

# THE COLD WAR



## PRIMARY SOURCE WORKSHOP

GRADE LEVELS: 9-12 OR UNDERGRADUATE/GRADUATE

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# HOW TO USE THIS PRIMARY SOURCE WORKSHOP

This workshop's primary sources can be used to facilitate a classroom workshop based on foundation funding during the Cold War. The workshop will ask students to make arguments for and against providing funding to programs and projects proposed to the Commonwealth Fund, the Rockefeller Foundation, and the Ford Foundation. Taking on the role of program officers during the Cold War and working in small groups, students will read primary sources and articulate why a foundation should or should not provide funding to these proposed ideas. As a whole group, the students will participate in a debate as to which of the proposed ideas would be the most effective tool for furthering American Cold War interests. Students are encouraged to use this workshop as a springboard for further research into the role foundations played during the Cold War.

# HISTORICAL CONTEXT

A U.S. military veteran once recalled that when World War II ended in September 1945, “we felt the day had come when the wars were all over.”<sup>1</sup> At the time, there was reason for optimism. In the 1940s, the Allied powers—the United States, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union—set aside vast ideological differences, competing national interests, and conflicting wartime strategies to defeat the Nazis and lay the groundwork for a lasting peace, a vision underscored by the creation of the United Nations in 1945.<sup>2</sup>

But this alliance would prove to be short-lived. As World War II ended, a more enduring global conflict emerged: the Cold War. Lacking a common enemy and unable to overcome their sharp differences, the world’s two largest super-powers, the United States and the Soviet Union, launched a continuous struggle for global supremacy that would endure for the next four-plus decades. While the countries never exchanged direct gunfire, they fought the Cold War on every front—in satellite conflicts across Latin America, Asia, Africa, and Europe; in newspapers, film, literature, and other artistic productions; and through mutual security pacts and international aid agreements. These developments wholly reshaped American society, creating a modern national security state, altering the trajectory of domestic politics and policy, and making the U.S. a long-term leader in regional and global affairs. Simply put, the Cold War touched nearly every aspect of American life and defined U.S. geopolitics during the second half of the twentieth century.

This workshop allows students to examine one of the lesser-known facets of the Cold War: how it affected American philanthropy. The reports, memoranda, letters, speeches, and grant files that follow demonstrate the War’s impact on three philanthropic organizations: the Ford Foundation,

Rockefeller Foundations and the Commonwealth Fund. Focusing on three main areas—agriculture, higher education, and the arts and humanities—the sources illustrate how widespread fears of communism at home and abroad impacted philanthropic strategy from the mid-1940s through the mid-1950s.

Topics covered include:

- Philanthropic support for scholarship on wartime civil liberties and loyalty programs.
- Anticommunist congressional investigations into foundation grantmaking.
- Philanthropic efforts to raise the food supply in the developing world.
- Foundation backing of new American Studies and Area Studies programs.
- Proposed arts and culture grants that aimed to build international cooperation.<sup>3</sup>

Analyzing these topics offers students a first-hand view of how organized philanthropy grappled with its role in American society during a moment of crisis and intense polarization and underscores the important, yet often overlooked, role the third sector played in shaping Cold War America. As powerful third sector actors, the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations and Commonwealth Fund had to at once remain politically neutral in foreign and domestic affairs, and support the West’s larger global agenda. These philanthropic organizations also aimed to promote rational discourse and objective research that would inform U.S. policy and public opinion in the face of widespread anticommunist fears.

# HISTORICAL CONTEXT

*Several key historical events and developments will help students better understand the relationship between the Cold War and American philanthropy. The timeline below highlights these developments.*

## 1945

**February** With Germany on the verge of surrender, Franklin Roosevelt, Winston Churchill, and Joseph Stalin meet at Yalta to discuss the fate of postwar Europe. The leaders agree in principle that the Soviet Union would allow free elections in Eastern Europe, and receive a sphere of influence in Germany and Korea. In return for accepting territorial concessions in Asia, the Soviets also agree to enter the war against Japan after Germany surrenders. <sup>4</sup>

**July** The U.S. successfully tests a nuclear weapon for the first time near an air force base in the New Mexico desert. President Truman tells Stalin about this test roughly a week later at the Potsdam Conference, a follow-up to the earlier meeting between the Allies at Yalta. <sup>5</sup>

**August** The U.S. drops two atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Japan surrenders on August 14th.

## 1946

**February** As Stalin establishes Soviet satellite states in Eastern Europe, George Kennan, the Chargé d’Affaires in Moscow, sends an 8,000 word telegram to Secretary of State James F. Byrnes calling upon the U.S. to resist Soviet expansion with “unalterable counterforce” and contain the spread of communism across the globe. This theory – containment – becomes a staple of American foreign policy for the next two decades.

