counsel from other individuals of their own choosing. But it emphasizes the wisdom and the responsibility not only of getting counsel from representatives of the public but also of transmitting their advice to the ultimate authority of the foundation.

The responsibility of spending the resources of a foundation—which to repeat, are contributed largely by the public—are too great to be assumed by any individuals without the advice and cooperative planning of the professional organizations that will be responsible for the success of any project that is undertaken.

2. To conduct—or, better still, to finance—scientific research that will reveal facts needed by the public or its representatives in specialized fields in order that it can proceed wisely in planning action.

It should go without saying that a foundation should never—

attempt to influence findings and conclusions of research and investigations either through designation of personnel or in any other way.

This principle was stated some years ago by the Laura Spellman Rockefeller Foundation as follows:

To support scientific research on social, economic, and governmental questions when responsible educational or scientific institutions initiate the request, sponsor the research, or assume responsibility for the selection and competency of the staff and the scientific spirit of the investigations.

3. To support projects having promise of making the widest possible contribution to the whole population.

This rules out appropriations for projects that are local in character or promotive of the interests of favored individuals.

4. To popularize objectively ascertained facts in order that being widely known they will influence thinking and action.

This stated function implies that all pertinent and important facts, not merely those that are favorable to a favored side of disputed issues, should be popularized.

5. "To make possible under the auspices of scientific" or professional organizations truly representative of the public "demonstrations which may serve to test, to illustrate, or to lead to more general adoption of measures * * * which have been devised * * * and recommended by responsible agencies."

6. To support the beginnings of activities which leaders of the public especially concerned approve but for which financial support has not been made available.

This implies that foundation support should be gradually withdrawn as the public is convinced of the wisdom of assuming responsibility.

7. To aid institutions and other reputable organizations that seek to carry out the same or other similar functions.

In summary, I charge:

1. That the fund for the advancement of education is improperly manned with a staff inexperienced in public elementary and secondary schools, ignorant at firsthand of the problems that daily confront teachers and school administrators, and out of sympathy with the democratic ideal of giving an appropriate education to all the children of all of the people;

2. That the fund is using its great resources, mostly contributed by the public by the remission of taxes, to deprecate a program of professional education of teachers and school administrators that has been approved by the public with legislation and appropriations;

3. That the fund has ignored the professional organizations of teachers and school administrators, neither seeking their advice and cooperation nor making appropriation to support projects proposed by them;

4. That the fund has made grants to favored localities and individuals for projects that are not likely to have any wide or important influence;

5. That the fund has given no evidence of its realization of its obligation as a public trust to promote the general good of the entire Nation;

6. That the fund has in some cases been wastefully prodigal in making grants beyond the importance of the projects; and

7. That the fund either has no balanced program of correlated constructive policies, or else it has failed to make them public.

The CHAIRMAN. Dr. Briggs, we appreciate a man with your background of experience taking time to make this statement to the committee.

There may be some questions. We have a few minutes remaining, if it is agreeable to the committee to run for a few minutes after 12, we might dispose of the questions today. If not, we will have to consult Dr. Briggs convenience as to when we might do so.

I have only one question that I had in mind asking: If you will permit, I will get that out of the way, because it is a general one.

In his report to the committee, Mr. Dodd referred to the tendency of foundation trustees to embark upon projects without having made an adequate effort to make certain that in the eyes of the experts such projects could be regarded as being in the public interest. What evidence have you found in your experience of the way in which the public interest was taken into consideration before decisions were made in an effort to serve this interest?

Dr. BRIGGS. I am not competent to speak, Mr. Chairman, about the operation of all of the foundations. But as I have said in my statement, there is no evidence that the Ford fund has consulted the representatives of the public. They have consulted only advisers of their own selection.

The CHAIRMAN. That was all.

Mr. GOODWIN. I have only one question, Mr. Chairman.

I preface that a little, perhaps, by a brief observation that my belief is that one chief justification for the use of these colossal sums of money tax exempt is that by the use of that money things may be done for the general good which cannot be done by the expenditure of public funds. Assuming, also, that one thing much to be desired is to forestall Federal aid to education, then in order to help out in that line State departments of education certainly should be encouraged to use their funds and funds made available to them to the best possible advantage.

Now, if that is true, then these foundations, using their money for the general purpose of education, would naturally, I would say, be expected to work with State departments of education to the end that public funds available to the State departments might be released for other purposes.

What is your estimate as to what this fund of which you are speaking has been doing along that line? Has there been a spirit of cooperation with State department of education?

