

TAX-EXEMPT FOUNDATIONS

THURSDAY, MAY 20, 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 1334, New House Office Building, Hon. Carroll Reece (chairman of the special subcommittee) presiding.

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

Also present: Rene A. Wormser, general counsel; Arnold T. Koch, associate counsel; Norman Dodd, research director; Kathryn Casey, legal analyst.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will please come to order.

Who is the first witness?

Mr. WORMSER. We will continue with Professor Hobbs.

TESTIMONY OF DR. A. H. HOBBS, ASSISTANT PROFESSOR OF SOCIOLOGY, UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA—Resumed

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have an additional statement to make, Professor Hobbs, or are you submitting yourself for questioning at this time?

Dr. HOBBS. I believe Mr. Wormser indicated that he had some questions to ask of me.

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed, Mr. Wormser.

Mr. WORMSER. Dr. Hobbs, you testified in some detail about a few particular books. You don't mean to leave any inference that your general opinions concerning what you call scientism relate only to those few books?

Dr. HOBBS. No, sir. This is a very widespread situation. It is contained in dozens and dozens of books. I cited those which I did cite only to illustrate the point. Many other books could be cited. But, of course, most of those other books, in fact, would have no connection with foundations.

Mr. WORMSER. Doctor, I hand you this morning an advertisement of Dr. Kinsey's second book. I think it is very important to illustrate the extent to which that book has resulted in a discussion of changes of law in the area of marriage and sex.

Would you read the material on that ad and describe it? It appeared in the New York Times on May 11.

Dr. HOBBS. This is an advertisement for the second volume in the Kinsey series, the volume on Sexual Behavior in the Human Female. The advertisement reads:

What do you care about sex laws?

It goes on:

Maybe you ought to think a little bit about our laws concerning sex and sex offenders.

These laws are supposed to protect you; they don't always do that, and they are sometimes turned against ordinary citizens like yourself.

The Kinsey report cites instances of how and when and where. Shouldn't you read it?

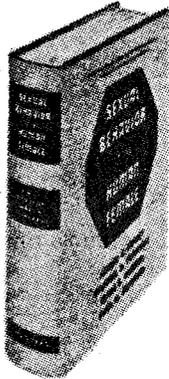
Mr. WORMSER. Have you read the entire ad?

Dr. HOBBS. Except the price of the book and the publisher.

Mr. WORMSER. Would the committee like to see the ad? I would like to offer it in evidence and you might wish to see it.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection it is so ordered.

(The material referred to is as follows:)



What do you care about sex laws?

Maybe you *ought to* think a little bit about our laws concerning sex and sex offenders.

These laws are supposed to protect you: they don't always do that, and they are sometimes turned *against* ordinary citizens like yourself.

The Kinsey Report cites instances of how, and when, and where. Shouldn't you read it?

*842 pages, \$8.00. At any bookseller,
or send order with remittance to*

W. B. Saunders Company

W. Washington Square, Philadelphia 5, Pa.

Mr. WORMSER. Dr. Hobbs, would you express your own opinion, please, as to whether the production of a book of this type, advertised in this manner, is a desirable activity of a foundation?

Dr. HOBBS. I would say that they are encroaching, as in the instance of the encroachment in the military area, in areas in, in this case, legal areas, as well as moralistic areas, where they should be extremely cautious.

I don't mean to imply that no investigation should be made, nor that the findings should be suppressed, or anything of that kind. But a great deal of caution should be used in connection with these extra-scientific areas, if you wish to call them such, and that degree of caution certainly has not been exercised.

Mr. WORMSER. Dr. Hobbs, do I express your opinion correctly by this statement? The foundations, or some of them, in the Cox hearings last year, maintained that the best use of their funds would be in experiment in reaching out for new horizons, in considering their precious funds in what they call risk capital. You would approve of experiment in the sense of trying to reach new horizons, but you would caution, I assume, against experiment as such where it relates to the relationship of human beings and basic factors in our society?

Dr. HOBBS. Yes, sir; a great deal of caution, I think, should be applied in those areas. For one thing, because of the points I tried to establish yesterday, that the mere fact that the thing is being studied can change the situation; and secondly, because the findings of a study can affect human behavior and we should be extremely cautious when we are entering into areas of that sort.

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Wormser, would you go back to the question just immediately preceding this? Could we have the question read?

(The question referred to was read by the reporter as recorded above.)

Mr. WORMSER. Dr. Hobbs, I would like you to extend your remarks somewhat on the subject of empiricism. The material has been used by witnesses several times. I would like you to discuss this aspect of empiricism; whether or not it is safe to be used in consideration of human problems by itself, or whether it must not always be related to any other pertinent material in the social sciences, such as basic moral codes and so forth?

Dr. HOBBS. I would feel very definitely that so-called empirical findings must be fitted into a framework of the legal precepts, the traditions, the history, the moral codes, the military principles of the area in which they are applied. That in and of themselves, by their very nature, they exclude the intangibles which may be not only important but may be crucial in a final decision.

Mr. HAYS. Dr. Hobbs, right there, do you mean to imply that all the studies by foundations in this field of social science are empirical studies and that they have no relation or are not fitted in in any way, shape, or form with the other things you mentioned?

Dr. HOBBS. No, sir; I don't mean to imply that at all. There are studies fostered which are other than empirical. But it is my impression, and not only mine but the impression of quite a number of other professors with whom I correspond, that there is coming to be an overemphasis on what is called empiricism. Empiricism itself, of course, is a thoroughly acceptable technique of investigation. Like

other techniques it has to be included within the overall framework of the scientific approach, but it is thoroughly respectable and desirable as an approach in and of itself.

Two things, however, seem to be occurring. One, that it is not really empiricism which is being sponsored. It is more nearly statistical manipulation without any real background of the numbers which are being manipulated. Those numbers usually represent people.

Mr. HAYS. Right there, I want to ask you about that before we go any further.

The word "manipulate" usually has a connotation meaning that you decide what the answer is going to be first and then manipulate the figures. Do you mean to imply that?

Dr. HOBBS. No, sir; I didn't mean to imply that at all.

Mr. HAYS. Maybe we ought to use some other term.

Dr. HOBBS. Statistical computations if you wish.

Mr. HAYS. I think that means what you want to say and the other had a different meaning.

Dr. HOBBS. I am very glad you mentioned that because I had absolutely no intent to imply that.

Mr. HAYS. In other words, these people decide what the answer is to be and then set out to make it come out that way?

Dr. HOBBS. I didn't mean that; no, sir.

Mr. WORMSER. Dr. Hobbs, I would like your opinion and whatever discussion you can give us on the general influence that foundations have had on research in the colleges and universities.