**March** British Prime Minister Winston Churchill declares that an “iron curtain” has descended upon Eastern Europe in a speech at Westminster College in Fulton, Missouri.

## 1947

**March** President Truman calls upon Congress to send \$400,000,000 to the Greek and Turkish governments to slow Communist expansion in the region. The action inaugurates the Truman Doctrine, which claimed the U.S. would “support free peoples resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures” throughout the world.

President Truman signs Executive Order 9835, which creates loyalty review boards to investigate and eliminate suspected communists from the federal government.

**September** The House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC), a congressional committee investigating disloyalty during the Cold War, subpoenas over 40 members of the film and motion picture industry on suspicion of subversive activity. Ten refuse to answer the Committee’s questions and are sentenced to prison, held in contempt of Congress, and blacklisted from the film industry. These members are later dubbed the “Hollywood Ten.”

# HISTORICAL CONTEXT

## 1949

**April** The U.S., Canada, and Western Europe sign the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), a collective security pact designed to prevent Soviet attacks in Western Europe.

**September** The Soviet Union detonates an atomic bomb for the first time.

**September-October** East and West Germany are created by the Soviet Union, and British, American, and French governments, respectively. The U.S. did not officially recognize East Germany until 1974.

**October** Mao Zedong establishes the communist People's Republic of China after a civil war between his Chinese Communist Party and the Nationalist Party, led by the U.S.-backed Chiang Kai-shek.

## 1950

**February** Senator Joseph McCarthy claims, without evidence, to have the names of 205 State Department officials who are members of the Communist Party.

**April** The State Department completes NSC-68, a top-secret report which argues the U.S. should drastically increase its military strength to deter a future Soviet attack. Over the next three years, U.S. military spending increases by roughly \$36 billion.

**June** The Korean War begins when North Korea, a communist nation created by the Soviet Union in 1948, invades South Korea. The war ends three years later with the two countries divided at the DMZ, a demilitarized border that still exists today.

**September** Congress passes the Internal Security Act, which creates a Subversive Activities Control Board requiring organizations deemed communist by the Attorney General to register with the Justice Department.

## 1951

**August** E. Eugene Cox, a Representative from Georgia, introduces a resolution to form a House committee to investigate whether philanthropic organizations are engaging in subversive activity. Over the following two years, the Select Committee to Investigate Tax-Exempt Foundations and Charitable Organizations holds hearings on foundation grantmaking and operations.

# HISTORICAL CONTEXT

## 1953

**June** Julius and Ethel Rosenberg become the first American civilians executed for espionage after being arrested on charges of passing atomic secrets to the Soviets. The Rosenberg's conviction and sentencing remain controversial.

## 1954

**May** The Vietminh, a national independence group led by communist leader Ho Chi Minh, defeat the French at the Battle of Dien Bien Phu. As a result, Vietnam is split in two, with the Vietminh controlling the northern half of the country. Over the next six years, the U.S. provides \$800 million to the South Vietnamese army to consolidate control over its non-communist territory. American involvement in Vietnam escalates into a full-blown war in the 1960s and 1970s.

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- <sup>2</sup> "The Formation of the United Nations, 1945," Office of the Historian, State Department, <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1937-1945/un>
- <sup>3</sup> Louise Hallman, "From Idealist Experiment to Eminent Institution – 1948-1961," Salzburg Global Seminar, June 23, 2017, <https://www.salzburgglobal.org/news/latest-news/article/from-idealist-experiment-to-eminent-institution-1948-to-1961>; Eric John Abrahamson, Sam Hurst, Barbara Shubinski, *Democracy and Philanthropy: The Rockefeller Foundation and the American Experiment* (New York: The Rockefeller Foundation, 2013), 106-09; "Area Studies," The Rockefeller Foundation: A Digital History, <https://rockfound.rockarch.org/area-studies>; "The RF and Civil Liberties," The Rockefeller Foundation: A Digital History, <https://rockfound.rockarch.org/civil-liberties-during-the-early-cold-war>.
- <sup>4</sup> "The Yalta Conference," Office of the Historian, State Department, <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1937-1945/yalta-conf>.
- <sup>5</sup> "The Potsdam Conference, 1945," Office of the Historian, State Department, <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1937-1945/potsdam-conf>.