Dr. BRIGGS. There has not. There is only one instance in which this fund has made an appropriation that looks to the end that you mentioned and that was an appropriation to the State of New Mexico to finance the high-school education of gifted boys who could otherwise not go to school. But that was not directly and not with the initiation and cooperation of the State department.

On the other hand, the General Education Board some years ago responded to the appeal of the Southern States for help in initiating research department in their State departments of education, which the public was not willing to support at that time. And so the General Education Board appropriated money which was used by the State departments to organize and continue the statistical divisions until the public was convinced of the wisdom of taking them over, which they did.

Does that answer your question?

Mr. GOODWIN. Yes.

Mr. WORMSER. I would like, Mr. Chairman, to ask a few questions.

Mr. HAYS. Just a moment, I have a few questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Since we have asked the questions, perhaps Mr. Hays would like to ask some questions.

Mr. HAYS. Dr. Briggs, are you a member of the NEA?

Dr. BRIGGS. I am.

Mr. HAYS. Do you believe the charge is true that the aim of the NEA is to create a monopoly over United States education?

Dr. BRIGGS. I do not.

Mr. HAYS. Well, that is something, I am glad to have that. That is a charge that was made here on page 20 of Mr. Dodd's statement.

Would you say the charge is true or untrue that the NEA and other educational agencies with which it cooperates are characterized by one common interest, namely, the planning and control of certain aspects of American life through a combination of the Federal Government and education?

Dr. BRIGGS. I don't know what that means, Mr. Hays.

Mr. HAYS. Neither do I. But I thought perhaps you would, since you are an educator. That is another charge that was made against the NEA. It is that it and other educational agencies with which it cooperates are characterized by one common interest, namely,

the planning and control of certain aspects of American life through a combination of the Federal Government and education.

You do not find any evidence in your tenure in the NEA of any such thing?

Dr. BRIGGS. Not in the slightest. There has been an effort on the part of the National Education Association to get funds from the Congress for the aid of States of low educational standards. If that is what it means, why that is true.

May I just add, so far as I see, there is an extreme lack of coordination between the National Education Association and even its own subordinate associations.

Now I am a member of the National Association of Secondary School Principals, and I have been prominent since its organization, and I was one of the founders of it. I would say that the National Education Association has had practically no influence on the policies and the program of that association.

Mr. HAYS. What you are saying then just tends to be the opposite of the statement I read?

Dr. BRIGGS. If I understand it.

Mr. HAYS. If I understand it, I would agree that it does.

Well, now, there is another charge that I have heard against the NEA, that is that the result of the work of the NEA and other educational organizations with which it has worked over the years—this is the quote:

Had an educational curriculum designed to indoctrinate the American student from matriculation to the consummation of his education.

In other words, to put that in common-every-day language, as I get it, that is that the NEA has set about to lay out a planned curriculum to indoctrinate these students, from the day they go into school until the day they get out, with their ideas.

Would you say that is a fair charge?

Dr. BRIGGS. Well, I will have to back up to answer that question. Of course, the NEA and all teachers try to indoctrinate their children to tell the truth and to be honest and to be loyal to the American Government, and to learn the meaning of allegiance, and to live up to it. That is indoctrination, and if that is what that means, it is guilty.

If on the other hand, if you mean the statement means that in that the NEA or any of its subordinate organizations has attempted a curriculum to indoctrinate contrary to the generally accepted program of American education, I would deny it absolutely.

Mr. HAYS. All right. In other words, you say they do try to indoctrinate their students with what we are commonly calling Americanism, but you deny absolutely that they try to indoctrinate them with anything that is un-American.

Dr. BRIGGS. I certainly do.

Mr. HAYS. Thank you.

Now, there is another charge made against the NEA, that it tends to criticize strongly anyone who dares to doubt the validity of its conclusions. Do you think that is a fair charge?

Dr. BRIGGS. It doesn't have any conclusions, Mr. Hays.

Mr. HAYS. You know, Dr. Briggs, I think you—I would like to talk further with you, because I have been a member of the NEA, too, and that is just the same thing that I thought about it.

Then there is another charge made that the NEA in cooperation with other educational agencies, and the great foundations, have provided this country with what is tantamount to a national system of education, under the tight control of organizations and persons little known to the American public.

Dr. BRIGGS. Well, if you would ask Dr. Carr about the appropriations that the NEA has got from foundations, I think that you would find that they are practically nil. The NEA has been one organization that has profited very little from appropriations by the foundations.