Dr. HOBBS. I don't think I could speak as to the overall general influence. I have made no separate study of that. But from my own experience, and as I indicated from the experience of others, some of whom are prominent within their respective fields, there are, myself included, and others, who are becoming increasingly concerned about what is or what seems to be—perhaps we are wrong in this—an overemphasis upon this so-called empiricism. Unfortunately, as I said before, it is a respectable and acceptable technique, but it is only one part of a very large pattern, if you want to approach a better understanding of human behavior.

Particularly where large grants are involved, the grants tend to be geared into programs of "empiricism"—and I wish the word would be kept in quotes whenever it is used here—and then graduate students receive their training through these grants. I don't mean to imply in any sense that the foundations have organized their grants for this purpose, or that they are promoting intentionally and purposefully the type of thing I am going to describe. I merely wish to point it out as a situation which does arise and which I believe is quite unfortunate.

These graduate students, who, of course, will be the researchers and the teachers of the future, are subjected by the very nature of the situation to enter in disproportionate numbers into this one small area, an important area, to be sure, but just one area of their training. They are encouraged through the situation to embark upon study projects which are extremely narrow, and with the aid of the grant, the persons running the research are able to employ professional interviewers, for example. One part of graduate training should be some acquaintance with people. The graduate student, I would feel,

would gain much more if he were to do his own interviewing, rather than merely take the results which were collected by a professional interviewer. In failing to do his own interviewing, he has thereby lost an important element, I would say, of what should be his training.

Furthermore, these projects aid these students to a disproportionate degree. Other students who, through differing interests, through a broader viewpoint of society and behavior, who do their own work and who don't have such assistance, are handicapped in comparison with the ones who receive the aid through foundation grants.

So that there are cases where the graduate student in his training has concentrated in a very small area of the statistical computations—and I wish to add that in themselves there is nothing wrong with that, but they are a very small part of the overall picture—but in such training they neglect studies of the traditions of the country, the studies of the history of the country, they neglect actual experience with people, they neglect studies of the philosophies which have been developed in connection with human civilization, and they even neglect—and this may sound extreme, but I can vouch that it does happen—they even neglect studies of science.

One of my favorite questions when I am examining students for a graduate degree is a question of this sort. Here you are, you are going to get a doctor of philosophy degree. What have you read in philosophy? I appreciate that this sounds extreme, but there are graduate students who get such degrees who have never read a book in philosophy.

Then another question along the same lines: What have you ever read in the philosophy of science; and some of them have read little or nothing in that area either.

So you get this tendency to overspecialize, overconcentrate in one area which admittedly has its merits, but which leads to a narrowness of mind, not the broader outlook which we need in the present undeveloped conditions associated with social science.

Another aspect of this same situation is that graduate students and faculty members are discouraged from applying for grants unless they, too, are willing to do this type of "empirical" investigation.

For example, this is a bulletin of the Social Science Research Council, an announcement of fellowships and grants to be offered in 1953. In this bulletin it states that fellowships and grants described in this circular are of two distinct types. One, those designed exclusively to further the training of research workers in social science.

If I may interject to read: "Research worker" for a layman would have a broad general significance—research is desirable and so forth. But in the connotation in which it is all too frequently used, in social science, research means statistical computation. A social scientist reading this would interpret it to mean that probably, almost certainly, what they are interested in is only statistical computations.

The quotation on this first point goes on to say:

These include the research training fellowships and the area research-training fellowships. These fellowships provide full maintenance.

A second category listed:

Those designed to aid scholars of established competence in the execution of their research, family, the travel grants for area research, grants in aid of research, and faculty research fellowships.

Then in a description of the research-training fellowships there is the statement:

These fellowships may be granted for programs that will afford either experience in the conduct of research—

and remembering here that the reader of this material knows or believes they mean statistical computation—

and first-hand analysis of empirical data under the guidance of mature investigators or further formal training or both.

Purposes for which grants-in-aid may be expended include wages of clerical and technical assistants, tabulating, photostating, microfilming and similar services, transportation, and living expenses of the grantee himself while traveling in pursuit of his investigation. Grants are not ordinarily available for travel to professional society meetings or conferences or for purposes of books and manuscripts. Grants will not be given to subsidize the preparation of textbooks or the publication of books or articles or to provide income in lieu of salary.

Fellowships will be selected on the basis of their actual and prospective accomplishments in formulating and testing hypotheses concerning social behavior by empirical and, if possible, quantitative methods.

Now, I don't mean to imply that there is anything categorically wrong in such a statement, but I do wish to point out that it does tend in the direction of giving the people in the field the impression that unless research involves statistical computation, then they don't have much chance of getting a grant. Now, perhaps that impression is incorrect. It may well be incorrect. I just say that the impression does spread, so that if it does occur to you to ask for a grant to make a broader study of the history of the development of social science or something of that sort, then after having read such things you are likely to be discouraged.

It may be your own fault. Perhaps if you had gone ahead and requested you would have obtained it. I am just saying that atmosphere is created and I think the foundations themselves would regret that this is the situation and would probably be willing to do whatever they can to change that atmosphere to create one which everybody appreciates they are interested in, broader types of research instead of this particular empirical one.

Mr. WORMSER. Isn't the term "comptometer compulsion" used?

Dr. HOBBS. I have used it facetiously and unkindly to describe the extremes of this empirical research where comptometers and similar machines are substitutes for actual experience with people and actual study of the philosophy of science and the history of peoples and so on.

Mr. WORMSER. Dr. Hobbs, in connection with one subject you discussed, that the foundations support a type of research which you call scientism, which sometimes penetrates the political area, do you have any opinion that any of the foundations themselves encourage going into the political scene?

Dr. HOBBS. Certainly, that type of thing is indicated repeatedly throughout one of the books that I mentioned yesterday, in Stuart Chase's *The Proper Study of Mankind*.

In addition here is a report of the Social Science Research Council, annual report, 1928-29, in which they have what I would consider to be quite an extreme statement, but perhaps there is some other explanation of it. They have a listing of their history and purposes of the Social Science Research Council, and one of these purposes is that—

a sounder empirical method of research had to be achieved in political science, if it were to assist in the development of a scientific political control.

Mr. WORMSER. Is that a quote?

Dr. HOBBS. That is a direct quote from this annual report.

Mr. HAYS. Is that bad?

Dr. HOBBS. It could be. The implications that you are going to control political—

Mr. HAYS. They say "on a sounder." In other words, the inference is there that they recognize it is not very sound.

Dr. HOBBS (reading):

A sounder empirical method of research to assist in the development of a scientific political control.

If you are talking in terms of scientific political control, it would seem to me that you are going to hand over government to these social scientists. That seems to be the implication.

Mr. HAYS. Do you teach political science at all?

Dr. HOBBS. No, sir.

Mr. HAYS. I assume you have taken some courses in it?

Dr. HOBBS. Yes, sir.

Mr. HAYS. Have you ever had any practical experience in politics?

Dr. HOBBS. No, sir.