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- 5.** **W. McNeil Lowry to William McPeak, A Program of  
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**Cushman Letter to Joseph Willits on support  
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**Gellhorn Letter to David Ginsburg, Walter Gellhorn,  
*February 5, 1945***

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**Letter to Joseph Willits on backlash against Walter Gellhorn, February 15, 1944**

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**Memo to RF Pres. Chester Barnard, Flora Rhind, RF Cox-Reese, October 18, 1951**

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## PRIMARY SOURCE DOCUMENT 1

## SALZBURG SEMINAR IN AMERICAN STUDIES

Pres. DEXTER PERKINS  
 V. Pres. FLORENCE KLUCKHOHN  
 Treas. FREDERICK MUHLHAUSER  
 Sec. HERBERT GLEASON  
 Eur. Dir. SHEPHERD BROOKS

Phillips Brooks House  
 Cambridge 38, Mass.  
 Tel. KI 7-7600, Ex. 2179

February 13, 1951

Dear Friend of the Salzburg Seminar:

We are enclosing with this letter copies of the speeches delivered by the US High Commissioner to Austria, Ambassador Walter J. Donnelly, and by Professor Dexter Perkins, president of the Seminar, at a ceremony held on January 21st in Salzburg. We think you will agree with their statements that the Seminar is playing a very important role in developing international understanding.

This past month the Seminar has offered courses in American literature and democratic philosophy to Europeans from 11 countries. The nationalities represented were as follows: Austria 6, Belgium 2, Denmark 4, England 4, France 5, Germany 9, Holland 2, Ireland 2, Italy 7, Norway 3, and Sweden 5. Their present occupations are best described briefly as follows: 2 radio script writers, 6 journalists, 8 literary critics, 15 post-graduate students, 1 poet and short story writer, 4 editors, 5 novelists, 1 educational administrator, 3 literary translators, 2 librarians, and 2 teachers.

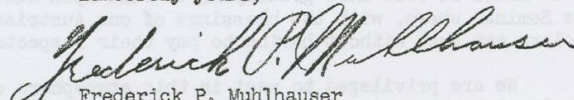
The faculty in January included Professors Henry A. Myers of Cornell, Albert Guerard and John Ciardi of Harvard, and Richard Lewis of Bennington.

The month of February, with Hans J. Morgenthau of Chicago and Graham B. Stuart of Stanford, will emphasize the study of American Foreign Relations. We will report on it more fully later.

The session from March 15 to April 15 will be devoted to a study of the recent history of the United States. Professor John D. Hicks of the University of California, presently exchange professor at Cambridge, and Professor Charles N. Sydner of Duke University, presently exchange professor at Oxford, will be joined by Professor George E. Mowry, also of California, as faculty members.

The following sessions of May and June will be in economics and social relations, respectively. We plan to keep you fully informed of the details of these sessions and the summer program when there will be a faculty of ten and a student body of one hundred.

Sincerely yours,

  
 Frederick P. Muhlhauser  
 Administrative Director

Frederick P. Muhlhauser letter, February 13, 1951

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# PRIMARY SOURCE DOCUMENT 2

## High Commissioner Donnelly's Address at Salzburg Seminar

SALZBURG, AUSTRIA, 21 January -- The following is the text of the address delivered at the Salzburg Seminar by Walter J. Donnelly, U.S. High Commissioner and Minister to Austria:

"Herr Bundespräsident, Dr. Perkins, Faculty and Students of the Seminar, Distinguished Guests:

In the summer of 1920 I went as a young American student to study in Venezuela at the University of Caracas. I have always been grateful for that experience. It gave me interests and ties which have been a great satisfaction to me during 30 subsequent years including especially that period when I returned to Venezuela as American Ambassador.

Thus, I am by my own experience a strong believer in the kinds of education which carry students and teachers outside of their own home localities and away from the traditional methods of teaching of their native schools and universities. And so I am keenly interested in this Seminar in American Studies and most appreciative of your kind invitation to be with you today while you are celebrating the opening of your 1951 sessions, the fifth year of a fine institution which, we hope, will have occasion to celebrate many more openings and anniversaries.

Never before in the history of the modern world have institutions like this one been so greatly needed, because never before has it been so necessary for free men to meet together in groups dedicated to better understanding and support of our free institutions. Never before has it been so important for the scholars of different races, nationalities, and continents to meet around seminar tables, face to face, and discover what people are thinking in other lands. Even books, newspapers, radio programs, and international expositions are poor substitutes for living and studying together. And so I believe that the Harvard Student Council is to be congratulated for its part in inaugurating this Seminar in 1947 and you who are here today - European students, American teachers and Austrian hosts - are all to be congratulated upon the parts which you are playing in making the Salzburg Seminar an increasingly useful institution.