Mr. HAYS. In other words, you would say that there is nothing to this charge that the foundations and the NEA and other educational agencies have got a sort of a tightly knit superdirectoriate that no one knows who they are?

Dr. BRIGGS. Well, you have three units there, the foundations, the NEA, and other organizations. What organizations are included?

Mr. HAYS. That is a question I cannot answer. I am quoting from some of the testimony that has gone on here and I am as much in the dark about it as you are.

Dr. BRIGGS. I certainly am in the dark, because the NEA and the foundations don't cooperate. Whether the NEA cooperates with other agencies or not, no one can say until the other agencies are named.

Mr. HAYS. Now, Dr. Briggs, what was the name of this group again, the advisory committee of the Ford Fund?

Dr. BRIGGS. Yes; the advisory committee of the Ford Fund for the Advancement of Education.

Mr. HAYS. How many members were there of that advisory board?

Dr. BRIGGS. I think there were 9 or 10.

Mr. HAYS. Do you think the other members agree with your conclusions, as you have read them here?

Dr. BRIGGS. Mr. Hays, they are friends of mine, and I would like to be excused from answering that question.

Mr. HAYS. Do you think it would be fair if we asked them to come in and tell us what they think about it?

Dr. BRIGGS. May I cite a paragraph of my statement?

Mr. HAYS. I wish that you would, just because I cannot keep it all in mind.

Dr. BRIGGS. I have said in my statement, which I read, that unfortunately there are people who, through the expectation of grants from funds, are afraid to criticize them.

Mr. HAYS. Do you mean by that statement—

Dr. BRIGGS. I don't mean anything.

Mr. HAYS. You do not want to indict your fellow members?

Dr. BRIGGS. I would also state that there are some very able personnel in that committee, very able people, but it is interesting to note that one has been put in charge of a \$2 million project of the Ford Foundation, and it is interesting to note that another one represents the Arkansas project which I don't like.

It is also interesting to note that another one has been employed as an adviser of the Ford Fund. That is a guaranty of 200 days of service during the year. It is also interesting to note that another, fourth member of the committee, was employed for a year as chairman

of one of the committees developing the Ford Fund project, and so on.

Mr. HAYS. You are about the only unemployed one on the committee.

Dr. BRIGGS. May I again cite the paragraph of my statement. It has been said, or it may be said that I am disgruntled because my policies and projects have not been approved. That is not important. What is important is the list of criticisms that are leveled at the Ford fund.

Mr. HAYS. Doctor, I made a little note about that disgruntled thing, and I kind of disagree with you. I think probably that is the first place we might be in serious disagreement.

I think if you are testifying about an organization, whether you are disgruntled with them or not might have some bearing on it.

Mr. WORMSER. Mr. Chairman—this applies to what you say.

Mr. HAYS. Now just a moment, I have some more questions. I am more than slightly interested in this, as I got it from hearing your statement read, and I will admit I do not know anything about this. But one of your indictments seemed to be that this fund thought there was too many professional courses required of teachers and not enough cultural; is that a fair assumption of what you said?

Dr. BRIGGS. Yes.

Mr. HAYS. Would you think it would be more important for a teacher of French to know French or to know the psychology and philosophy of education?

Dr. BRIGGS. He could not teach French without knowing French, of course.

Mr. HAYS. I am afraid that some of the universities are turning out teachers who have a lot of required courses, and I might tell you that I spent about 2 years taking them, and I cannot remember offhand the name of any professor, except one, or anything they said.

Dr. BRIGGS. You did not take my courses.

Mr. HAYS. I am sure that I would have remembered some of yours. But a great many of those so-called courses in professional education to me, as I saw it then, and as I look back on it now, were a complete waste of my time.

Dr. BRIGGS. May I again cite my statement?

Mr. HAYS. Surely.

Dr. BRIGGS. I said it is quite possible that in the rapid development of these professional institutions that there are courses that are wasteful and that there is instruction which is poor. We are trying to find out what is a proper balance between cultural demands for education, and demands for professional education.

I think this objective study that I proposed would take care of that. It would show up the sham, and I admit that there is sham and waste, as you found out, in professional courses, and there is some in liberal arts colleges, too. I judge you went to a liberal arts college, did you not?

Mr. HAYS. I did not want to get the name of it in the record, in any unfavorable light, but it was Ohio State University, and I suppose it is considered a liberal arts college. It has a number of colleges, as you know.

Dr. BRIGGS. Well, you found some courses that were not much good in the liberal arts division, did you not?