Mr. HAYS. Let me say that I have a minor in political science from Ohio State and they have a very fine political science department there.

But in the past few years in politics, I found out that it has very little relation if any to either science or politics. They do teach you a lot about government and Constitution and the government of the various other nations and the difference between our constitutional form of government and the British parliamentary form of government, for instance; but ever since I can remember it has been called political science and that would be, I suppose, under some of the definitions we have used here, a very bad and misleading term. Yet it is one that is used all the time.

Dr. HOBBS. So long as there is understanding that it is different from science as the term is used in connection with the physical sciences.

In your training in political science you are apparently getting the type of broad background which I referred to earlier. I think that is desirable. Not only desirable, but essential. If, in your training, your teachers had been trained only in this empirical method, then your training in political science would have been predominantly, perhaps solely, studies of how to make opinion polls and the techniques of statistical computation and examination of the results and things along those empirical lines.

Mr. HAYS. Do you mean to say, then, Doctor, that there are universities that are teaching their students in political science nothing but how to take polls, and so forth?

Dr. HOBBS. I do not. I say political science is not my field. My field is sociology. In sociology, there are, I am sorry to say, some institutions where there is a definite movement in that direction, and where this empirical type of thing has assumed a proportion which is way out of balance considering the general things that people should know about human behavior.

Mr. HAYS. I believe you have frankly said yesterday you didn't think that sociology was very much of a science.

Dr. HOBBS. Not in the sense that the word is used with political science. That does not mean that it is of no value or anything like that.

Mr. HAYS. I didn't mean to imply that. I think it has great value. But it is a subject that you can't study and say, "this is it, these are the conclusions and they don't vary."

Dr. HOBBS. That is correct, sir.

Mr. HAYS. It is something that you can only approximate.

Dr. HOBBS. You get as much data as you can and you generalize about it, but you should always avoid giving the impression that this is the final scientific answer to any important area of human behavior. Always leave open the possibility of alternative explanations.

Mr. HAYS. Then, as I get it, your criticism broadly has been that there is a tendency among these empiricists, if we can use that term, to try to tie this down as a definite thing and say these are the answers and there are no variables?

Dr. HOBBS. There is, I would say, a definite and in my opinion an unfortunate tendency in that direction, to the degree that it has overbalanced and overshadowed a more nearly rounded study of human behavior and societies.

Mr. HAYS. You don't think there is anything that the Congress can do about that except bring it to the attention of the people.

Dr. HOBBS. Of the foundations, and I would guess they would be probably not only willing but anxious to do what they could to modify this and avoid it.

Mr. WORMSER. Dr. Hobbs, there is one other subject I wish you would discuss, please, in your own way, and that is what is called moral relativity—the tendency of this inaccurate or unbalanced type of research to have perhaps an undermining effect on moral standards.

Dr. HOBBS. In this type of empirical approach, by definition you must attempt to reduce the things you are studying to the type of units which I indicated yesterday, to quantitative units, which are measurable. By the very nature of the approach, therefore, you exclude intangibles, such as sentiments, love, romance, devotion, or other tangibles, such as patriotism, honesty, and things of that type.

So if it is strictly empirical, then the behavior involved is reduced to cold quantitative items which are important, perhaps, but which if presented alone give a very distorted picture of love or sex or patriotism or whatever else the topic may be.

Mr. WORMSER. Is it analogous, perhaps, to use a syllogism without including all the premises? The missing premises being moral codes and basic principles of government and so forth.

Dr. HOBBS. It would be analogous to that. I would say that in the context of the scientific method it is using just one of the elements instead of including all of the elements which should be involved. That is unfortunate.

Mr. WORMSER. Unless the committee has further question, I would like Dr. Hobbs to conclude in whatever way he wishes, himself, if he has any further material to offer.

Mr. HAYS. Before we go any further, how many questions I will have depends on whether or not somebody is going to be brought in by the staff to present the other point of view. Because I am confident that there must be another point of view. If we are going to be objective, I would like to hear from somebody on the other side.

I might have just as many pointed questions to ask him as I have to ask Dr. Hobbs. If we are not going to bring anybody in, then I am going to try to develop the other side right here so we can be objective.

Mr. WORMSER. I can answer that by saying that we will certainly ask the Social Science Research Council to appear and I would assume that they would present the other side of the case.

Mr. HAYS. You say you are going to ask the Social Science Research Council; that is a kind of intangible body, isn't it?

Mr. WORMSER. If you wish to designate its representative, we will call him.

Mr. HAYS. I don't know anybody in the Social Science Research Council any more than I didn't know Dr. Hobbs until now.

The CHAIRMAN. You have in mind calling someone who is a representative of the official body of the research council?

Mr. WORMSER. Yes. I would normally call the president. If the committee would prefer to have someone else called, I would do it.

The CHAIRMAN. Someone from their own section?

Mr. WORMSER. Yes, I told them that.

The CHAIRMAN. Likewise, in due time the representatives of the foundations, I assume, of various foundations, will also be called?

Mr. WORMSER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. So there is certainly no predisposition to have only one viewpoint presented.

Mr. HAYS. Are we planning to call in the representatives of these foundations or invite them in?

Mr. KOCH. I would think we would ask them first whether they would want to present their case. If none of them did, and I would rather doubt that, then I suppose we would have to get someone to present the other side ourselves. I would guess that the foundations would be only too anxious to present their best spokesmen.

Mr. WORMSER. Mr. Hays, may I amplify that by saying that I have had conferences with the attorneys, I think, for most of the major foundations, and in each case have told them that while we might ask an individual from the foundation, including the Social Science Research Council, to appear for a particular piece of testimony, that we had no objection whatsoever to their designating their own representative to testify.

Mr. HAYS. The reason for that question is simply this: At dinner last night with some friends of mine, one of whom spent an hour or two in the hearing yesterday, the subject came up about this, and this gentleman said, "I understand that up to now the foundations think that this has been so insignificant that they are just going to ignore it altogether." If they take that attitude, then I suppose we will only get one side of it.

Mr. KOCH. Mr. Hays, can we leave it this way: If they elect to ignore, we can then perhaps recall Professor Hobbs and you can cross-examine him at that time.

Mr. HAYS. That would be all right. I do have some questions to ask him. But I don't want to go into a lengthy day or two on it.

Mr. WORMSER. You don't want to ask them now?

Mr. HAYS. Yes, I sure do.

Mr. WORMSER. If you want to, ask them now by all means. I am sure Dr. Hobbs would be glad to come back on reasonable notice.

Mr. HAYS. I think the time to ask questions is now.

The CHAIRMAN. That was the purpose and intention of having this session this morning. If you will bear with me for a moment, I might review what I said at the opening of the hearing in connection with the method of presentation: That the committee staff was making a presentation and then others would be called in who were representative of the other viewpoint, and also the foundations themselves would be invited to come.