We Americans are proud of the part which our compatriots have played in the venture of Schloss Leopoldskron. We are pleased that groups of outstanding European students will have opportunities to study some of our American institutions here with some of our best American teachers and with good American books. We like to think that Western Europe is coming to know more about our country and to understand it better than ever before. But, I submit, the fact that this Seminar emphasizes American studies is by no means of major importance. It is of far more importance that European and American scholars can meet together in these beautiful Austrian surroundings to discuss world problems in the finest traditions of the free world. It is only through the exercise of the great human right of freedom of expression that that right will be preserved. We recognize Austria as a liberated country but it is still, unfortunately, an occupied country, and, despite the constant efforts of the Austrians and of the British, French and United States Elements, freedom of expression is still subject to certain unfortunate limitations in this country. It is tragic that this is the case but it makes it even more gratifying to find upon Austrian soil a free institution like this Seminar where, with the blessings of our Austrian hosts, Austrian and non-Austrian scholars can meet without having to pay their respects to the censors.

We are privileged to meet in this atmosphere of freedom which contrasts so sharply with all that one finds in the unhappy countries to the east of us. We hope that in the not too distant future groups like this will be able to meet freely in those Sovietized lands whose rulers now deny the privileges which we are exercising today.

High Commissioner Donnelly's Address at Salzburg Seminar, January 21, 1951,  
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## PRIMARY SOURCE DOCUMENT 2 CONTINUED

"The Salzburg Seminar does not urge everyone to think the same way or reach the same conclusions. It (is) convinced that free inquiry is the best way to reach solutions of common problems." These statements from the Seminar's recent release about its 1951 program set a high standard and one which, we hope, will be adhered to through every hour of its sessions.

I think that we Americans cannot emphasize too much or too often that we do not expect our foreign friends to become convinced that all American institutions are perfect. We ourselves can hardly believe that. We only want people in other lands to know more about us and so to understand why we think as we do and act as we do. With this in mind the United States Government has sent over 120 Austrian students to the United States for this academic year; we hope to enable some 70 Austrian professors and others from the leadership group in this country to visit the United States during the same period; we hope to add to this program, for the next academic year, some 50 Austrian graduate students and over 20 professors, researchers and teachers under the Fulbright Program which is just now getting under way as between Austria and the United States.

But we do not want only a one-way exchange. There must be understanding on both sides. And so we are happy to see this Seminar in American studies bringing some of our University professors to Austria. We are also pleased that the University of Vienna is conducting a summer school near lovely Gmunden on a superb Alpine lake where Austrian professors teach Americans in the English language, that the University of Innsbruck also attracts young Americans to its summer school in the magnificent Zillertal, that the Austrian College Society has plans for an English language summer school at Alpbach and that dozens of young Americans have come to Austria to study under what we call the G.I. Bill of Rights, a law of our Congress which helps our veterans to catch up with the schooling which they lost by serving in the war. And because it is always gratifying to learn of projects which do not have to rely upon official government sponsorship, I was this fall pleased to meet a group of 23 American students who had come to Vienna from our Middle West with a returning Austrian exchange student. Twenty-three for one may not always be a fair exchange but we all felt that it was a very happy one in this case.

By setting up its world-wide program for the exchange of persons, and particularly for the exchange of teachers and students, my Government has expressed its conviction that bringing thinking people together is one of the most hopeful remedies for the world's ills. Because of such maladjustments in the world of today as currency troubles, travel restrictions, low income areas and lack of travel facilities, governments have had to take a hand in these exchanges. I am certain, however, that we all look forward to the day when exchanges will cease to be official and when there will be many more splendid private institutions like the Salzburg Seminar meeting in all parts of a truly free world. I hope that all of us who are privileged to attend this session will be stimulated to do something to further that important end.

-end-

High Commissioner Donnelly's Address at Salzburg Seminar, January 21, 1951,  
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# PRIMARY SOURCE DOCUMENT 3

SPEECH BY DEXTER PERKINS AT THE OPENING CEREMONY  
OF THE SALZBURG SEMINAR on January 21, 1951

Thank you most sincerely, Mr. High Commissioner. We deeply appreciate your interest and support in this enterprise. It seems appropriate at the opening of the Seminar for 1951 that I should say a word or two with regard to the origins and a little something about the ideals that animate it.