Mr. HAYS. Yes, I think so, and I would not want to name them

Dr. BRIGGS. We will not press that any more than you would not press the question about my fellow members on the advisory committee.

But what I am saying is, is that we do not know what the proper balance is, between knowing French and knowing how to teach French. I have known many people who knew their subjects and could not teach, and unfortunately, I have known some people who had some techniques of teaching and did not know their subjects.

Mr. HAYS. Now, I think we are in agreement on that. A lot of people know how to teach but do not know what they are supposed to teach.

Dr. BRIGGS. And other people know what to teach and do not know how to teach.

Mr. HAYS. As I get it, your main indictment then of this organization is that you think, in your opinion, that it stresses too much the cultural to the lack of the professional type of education, is that right?

Dr. BRIGGS. No; they assumed to know that that is the answer, and I do not think anybody knows the answer now. I think that we have got to find out what the proper balance between professional and cultural education is. Just because you have the administration of millions of dollars does not bestow on you the wisdom to make that decision.

Mr. HAYS. You made a statement there, as I made a quick note on it here, that lead me to believe that you were saying that educators are intimidated by the Ford Foundation.

Dr. BRIGGS. I do.

Mr. HAYS. Well, now, to what extent would you say they are? As far as I would know out in my State I would guess that 99.99 percent of educators don't even know that there is such an organization.

Dr. BRIGGS. Oh, yes, they do.

Mr. HAYS. As this subgroup of the Ford Foundation, so they couldn't very well intimidate them?

Dr. BRIGGS. 99.9 percent of them have made application for grants.

Mr. HAYS. I am afraid that that is a bald statement that is open to serious question.

The CHAIRMAN. You are speaking figuratively now?

Dr. BRIGGS. Yes, that is a hyperbole, but MacCauley said you had to speak in hyperbole in order to get the point over. No, Mr. Hays, I wish I had brought with me the file of letters I received since my resignation was published. They came from all over the country. Time after time these men have said, "We feel exactly as you do, but we don't dare say anything because if we do, if we make an application for a grant from the fund, what we say will be prejudiced."

Mr. HAYS. Who are these men, are they college professors, secondary school teachers, or who?

Dr. BRIGGS. Well, within a month, two college presidents have said that to me, and I don't know how many college professors, and superintendents of schools, and high school principals.

Mr. HAYS. Well, of course, within a month I have talked to a few college presidents who say just the opposite, and that this whole investigation is stupid and what should they do with the questionnaire. It is costing them a lot of money and they think it is silly, and that is a matter of opinion.

Dr. BRIGGS. Wait a minute, I am not sure we are talking about the same thing. Have these people that you have talked to been vocal in their criticism of foundations?

Mr. HAYS. No, they haven't.

Dr. BRIGGS. That is the point; that is what I am saying.

Mr. HAYS. That is exactly the point; there are two schools of thought on this.

Dr. BRIGGS. I thought that you thought we were in disagreement. I think we are in agreement that these people who have been entrusted with responsibility in the administering of colleges and universities and school systems, are afraid to express their criticism of the foundations lest they prejudice their chances of their institutions for help.

Mr. HAYS. Well, I think the way to get the story on that is to have them come in and testify as to that and I don't see how we can accept any outsider's opinion, yours or mine, about that.

Dr. BRIGGS. It is immaterial whether you accept it or not. I made the statement on the basis of the letters that I have had, and the statements that have been made to me. I thought that is what you wanted me to do.

Mr. HAYS. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. There is just one question I wanted to raise which is for you, Mr. Hays. In your earlier questioning, you appeared to be quoting language which I presume will appear in quotes in the record, and with those quotations from the statement which Mr. Dodd made to the committee.

Mr. HAYS. Yes; I can give you the page number.

The CHAIRMAN. Or the preliminary draft.

Mr. HAYS. The first question which the witness answered, was, "Do you believe the charge is true that the aim of the NEA is to create a monopoly over education." That is on page 20. That is the second question. The first question was, "Are you a member of the NEA," which, of course, was not a quotation.

The next question, "Is the charge true or untrue that the NEA and other educational agencies with which it cooperates are characterized by one common interest, namely, the planning and control of certain aspects of American life through a combination of the Federal Government and education," and that is on page 22.

The next question, which I won't take the time to read, comes in Mr. Dodd's statement on page 23, and the next one on page 24, and I don't happen to have noted the page number of the last one, also a quote, but it is there.

The CHAIRMAN. I wondered whether you quoted from the statement he made to the committee.

Mr. WORMSER. Mr. Chairman, Professor Briggs would like to get away today if he possibly can.