So far as my own feeling is concerned—I have discussed this with counsel—I would say it is not altogether within the discretion of the foundations to decide whether they should or should not come, because we have only one thing in mind, and that is a complete, objective, and thorough study.

Mr. HAYS. I understand that anybody can be subpoenaed.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. HAYS. I didn't want to prevent you, Doctor, from making a final statement.

Dr. HOBBS. No, sir. I had completed the things that I wanted to take up.

Mr. HAYS. You have completed your statement?

Dr. HOBBS. Yes, sir.

Mr. HAYS. One of the things I would like to ask you—of course, understand in the very beginning that I don't care what your answers are, I only want your opinion because I am interested since you have given your opinion on a variety of things, and I would like to have it on some that we have not touched upon so we get a well-rounded and balanced picture—and one of the things I would like to ask you is this: In Mr. Dodd's opening statement he said one of the things—and I am not quoting exactly, but he left a very definite impression—that one of the things wrong with foundations, and I will quote, is: "That they are willing to support experiments in fields that defy control."

Do you think that is a fault?

Dr. HOBBS. Assuming that that was the substance of his statement—

Mr. HAYS. I am quoting exactly, "That they have been willing to support experiments in fields that defy control."

Dr. HOBBS. It is true that in any study of the significant aspects of human behavior, such as criminality, juvenile delinquency, political behavior, the studies are such that they defy control, in the sense that there are intangibles involved which, no matter how conscientious you are in making the study, these intangibles still remain.

The word "control" in scientific investigation means that you are able to control, to measure the significant variables, and that no other variables can come into the investigation to significantly influence the results.

That is not the case with studies of human behavior.

Mr. HAYS. That is right. But any field, unless it is completely comprehended—and I don't know that there is any such field—and any research into the unknown would probably defy control, would it not?

Dr. HOBBS. But there is a difference in the usage of the term. A physicist can make a study which is a complete controlled study. His study may be one which involves the weight of matter. He may and can create conditions under which he has to all intents and purposes

complete control over the conditions of his experiment. You cannot do that in social science, unfortunately.

Mr. HAYS. It is probably unfortunate. All right, we will agree with that. But you would not suggest that we just abandon all experiment because we can't control?

Dr. HOBBS. By no means.

Mr. HAYS. I don't want to ask you any leading questions, but would you or would you not suggest that the foundations just refuse to make any grants in that field because it does defy control?

Dr. HOBBS. If that were the case, then they would have to go out of business so far as the social sciences are concerned. I think that would be undesirable, that grants should be made and efforts should be made in all directions, but I do think there should be more of a balance than there is at present.

Of course, when these things are done, then the results should be stated in very heavily qualified terms, particularly if the title "science" is applied to the investigation.

Mr. HAYS. Then to sum up the main part of your criticism—and I am trying now only to find out if I am right in my thinking—you object mainly to the use of the term "science" in connection with these things that are not exact because it is a misleading term.

Dr. HOBBS. Extremely misleading. The people in general, I believe, when they hear the word "science" think in terms of the physical sciences which have been so tremendously successful. It is unfortunate, therefore, that when they hear social science or read that this is a scientific study of delinquency or a scientific study of sexual behavior, they are given the impression that this is the final definitive word, that there is no alternative possibility, that the condition in short is the same as it would be with an investigation in physical science.

Mr. HAYS. Doctor, do you think it is possible to have a scientific study of delinquency?

Dr. HOBBS. Again in the sense that you have scientific studies of matter and energy, the answer would have to be "No." There have been some efforts—and I would say very commendable efforts—made to increase the degree of control involved in the study. That is by conducting studies such as the one made by, for example, Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck.

In their studies of delinquency they attempted to reduce the variables by going to slum areas and picking 500 boys who were delinquents and serious delinquents. They were not just one-time offenders or incidental mischievous children, they were serious delinquents; and then from the same slum area they picked out another 500 boys who were not delinquents.

Already they have exerted some element of control over one of the possible variables, that is, the environmental conditions, the slum conditions. All of the boys came from slum areas.

Then, further, they matched the delinquent boys with the other 500 boys as for age, as for their school record, as for their I. Q., as for their nationality background, the income of their parents, and in this manner they attempted to reduce the number of variables involved in the situation to arrive at what would be called a controlled study to the degree that you can call studies in social science controlled.

I would say that type of effort is extremely desirable.

Incidentally, the findings of that study upset all of the other beliefs that had been held on the basis of earlier studies which were made and which were empirical about delinquency.

Mr. HAYS. Of course, that is the way down through the ages. We have found out what little we know about things, that is, by trial and error more or less.

Dr. HOBBS. Yes. As long as we understand that it is trial and error, then that is, of course, perfectly acceptable. But when we are given the impression that this is science, and final and definitive, irrefutable, unchallengeable, that is another situation.

Mr. HAYS. Do you think there is a possibility about your fears that this is so firmly imbedded in the minds of the public might be exaggerated?

Dr. HOBBS. Sir, it is not a fear. It is a concern.

Mr. HAYS. I won't quibble with you about adjectives or verbs or

Mr. HAYS. Do you think there is a possibility that your fears or concern, you use your own terminology, but do you think there is a possibility that you are more concerned about it than maybe is necessary?

Dr. HOBBS. That is always possible.

Mr. HAYS. To go back to your book that you cited yesterday, this book by Stuart Chase.

Dr. HOBBS. Yes, sir.

Mr. HAYS. What was the title of that again?

Dr. HOBBS. "The Proper Study of Mankind."

Mr. HAYS. It is not a very appealing title.

Dr. HOBBS. The title is taken from a poem by Alexander Pope.

Mr. HAYS. You seemed to indicate to me that this book, *The Proper Study of Mankind*, had exerted a rather undesirable influence. Am I right in assuming that?

Dr. HOBBS. As to the influence of the study, of course, there is no way of measuring that. You cannot tell when someone reads a book the degree to which they have been influenced by it. I cited it as an illustration wherein foundations had encouraged and promoted the impression that social science is identical or virtually identical with physical science.

Mr. HAYS. The thing that I am a little concerned about is that I don't think very many people have read that book and if that is so, I don't think it could exert much influence one way or another. I have been toying with this every since yesterday. I have a 15-minute television show every Saturday night in my district and it covers parts of three States. If there was some way to advertise that I was going to offer a prize and be sure the thing would not be loaded, I would like to offer \$50 to the first person who called in and told me that they read that book in those three States. I don't know how many people listen to it, but I am sure if we put it in the papers at \$50 I would get a good-sized audience. Maybe no one watches it, I don't know.

The CHAIRMAN. It depends on how much time you give them.

Mr. HAYS. I don't want to sell the book. I would have to give them them a time limit.