It was founded, as the High Commissioner has stated, in 1947 by a group of youthful Harvard men. We hope that we shall never lose here the daring, - and it took daring in 1947 - the initiative, the imagination, and the enthusiasm which these young men brought to their tasks at the opening of the Seminar. We believe here at Salzburg that the process of learning is a two-way street, that those who come here have much to communicate to us, that the young men who have been associated with us on the other side of the water in Cambridge have much to communicate to the rest of us, and we hope, of course, in a modest way, that we have something to communicate to them.

The Seminar was begun under great difficulties, and its first years were in some ways hard ones. But I think it can now be said that it has attained a consistency on the administrative side, on the financial side, and on the educational side that is a product of very hard work over the period between 1947 and 1951. I am extremely proud of the European staff which we have assembled here this year. In Mr. Shepherd Brooks, who is sitting on the right of the Bundeskanzler, we have found a remarkable leader with enthusiasm, with wise judgment, with great administrative quality, who is giving to the Seminar this year a quality that it has never had before. We are proud of our Dean, Mr. Lewis, who has also brought the highest qualities and the highest enthusiasm to his task here, our secretary, Mr. Gleason, and of the distinguished faculty which we have assembled here this month and all those whom we shall here assemble in the months to come.

I ought perhaps to say to you that the Seminar's objectives and activities have been much enlarged since 1947. We began with a summer session of only six weeks. But we were able last year for the first time to add winter sessions. These winter sessions, each one of them lasting approximately four weeks, are concerned with individual subjects. At the present moment, the students here assembled are studying American Literature in its various aspects. In February, we shall have here Professor Hans Morgenthau of the University of Chicago and Professor Graham Stuart of the University of California, who will give work in the field of International Relations and particularly current International Relations. In March, we shall have here the two visiting professors of American History at the two ancient universities of Great Britain, Professor Hicks from Cambridge and Professor Sydnor from Oxford. I will not go on to enumerate other distinguished stars who come here, but this is the nature of the winter program.

In the summer we assemble a larger faculty, a faculty probably of nine to eleven, who give work in a variety of subjects, and we hope our summer sessions will enable the students who come to Salzburg to get a picture of American society and American civilization from a very wide and diversified point of view. And these two activities, the winter sessions with their emphasis on special subjects and the summer sessions with their emphasis on a broad and enlarged view of American life, in some way supplement each other and provide a program which, I think, is of almost unique significance.

I should say too a word about our students here, with whom, I assure you, it is a deep joy to associate at Salzburg. They have been extremely carefully selected, selected by personal interview. They are all of them beyond the graduate stage; they are mature persons, many of them persons already of distinction, all of them, we will hope, persons who will attain distinction. We are proud of our student body, drawn as it is from many lands, from as far as Stockholm on the north to Palermo on the south and from

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## PRIMARY SOURCE DOCUMENT 3 CONTINUED

Vienna on the east to Dublin on the west. We are proud of the variety of our student body and of the manner in which they come here to work together in the cultivation of the mind with a harmony and an enthusiasm that stimulates us in our own support and development of the Seminar.

And now I want to say a word or two about the ideals which animate Salzburg, which animate the Seminar in the work we are here carrying on. I should put first among the values which we regard as pre-eminent here the intimacy of our association. We are living here in this castle together; we are eating our meals together; we are chatting together day in and day out, and there is a kind of communication here, more precious, I assure you, than any of the formal work of the classroom. We are living the life of the mind together here and deriving from it an inspiration and a kind of satisfaction that can rarely be enjoyed in formal academic society. I will not speak of European universities, but I think we know and realize that in America our vast numbers make more and more difficult close associations between teachers and students. And I assure you it is extraordinarily refreshing to come here to Salzburg and enter into intimate association with a body of young people who are keenly interested in the life of the mind.

I should emphasize second, in stating the ideals of Salzburg, what the High Commissioner has already said, that we are here in the spirit of free inquiry; we are not here to impose any conceptions of American life upon Europeans; we are here to exhibit it in its variety and in its wealth of diversity. We do not expect, of course, that we shall represent here the least significant things, but we do expect that we shall represent here a wide gamut of the values that make American life what it is. And we cultivate here that spirit of free inquiry which is the hallmark of Western institutions of learning, one might almost say of Western civilization itself.

We want to make a third point, to relate America here to universal value. As I remarked in my opening comments a little while ago, no one can feel in days like these that the West is other than one. We are united; we must be united as never before. And in communicating American values to European students, we do not do it in a provincial spirit, but what we are always looking for is those ways in which the American manner of thinking best reflects universal concepts on which Western society is founded.