Mr. HAYS. Would you have any objection at this point if we recessed for lunch, and we find this out this afternoon?

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have further questions?

Mr. HAYS. I haven't had a chance to read his statement, and I might have. There were several things that occurred to me at the time, but I didn't have the exact language and I didn't want to question him.

Mr. WORMSER. I would waive any further questioning, Mr. Hays, and I would just ask to introduce his letter of resignation to the fund

for the advancement of education. Would you identify it, Professor Briggs?

Dr. BRIGGS. Yes; that is a photostat of it.

Mr. WORMSER. I would like to save him the burden of reading it and may it be copied into the record?

Mr. HAYS. Before I say whether or not I would object to that, I suppose that is the same letter that is in this little magazine, School and Society. Is that essentially the same thing?

Dr. BRIGGS. I think the School and Society editor omitted a little of it in order to get it into his space, but it is practically the same, Mr. Hays.

Mr. HAYS. Now, before we introduce this in, do you have any plans, Mr. Wormser, to call any of these other people who sit on this committee, or did sit on this committee with Dr. Briggs?

Mr. WORMSER. No; I do not, sir.

Mr. HAYS. Well, I think in order to keep these hearings objective, it might be nice if we had 1 or 2 of them to come in, at least 1 of them, and just pick 1 at random.

Dr. BRIGGS. Don't pick one at random.

Mr. HAYS. I want to pick him at random. Now, look, Doctor, I don't want you to pick the one, and I am sure you would try to pick one who would agree with you.

Dr. BRIGGS. I would suggest that——

Mr. HAYS. Can you name one who disagrees with you?

Dr. BRIGGS. Oh, yes.

Mr. HAYS. That is what I would like to hear.

Dr. BRIGGS. Would you like the name?

The CHAIRMAN. Well, now——

Mr. HAYS. I am asking this for my own information.

The CHAIRMAN. I certainly have no objection, but I was thinking about the name of the person, the individual.

Mr. HAYS. I can undoubtedly get the list of people, and I will pick one out.

The CHAIRMAN. I don't want to put someone else's name in the record, in what somebody might construe as an odious position.

Mr. HAYS. Could we have an agreement that we will call in one of these other people?

The CHAIRMAN. So far as I personally am concerned, if it fits in.

Mr. HAYS. We will make it fit in.

Dr. BRIGGS. I can give you the name personally, if you would like.

The CHAIRMAN. But I see no objection to this letter of resignation going into the record and it would occur to me it is pertinent to his testimony.

Mr. HAYS. I may object to it, because you objected to my putting into the record something that I thought was pertinent this morning and I am only trying to keep these hearings objective. Now, if you will agree we are going to call in at least one other member of this committee and get his views, that is one thing, but if we are only going to get one side of it then I will tell you right now, I am going to object.

Dr. BRIGGS. I have said practically everything in the statement that I said in this letter of resignation, and so I think it is immaterial.

The CHAIRMAN. I assumed that you had.

Mr. WORMSER. I would like to bring into the record then, if Professor Briggs will confirm it, that he resigned entirely voluntarily, and he was made a member of this advisory committee of the fund for the advancement of education and served some years, and resigned with a letter of resignation to Dr. Faust, the president. It is dated March 16, 1954.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any other questions? If not, you are excused, Doctor.

Mr. WORMSER. May we take it for granted that subpoenas are continued if a witness is not able to appear today, it will carry over to the next day?

Mr. HAYS. May I have an understanding that the next witness who comes in without a prepared statement and you undertake to question him and get him out of here, all the same morning, there won't be any meeting. If the minority isn't here, there can't be a meeting, and the minority is not going to be here unless we are going to run this thing on an adequate basis so we have a chance to find out what it is all about.

Mr. WORMSER. Do you mean a witness can't testify without a statement?

Mr. HAYS. Let him come back when I have had a chance to look at his statement so I can ask him some questions about it.

Mr. WORMSER. The next witness will not have a prepared statement.

Mr. HAYS. You had better make plans to let us look at his statement and question him later.

The CHAIRMAN. He can be made available for questioning later?

Mr. WORMSER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will meet in this same room tomorrow morning, Wednesday, and Thursday morning we will have to reserve the announcement of the place of the meeting, and we may be able to meet here. If not, we will make the announcement tomorrow. Being a special committee, we are more or less in a difficult situation when it comes to meeting places. We will recess now.

(Whereupon, the committee recessed at 12:30 p. m., to reconvene on Wednesday morning.)