The point I am making, and I don't come from exactly an illiterate part of the country—Pittsburgh and Wheeling and Steubenville and Youngstown and other cities in Ohio—is that I would be almost will-

ing to gamble that I couldn't find anybody there who read that book.

Dr. HOBBS. That, of course, would be a biased sampling which was involved.

Mr. HAYS. Would that be empirical?

Dr. HOBBS. I suggest, sir, if you are concerned and think this is an important point that some of the staff might write to the publishers and perhaps they would release the sales figures.

Mr. HAYS. We have already made that request of the staff and they will get that. The thing was belabored pretty extensively yesterday, I thought, and I just wondered if it was not given an importance out of all comparison with what it deserves.

Mr. WORMSER. Mr. Hays, may I ask in that same question: Do you suppose, Dr. Hobbs, that it has been widely read among academic circles where its influence might be great?

Dr. HOBBS. From my own experience I know that it was widely read. I would judge that it was generally widely read in academic circles where, of course, that would be the crucial point—how much young and naive scholars were influenced by this point of view.

Mr. WORMSER. I think Mr. Hays would agree that they were probably reading it in the libraries rather than buying copies.

Dr. HOBBS. You might check that also.

Mr. HAYS. I am embarrassed to bring this up but I have been wondering after the last campaign whether they had much influence anyway. You know there was ridicule, and they developed a term called eggheads which I deplored, and an anti-intellectual thing. If you showed any interest you were immediately labeled with there being something a little queer about you. In fact they almost sold the slogan so well they had some people afraid to admit that they even knew a college professor rather than listen to one.

The CHAIRMAN. I assume you are not familiar with the origin of the eggheads?

Mr. HAYS. I don't know which one of the hucksters came up with it, first, but I imagine it was the same one that came up with the slogan "dynamic foreign policy." I could mention some more.

Doctor Hobbs, you have expressed various criticisms of social science and I am sure you are far more of an expert in that field than I am. I find it a little hard to make a judgment on what you said. I certainly respect your opinions in view of your academic background, but I would like to try to tie down a little of this if I can.

Do you feel that the Congress has any business in trying to pass judgment on the questions of scientific method and the validity of scientific work?

Dr. HOBBS. Generally, I would say no. I can't conceive of a situation at the moment or on the spot where that would be desirable.

The CHAIRMAN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HAYS. Sure.

The CHAIRMAN. I feel myself that Congress should not.

My general concern with this question and related questions is that Congress or the Government through the funds which it has made available to the foundations by relieving them of payment of taxes, not be used to do the same thing that Congress would not do, and that it would not be proper for Congress to do.

Mr. HAYS. Doctor, in view of your last statement, I suppose this question is almost superfluous, but to get it in the record I will ask you.

Do you think that there is some action Congress should take, or some control it should impose, to redirect the work of social scientists which you think is not good in some cases?

Dr. HOBBS. I don't want to give the impression that they are not good in that sense, but I did try to emphasize in a number of instances, and I think they have been important ones, they have encroached and they have encouraged encroachment into areas where, in the present state of the development of the social sciences, they should not encroach except with many, many qualifications as to their findings.

Mr. HAYS. In other words, then, the main thing is that you say go ahead and make these experiments, but qualify your findings so nobody can misunderstand them?

Dr. HOBBS. That is correct.

Mr. HAYS. That might be a little tough. But at least so they won't get the wrong impression about them.

Dr. HOBBS. That is correct.

Mr. HAYS. To get back to the question, Do you feel that Congress should take some specific action about this, or that we should just let these hearings perhaps stand as a sort of danger signal?

Dr. HOBBS. My feeling would be that ideally the foundations should, with the advice and with the information coming out of hearings like this, that they themselves should take the initiative to determine if there are excesses in one direction or another and to try, I would say more than they have in the past, to keep things in balance and not to go overweight in one direction, such as empiricism; that they should try themselves to keep a better balance than they seem to have done in the past and at present.

Mr. HAYS. In other words, you think then that any policing that is done should be done by the foundations themselves, and not by the Congress?

Dr. HOBBS. If it is a matter of policing, I would say yes. Of course, when you get excesses and if there is a definite effort to influence laws, such as has been indicated, then I think properly Members of Congress, to whom this prerogative is delegated, should be somewhat concerned.

Mr. HAYS. But you don't have any specific recommendations to make at this moment about any laws that we should pass?

Dr. HOBBS. I am not a legislator, sir. I would not; no.

Mr. HAYS. I realize that, and I didn't want to put you on the spot. But the usual idea, when you have a congressional investigation, the ultimate thing, if it comes to any conclusion at all that anything is wrong, is that there should be some remedial action taken.

You have indicated, at least, that you think there are some things that are wrong but you don't think that they are so badly wrong that Congress ought to pass a law about it.

Dr. HOBBS. I certainly think a great deal of thought should be given. I can't conceive, as I indicated before, how such a law could be drawn up without restricting investigation in some area or other.

Mr. HAYS. In other words, stifling further education and research?

Dr. HOBBS. Yes, sir.

Mr. HAYS. That is exactly what I am afraid of.

Dr. HOBBS. I think that would be undesirable.

Mrs. FROST. I would like to ask, Dr. Hobbs, do you think it would be proper or don't you think it would, that this committee call other

witnesses of a different point of view from yours in order to get a fuller picture of these issues?

Dr. HOBBS. Absolutely.

Mrs. FOST. Also, I would like to ask you, Dr. Hobbs, do you think any of this tax-free money is being channeled into needless projects?

Dr. HOBBS. You want my opinion?

Mrs. FOST. Yes.

Dr. HOBBS. Absolutely.

Mrs. FOST. If I understand you correctly, a little while ago, you made the statement that you felt that the foundations should direct their studies in a more diversified field. How do you feel that they could better balance—how can they set about better balancing their field of study?

Dr. HOBBS. As I indicated, there is, or at least at present there seems to be to me and to other academic people, this atmosphere that the foundations are primarily interested only in this empirical approach. They, on their own initiative, could make efforts to dispel that atmosphere and to correct it, if it is erroneous, or to correct the situation if it does exist, through their circulars and advertising and through letters which are sent to universities, emphasizing that they are interested in all types of approaches.

Mrs. FOST. Thank you very much.

Mr. HAYS. Dr. Hobbs, yesterday you talked at considerable length about the influence of certain social scientists—is that the term you used—on the Army?

Dr. HOBBS. Social scientists.

Mr. HAYS. I made the point yesterday I thought, and I don't wish to put a mantle around my shoulders and say I am a prophet, but I pointed out yesterday that whatever else you said, Dr. Kinsey would get top billing. That seems to have been the case in a few press notices I read this morning.

But to me the most important charge you made, or the most serious one, I will put it that way, is the charge you made—that the social scientists had more or less tampered with the workings of the Army to the detriment of the country.