And fourthly we have here, as I have already indicated to you, a strong sense of the international community of which the Bundeskanzler has spoken. With representatives of fourteen nations living together in harmony and operating in a common way, in a common intellectual cause, we believe we are exemplifying at Salzburg, something of the international spirit which is so badly needed, which is indeed necessary, if we are to confront effectively the perils of our society in the middle of the 20th century.

Two other points I will make, and then I will close. Salzburg is young; it is its glory that the Seminar is young; it is its glory that it is young, because young people and young institutions have much to learn. I assure you that we do not intend this institution to be stagnant, and we do not believe that we have reached perfection. But in every year we shall try to strengthen what we are doing here, to make it richer and more meaningful to our students, to give it a finer organization and a more definite purpose, until, as we hope, it may become worthy of the generosity of those who have done so much to found it and send it on its way.

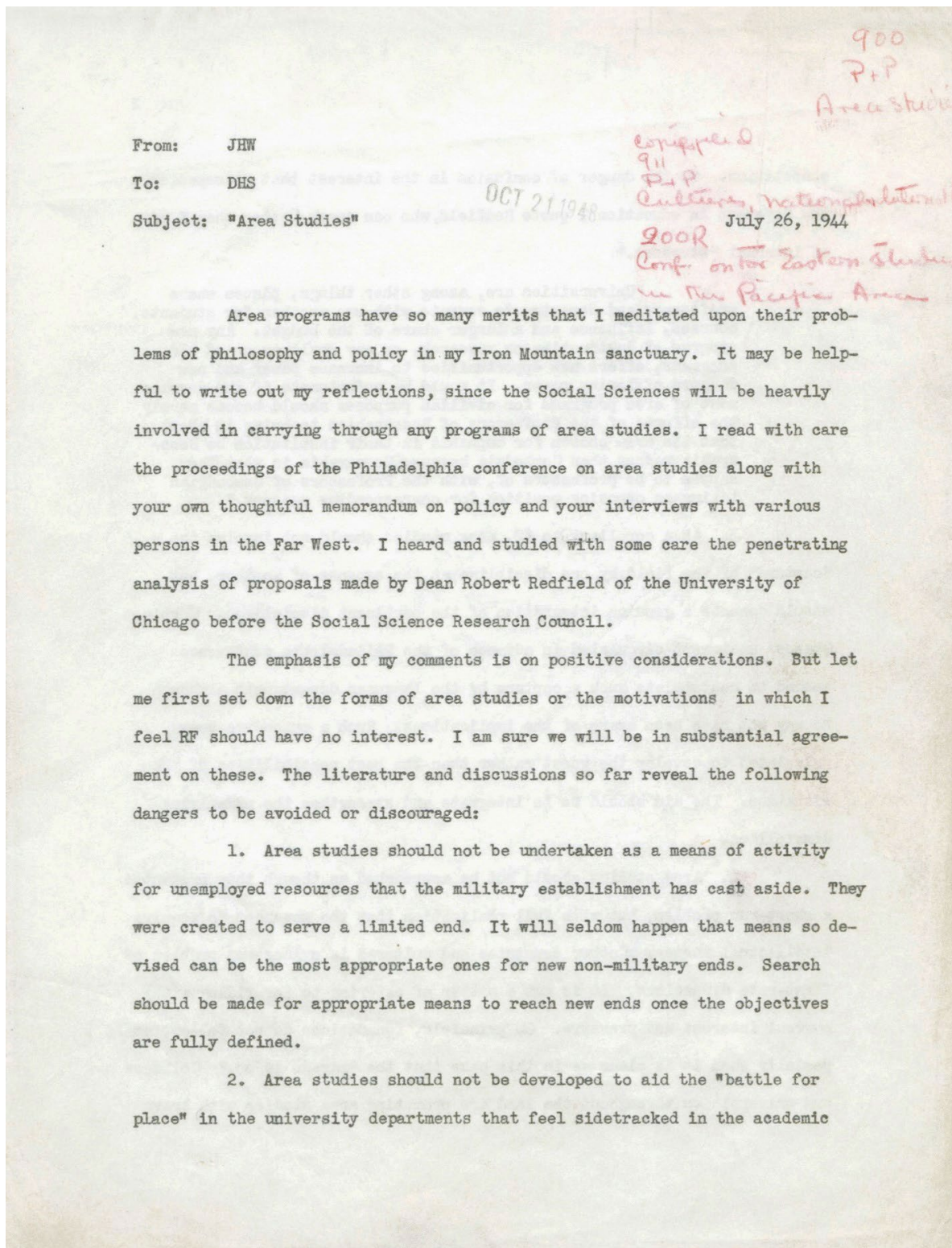
And finally here at the Seminar in Salzburg we are affirming not only the unity of the West, but that deep loyalty to the life of the mind that is, after all, one of the treasures of our Western society. Here is the life of the intelligence; here is the common life of the intelligence of men and women living together in a great intellectual enterprise. And for this intellectual enterprise in its present strength and, I hope, in its increasing power, we ask your sympathy and support.