Dr. HOBBS. I did not make that in the form of a charge. I made statements from the books themselves and did indicate in making those statements that this apparently, from the evidence, was a definite conflict between military policy on the part of the Army and social-science approach on the part of the social scientists involved.

Mr. HAYS. Let me say here that I don't want to put words in your mouth. If you didn't make a charge against the Army, I don't want to imply that you did.

Dr. HOBBS. I did emphasize that there was a conflict; yes, sir.

Mr. HAYS. But the impression was very definitely left with me that it was in the nature rather of a charge or indictment or whatever you want to call it. At least it seemed to me to be rather serious. Just exactly what did you mean to imply?

Dr. HOBBS. I meant to imply that here was a situation involving an extremely important military principle. That within this situation there was a conflict. On the one hand you had the military, on the other hand the social scientists. This they admit repeatedly throughout their work.

The social scientists continued to insist that their method of handling this important principle be used instead of methods which were advocated by the military. They succeeded in doing this, resulting in the point system of discharge, a discharge which, according to the military side, was undesirable.

Mr. HAYS. Doctor, you say there that on the one side was the Army and on the other side was social science. That is two sides.

How many sides does this thing have? To me it must have at least one more. Maybe it was a triangle, I don't know, but there is a side that it seems to me on which there were millions of people in this country and the way you define it, if there were only two sides then they were not on the side of the Army as you speak of the word.

By the Army I assume is meant what is commonly called around here the "high brass," or the people who run it.

Dr. HOBBS. That expression "there were two sides" is from the book itself.

Mr. HAYS. Wouldn't you say that in addition to the social scientists, there were about 6 million soldiers—maybe the figure is too high—maybe only 5 million wanted to be discharged, I don't know. But at the time it seemed to me like they all did. If there were 6 million soldiers there were probably 12 million fathers and mothers more or less and I don't know how many million sisters and brothers and other relatives, but I distinctly remember they were all on that side, too.

Do you agree or not?

Dr. HOBBS. That is probably true, but if military policy is to be based on the wishes of the individual members of the military service, then you are going to have a very, very interesting sort of Army, Navy, Air Force and Marine Corps.

Mr. HAYS. I agree with you. Probably more interesting than we have ever had. But in a democracy how else would you have the Army directed? Are you going to set it up a little sacrosanct outfit which does whatever it pleases without regard to the wishes of the people? If you do that you don't have a democracy, do you?

Dr. HOBBS. That is correct. But within a military organization by definition you do not have democracy. It is necessary to have ranks within a military organization. It is necessary definitely to delegate responsibility and authority.

Mr. HAYS. As I understand it, the decision had been made that we are going to have to demobilize some of these men. We can't keep them all. It is not necessary to keep them all. We can't afford to keep them all. The public won't stand for us to keep them all. All of those factors entered in.

Do I understand you to say that it is bad to ask these men, we are going to demobilize part of you, would you want to give us your opinion of how you would like to have it done? Do you think that is bad per se?

Dr. HOBBS. I made the point, or tried to delineate the differences or some of the differences between physical science and social science, that one of the differences was that the very fact that you attempt to make a study may influence the attitudes, the opinions, the behavior of the persons who are involved in it.

In this particular situation, there is the possibility—and I would say the likelihood—that when members of the military service are

given the impression, which they are likely to be given through opinion surveys, and which you remember the Secretary of War warned against, when they are given the impression that they are to have the decision about important matters of strategy and military policy, then there is always the possibility that you create disaffection. I would say that is a real possibility. It could have turned out that the technique accepted and used was desirable. That could have happened.

As it did turn out in the perspective of history, it was, let us say, at least questionable from a military point of view.

Mr. HAYS. Don't say "let us say." You say it.

Dr. HOBBS. I would say it was definitely questionable.

Mr. HAYS. That is your opinion?

Dr. HOBBS. It is my opinion.

Mr. HAYS. Yes. That is a very interesting thing, and I am just curious to know how would you have gone about demobilizing these people if you didn't use the point system, if you personally had the decision to make?

Dr. HOBBS. If I had the decision to make—you want to make me Secretary of War for the moment!

Mr. HAYS. I will want to make you anything you want. You made yourself something in criticizing it. So take the same title and tell us what you would have done in place of what you say was wrong.

Dr. HOBBS. In the situation which apparently existed the military did know or feel that there was good reason for not disbanding the combat veterans, for maintaining intact, efficient, effective combat units.

The social scientist on the other hand did not feel that same way.

I suspect, without knowing, from reading it, that the military was worried and concerned about possible Russian encroachment in Europe, a condition which did eventuate. The social scientist was concerned only with his small area and did not know of that possibility. By the very nature of the study, you see, it was something that they could not include. That is the type of hazard that you encounter.

I don't mean to imply that these men were stupid, evil, or vicious or anything of that kind; they are very capable men, all of them. Technically the studies were very good. My main point which I tried to stress is that when you enter an area and use the weight and prestige of social science you are encountering possible hazards—in this case, military hazards.

Mr. HAYS. Doctor, they used a similar system in Korea right at the time the fighting was going on, didn't they? They called it a rotation system. They were constantly pulling men out of units and putting them back and replacing them with other men.

I want to say very frankly I certainly recognize your right to your opinion, but I don't see anything bad in bringing a man back home who has risked his life repeatedly and let someone else assume that gamble for a little while because if the combat veterans stay indefinitely, it seems to me you have a chance of upsetting their morale, because they will say, "Well, we have two alternatives—one of them is that we stay here and get killed eventually and the other one is that we stay here and get killed tomorrow."

Dr. HOBBS. That, of course, was not the issue. The issue was whether the military forces should be maintained intact or at least in sufficient strength so that they could combat a possible military move on the part of some potential enemy, in this case, of course, Russia.

Mr. HAYS. I don't think the decision to keep them intact or not to keep them intact—I insist—was made by any group of social scientists. It was made right here about a block away, under the dome.

Dr. HOBBS. As I pointed out in citing from the book, there was the point that the military did desire to keep the units intact. The social scientists did not.

Mr. HAYS. Would you agree with that statement? The military, especially from the rank of lieutenant colonel on up, would desire to keep them intact forevermore? I never found a colonel or lieutenant colonel or a general who thought that the country was not in imminent danger of destruction if you let one out. Whether or not it has anything to do with the fact that you have to have so many thousand men to have so many dozen colonels, I don't know. But that is the attitude they seem to take.

Dr. HOBBS. I have had some experience with the military, also. In my experience, I found the people—of course, military life is their specialty and career—they are concerned with it much more than nonprofessional military personnel. I did not find in my experience the degree of dogmatic affirmation that we will maintain armies at the largest size, we will maintain navies at their fullest strength, regardless and in complete disregard of any military threat, imaginary or real, and regardless of the interests of the entire country. I do not find that in my experience.

Mr. HAYS. I overemphasized the thing perhaps and exaggerated. I am sure that you did not find that the case.

Will you agree that 99 percent of the time whenever there is a cut suggested that you immediately ran into resistance in the high command? That is a perfectly normal human tendency. I am not saying they are awful people.

Dr. HOBBS. On the part of all of us when it comes to things we are interested in and seriously concerned with, of course that is very true.

Mr. HAYS. I have found that with social workers.

Dr. HOBBS. Of course, sir, it was true also of the social scientists who were so concerned with their methods and techniques that they, too, overworked the military side of the situation.

Mr. HAYS. In other words, two little empires there kind of clashed head on?

Dr. HOBBS. That is right.

Mr. HAYS. And one wanted this and the other wanted something else. That is an interesting thing that you brought up, and I thought it was worthy of some development.

I again want you to repeat what I understood you to say, that you don't think there was any bad or deliberate plot on their part to destroy the Army.

Dr. HOBBS. I have absolutely no knowledge, I read nothing to that effect, I didn't mean to imply it.

Mr. HAYS. In other words, they thought this is the way it should be done and they were firm in their belief and they pressed forward with it.

Dr. HOBBS. That is right.

Mr. HAYS. That puts a somewhat different light on the matter.

I have 1 or 2 other questions, Doctor, and then I will be through.

Someone once made the statement—and I can't quote who it was—that the scholar who has never made a mistake has never made a discovery or a correction. Would you be inclined to agree with that?

Dr. HOBBS. Yes, sir.

Mr. HAYS. Then going back to this business of having controls over research, research that is valuable is going to occasionally stray off into fields where it is going to make mistaken conclusions and mistaken decisions and so on and so forth, would you agree that is true?

Dr. HOBBS. Yes, sir.

Mr. HAYS. Do you have any specific suggestion as to how these foundations might prevent more than a minimum number of mistakes? I mean do you have any suggestion as to how they should tighten up their grant-giving machinery? You are more familiar with foundations than I. We have admitted that they are going to make some mistakes. That is almost inevitable, is it not?

Dr. HOBBS. Yes, sir.

Mr. HAYS. The desirable thing would be to keep those mistakes to a minimum.

Dr. HOBBS. Yes, sir.

Mr. HAYS. I ask this very kindly. I am only trying to get some light on the subject. Do you have any suggestion?

Dr. HOBBS. One suggestion I made before would be that they emphasize that they do not wish to concentrate research and studies within the empirical area to a disproportionate degree and to thereby exclude or seriously minimize other important areas of study.

Another suggestion would be that they be much more careful than they have been in the past in encroaching on large and significant areas of human behavior, such as the military area where you can say it is all right to make a mistake, but with high military policy perhaps one mistake is the only chance you get. It may be your last mistake.

In this area any findings which are arrived at should be presented very tentatively and with many, many reservations and qualifications and not pushed to the degree which the findings in connection with the point system of discharge were apparently pushed from reading the book.

Mr. HAYS. You say a mistake in a military decision might be your last mistake. Did I understand you to say that?

Dr. HOBBS. It could be in a military situation.

Mr. HAYS. Whether it came about as a result of an empirical study or just somebody's decision, that could be true?

Dr. HOBBS. That is correct.

Mr. HAYS. So if we make a mistake about the ultimate decision on what we do in Southeast Asia, while it might not necessarily be our last mistake, it might be our next to the last?

Dr. HOBBS. That is correct.

Mr. HAYS. So we are getting right back, as I see it, to the fundamental conclusion that I think we are going to have to arrive at, and that is, that human beings are susceptible to mistakes and in the situation we are now we better not make too many.

Dr. HOBBS. Yes, sir, but with this additional factor: That when your decision is based on studies which are purportedly scientific, then

your results are no longer regarded as the results of an individual, but are regarded as the results of a method which many people have the impression is infallible. So you create quite a different situation from the necessary and desirable difference of opinion between individuals or between members of the military and civilians, where the differences can be weighed and ironed out on their own level of merit. You don't have the injection of this factor which seems to be the final and decisive ultimate factor. I think that is a significant difference.

Mr. HAYS. I think you and I are in complete agreement on that point. In other words, you don't like an attempt to wrap a cloak of infallibility around them and say this is it.

Dr. HOBBS. Exactly.

Mr. HAYS. That is a tendency not only of social science, and I am being strictly nonpolitical when I say this, that has been the tendency of recent Secretaries of State we have had, too. They sort of put a mantle of infallibility on and say whatever decision I come to is right and this is it, and I don't want you to question it. That is a shortcoming that is confined not only to social scientists.

Dr. HOBBS. No, sir. But you always have the factor of the prestige of science involved. You can argue about a decision of a Secretary of State on political bases, on bases of knowledge of history, on bases of knowledge of the foreign situation, and on many grounds you can justifiably argue a decision of that type.

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Wormser, there is a question you asked there that I thought ought to be developed a little more and I don't recall, since I don't have the transcript here, the exact wording of it. It had to do with the foundations going into political fields. You asked it early in the testimony.

Mr. WORMSER. You mean today?

Mr. HAYS. Yes. Do you have a list of the questions you asked there?

The CHAIRMAN. While he is thinking about that, may I ask one question with reference to your suggestion?

With reference to these suggestions that the foundations might follow to improve the situation, do you feel that any of the foundations have exercised sufficient care in selecting the key personnel, or if the boards of trustees have exercised sufficient care and responsibility in considering the recommendations of the personnel of the staffs?

Dr. HOBBS. I am afraid that I wouldn't be qualified to give an opinion on that. I have made no separate study of foundations and their personnel. I just wouldn't know.

Mr. WORMSER. Mr. Hays, I don't recall the exact question, but I think what you are referring to was this: I had in my mind that there is some evidence that foundations have to some extent consciously determined to enter the political field in this sense: That social scientists should be assigned the job, let us say, of directing society and of telling us what is best for us. I asked some question which related to that, bringing out the political field itself. I think Dr. Hobbs then quoted something from the report of the Social Science Research Council.

Is that what you mean?

Mr. HAYS. Yes, I think that had to do with it. Maybe we can develop what I was thinking about without having the exact language. I thought if you had it there it would be helpful.

Do you think the foundations have gone into the realm of politics to any great extent?

Dr. HOBBS. That would be difficult to determine. Political influence, as you know much, much better than I, involves many, many intangibles as to what does influence people politically one way or another. Have some of the findings influenced political attitudes? I would say that is likely. But again, to measure it and to say exactly how much and precisely in what direction, I would be at a loss to say.

Mr. HAYS. Do you think they have gone into it in any significant way or to any great extent?

Dr. HOBBS. Certainly not directly. That is, not in any sense of a lobby or anything of that type, to my knowledge.

Mr. HAYS. If they have gone in at all, then, with the exception of perhaps some who sponsor radio programs and political figures, they have gone into it in a rather subtle way?