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Speech by Dexter Perkins at the Opening Ceremony of the Salzburg Seminar, January 21, 1951  
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## PRIMARY SOURCE DOCUMENT 4



J.H. Willits to David H. Stevens, Area Studies memo, October 21, 1948

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competition. On the danger of confusion in the interest that accompanies a new movement in education I quote Redfield, who can speak better than I can of internal "stresses."

"Universities are, among other things, places where professors and departments compete with one another for students, courses, influence and a larger share of the budget. Any new program of instruction or research, or any realignment of old programs, offers new opportunities to increase power and new dangers of losing power. It would be unfortunate if the development of area programs for civilian purposes should become merely the efforts of the Professors of Bessarabia to bring it about that the area chosen for emphasis in their institution be Bessarabia rather than Cambodgia because Bessarabia is what they happen to be professors of, with the Professors of Cambodian taking an opposing position for corresponding reasons."

3. As a corollary to #2, area studies should not involve the "capture" of the field by one discipline at the expense of another, but should connote a genuine integration of the pertinent disciplines. Mortimer Graves' statement circulated in advance of the Philadelphia conference seemed to contemplate such a capture by the language departments although he may not have been aware of the implications. Such a procedure seems calculated to develop the worst rather than the best possibilities of the situation. The aim should be to integrate and strengthen the underlying disciplines.

4. Area studies should not be approached as though they presented a short-run problem, but with full realization that the movement to acquire intellectual mastery of other countries and cultures is a long-run problem of first-rate dimensions. It is not a matter of catering to (or riding with) current interest and pressure. On principle, foundations do not follow, especially when it is clear as in this case that the "parade is on." Colleges and universities throughout the land are promoting area studies with brave

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and ambitious words. The superficialities and reactions and disappointments which will result from such an inflated development will be reminiscent of the deflation of the exaggerated plans for training for foreign trade and diplomatic service after the last war. The prestige of RF interest should not encourage the inflationary tendencies of the present, but should be used to stress and add rigor and adequacy and modest efforts which can concentrate on a stated objective.

This negative list of dangers - of approaches not to be encouraged - is merely preliminary to the positive task which I take it embraces three objectives:

1. To provide, at both educational and research levels, a knowledge of other countries and cultures analogous to that which we have of our own. This is a task of first-rate magnitude and importance.
2. To integrate the work of the various Humanities and Social Science disciplines around the focus of other countries and cultures.
3. To make for growth and breadth in underlying disciplines, especially Social Sciences, so that their teaching and research will embrace better comparative studies of other countries and cultures along with studies of the one with which we are now most familiar.

These are important and difficult objectives worthy the best attention of RF. They especially need its best attention because the philosophy and activities in educational matters in the past have not compared in clarity, insight, and influence with the philosophy and activities on the scientific side. RF should give its influence to building the rigorous best. On the question of the educational problems involved Redfield has these pertinent

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comments to make on the objectives of area work as distinguished from the "areal" training of wartime courses:

"What can be said in favor of the area program as a form in which to cast that college instruction which offers a general education? A general education is not measured by competence to speak a foreign language and a body of information about countries where that language is spoken. A general education is marked by the ability to think well and write well about significant general ideas in the principal fields of human knowledge. It is to say substantially the same thing to declare that the object of the college is to make intelligent citizens, or to train the mind for intelligent action. A general education should be representative of the arts, the sciences and philosophy, and it must be neither superficial nor specialized. It must provide that aspect of higher education which is appropriate to every reasonably intelligent and adequately prepared young person.

\* \* \* \* \*

" . . . For the area program does offer an opportunity to devise a fresh plan for a general education. It does involve a degree of coordination of effort on the part of teachers representing different subjects. It does take a complex subject matter - the customs, institutions, language and literature of a country - and treats this subject matter as the natural whole that it is, bringing to bear upon it the illumination provided by the established disciplines. It may be less atomistic, more integrated, than many programs offered in colleges and universities. It may have two further advantages which are not always present in what passes for general education in many institutions. It may communicate something of the manner of thought of a people different from ourselves, and it may do so, in some part at least, through the medium of the language of that people. 'Without knowing the language of a people, we never really know their thoughts, their feeling and their type of character: and unless we do possess this knowledge, of some other people than ourselves, we remain, to the hour of our death, with our intellects only half expanded . . . since we cannot divest ourselves of preconceived notions, there is no means of eliminating their influence but by frequently using the differently colored glasses of other people; and those of other nations, as the most different, are the best.' The words are those of John Stuart Mill, and the area program he was upholding in the speech from which they come was the classical education organized around Latin and Greek literature.