Dr. HOBBS. That could be the case. I don't know the specific situation which you refer to. I have never heard that program. I don't know.

Mr. HAYS. I don't want to show here that I am accusing them—and we are speaking now, of course, of Facts Forum—of anything, but I have had a lot of complaints about them, especially even prior to the time of these hearings, and a great volume of letters since then.

To be perfectly fair I have had a few which say they are all right. So all I am interested in with regard to that particular organization is finding out whether they are biased or whether they are not. I want to make it clear here, which apparently it has not been in some people's minds, that if they are biased, they still have a perfect right to go on the air; but they don't have any right to go on with tax-exempt funds.

Dr. HOBBS. I would agree with that.

Mr. HAYS. They have a right to their opinion, certainly. They can be just as biased as they want to as long as they are using their own money without any tax exemption.

Mr. KOCH. Mr. Hays, I am glad you brought up that point. You mentioned earlier this morning that one of the principal purposes of a committee such as this is to find out whether legislation might be necessary or whether present legislation should be amended.

I think after the representative of the Internal Revenue Department testifies, I think, next week, you will find that his department has difficulty in determining just what is propaganda and what is designed to influence legislation. We hope to present to the committee samples of various types of propaganda, including Facts Forum, and various types of efforts to influence legislation, and maybe at the end of these hearings we can define this a little bit better for the aid of the tax department.

Mr. HAYS. I would say to you, that I am sure that it must be a very difficult proposition. I am sure it must be just as difficult as there are points of view. When you use the word "propaganda"—and I think we ought to make that definitive here—the word "propaganda" itself has come to have a sort of undesirable connotation.

In the strict sense it can be good propaganda as well as bad. I suppose whether it is good or bad depends on your point of view and whether or not you agree with it. That would be somewhat of a determining factor.

Mr. KOCH. But we shall try to define it a little more clearly because some of the types of propaganda will shock us. If we can define it better the tax department will have an easier time.

Mr. WORMSER. Mr. Hays, I can now give you your statistic that you ask for. Roughly 50,000 copies of Stuart Chase's book have been sold, which happens to be more than the aggregate sales of the 8 books which I have written.

Mr. HAYS. All I can say is that if he sold 50,000 copies with that title, if he jazzed up the title a little he could have probably sold half a million. Whoever merchandised that book did not do a good job.

Mr. KOCH. I would like to have Mr. Wormser give us the names of his eight books.

Mr. HAYS. I think we ought to get a plug in for him and mention one from memory, Estate Planning in a Changing World.

Mr. WORMSER. That is right.

Mr. HAYS. I found it a little heavy going but it is perhaps because I don't have an estate to worry about.

The CHAIRMAN. Since I quoted it in one of my speeches I should also mention his most recent book the Myth of Good and Bad Nations.

Mr. HAYS. I hope I will have the time to read it before this hearing is over.

I have just one more question which may lead into some sub-questions. I have a letter here from a man—I don't suppose he would care if I identified him, but there is no reason to bring him in. It is a rather kind letter with several points of view. He makes a challenging statement here and I would like to hear your comment.

He says, "Man's greatest problem today is man himself." Would you agree with that?

Dr. HOBBS. Could I answer that a little indirectly?

Mr. HAYS. In any way you wish.

Dr. HOBBS. I was going to lunch some time ago with a colleague and he asked me, "What do you think the Negro really wants?" I asked him, "What do you really want for lunch?" He said "I am not sure, I don't know." I said, "You don't even know what you want for lunch and you ask me to tell you what the Negro really wants."

I don't know what man's greatest problem is. Also, I don't know what I want for lunch.

Mr. HAYS. I will read further and he says:

Human behavior is the area in which understanding of any general validity is most difficult to obtain.

You would agree with that, would you not?

Dr. HOBBS. I am sorry, sir, would you repeat that?

Mr. HAYS (reading):

Human behavior is the area in which understanding of any general validity is most difficult to obtain.

Dr. HOBBS. If you leave out the supernatural I would say that is correct.

Mr. HAYS. Let us leave it out by all means.

Dr. HOBBS. Frankly, we have been in a couple of areas here that I have very little knowledge of and if we get into the supernatural I will be completely without knowledge.

Mr. HAYS. The reason I ask that is that it goes right back to what we have been saying all along. You can change the words "human behavior" to make them read "social science" and we would come up with about the same general conclusion, would we not?

Dr. HOBBS. Yes, sir.

Mr. HAYS. That any experimentation with human behavior or the social sciences or anything concerning the behavior of men is an experiment or a research that you can't put any adequate controls on?

Dr. HOBBS. That would be my view.

Mr. HAYS. So it is more or less an excursion into the dark and any conclusions that you come up with should be qualified by saying that there is no way to validly set up a scientific control, so these are merely conclusions and the best we can come to in the light of what we have done.

Dr. HOBBS. Exactly.

Mr. HAYS. If the foundations adopt that as a principle in their grants for research into the social sciences, you would be satisfied?

Dr. HOBBS. I would say that would be a commendable forward step.

Mr. HAYS. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any other questions?

If not, we thank you very kindly, Professor Hobbs.

Dr. HOBBS. Thank you, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Whom do you wish to call?

Mr. WORMSER. I would like to call Mr. McNiece.

Mr. HAYS. You say you wanted to call Mr. McNiece. It is time for the morning bell for the House. I wonder if it would not be well to go over to Monday?

Mr. KOCH. Mr. McNiece's presentation, which is long, we can put on at any time, so if we don't start Monday, because we have some other witnesses, we will put it on later.

The CHAIRMAN. As I understand, Mr. Wormser, the witness who is to be here Monday is Mr. Sargent, of California. I might say Mr. Sargent was the man who was first invited to become general counsel of the Cox committee, the predecessor of this committee, and for reasons at that time was unable to accept the invitation, but he is a student of questions which we are dealing with here and, based upon my knowledge of Mr. Sargent in other ways, I think his testimony will contain a great deal of interest.

Mr. HAYS. Let me ask this while we are on the matter of whom we are going to call. You say Mr. Sargent was first approached about being counsel for the Cox committee?

The CHAIRMAN. He was invited to be counsel of the committee by Mr. Cox.

Mr. HAYS. Would it be possible at some time to bring in the counsel of the Cox committee? There are a lot of questions I would like to ask him.

The CHAIRMAN. I think that is something that might be considered.

Mr. HAYS. I want to get a request in right now before we run out of time.

I would like to have the counsel of the Cox committee brought in one day. Ask him to come. I think he could give us some very valuable statements.

The CHAIRMAN. I think your suggestion is well received.

The committee on Monday will meet in the caucus room in the Old House Office Building, which is room 362, at 10 a. m.

(Whereupon, at 11:50 p. m., Thursday, May 20, the hearing was recessed until 10 a. m., Monday, May 24, 1954.)