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Integration of Disciplines

"As means to general education, the area program then has merits; some integration of disciplines in a common subject matter; and acquaintance with an alien culture and its language. On the other hand an area program cannot fully provide for a general education and may fall far short of providing for it. An area program represents social sciences and the humanities; it can hardly present what an educated person ought to know about the biological and physical sciences. This is, of course, not a fatal objection; for it might be possible to divide a program of general education between an area program and general introductory courses in the natural sciences. A more serious question is raised by a comparison of what might be expected of an area program with what might be expected of general education in the social sciences and the humanities as organized around the history and institutions, the arts and the philosophy, of our own part of the world. Is a general education in the social sciences and the humanities better provided by a regional study of Central Europe or China with a working knowledge of German or of Chinese than it is by study of, let us say, the effects of the industrial revolution upon American society and its problems through books in the English language? There are universities in which a general education is offered in terms of general courses defined not as separate departmental offerings, but as more or less unified presentation of subject matter and problems. The subject matter of these general education courses is contemporary civilization, or the culture of the western world, or the effects of the industrial revolution, or the problems of freedom and order. Can an area program for a foreign region be constructed to give better general education than these other courses give or could give? Can an area program, as well or better than these others, develop the ability to think and to write well about significant general ideas in the social sciences and the humanities?

"To put the question thus is to suggest how greatly different from the wartime area training programs would be that area program which would provide approximately half of higher general education. The information given in the training programs about foreign countries is not the equivalent of discipline in intelligent thinking on problems of general and enduring significance. And it will take much work to make it the equivalent. The advantage of the use of a foreign language will have to be weighed against the cost in time of learning that language - for it will be taught as a part of the area program, and a reading knowledge will be needed as well as a speaking knowledge. If the peacetime area program is restricted to some part of Europe, it will consider only a part of the general western world within which our current society and its problems find their historical and philosophical setting; the restriction will not make these problems easier to understand, but rather harder. If the program

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is an Asiatic program, there is yet less hope that general problems of persisting importance will be wisely and critically treated, for our understanding of the history, sociology, economics and government of the Oriental countries is much more imperfect than it is of the Occident, and the materials are less accessible, and less well known, and the languages are harder to master."

If these positive objectives are to be followed, it must be assumed:

1. That universities and colleges should be pressed to consider a rigid division of labor.

University people propose such an ideal, but they often ignore it in practice. Even the thoughtful men who attended the Philadelphia conference, while asserting that each institution proposed to limit itself in what it attempted, indicated by the areas they proposed to include an intention of starting more than they could hope to do effectively. The present tendency of each institution to cover large parts of the important neglected areas implies that they are thinking only superficially of the task and in terms of elementary work. RF's emphasis and interest should not be on multiplication of orientation courses on China, India, Russia; these will be developed at most large institutions. Our emphasis should be on strengthening the points and people where an adequate standard may be realized. Otherwise "area studies" will be education in superficialities - of which America already has too much.

2. That area teaching will be built upon research, if it is to acquire depth and maturity. Without research, teaching will tend to stress spot information and travelogue reporting which does create interest at an elementary level, but which does not lead to disciplined thinking or mastery of other cultures equivalent to the familiarity we have of our own. Such

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research should be conducted by the fundamental disciplines, reaching out increasingly to new cultures other than those with which they have been most concerned. On this Redfield says:

" . . . sound and fruitful teaching in regional terms waits upon research on the societies of parts of the world other than Western Europe and the United States. When we have carried on long and intensive study of the economics, government, sociology, anthropology, history and arts of Russia, China, India and Latin America, and have brought these different disciplines into considered relation to one another with reference to each of these regions, then we shall have in our understanding of these other parts of the world a basis for general education comparable with what is provided by our knowledge of Western Europe and some of its offshoots. We shall also have one or more excellent sets of different colored glasses through which to see and correct our preconceived notions. What the study of primitive societies now contributes to education will then be attainable through study of important world civilizations with the aid of the specialized disciplines.

"We do not have this knowledge now. We have the beginnings of it, in the study of the ancient history and religions of the Orient, and in certain specialized studies by this social science or humanistic discipline or that, with regard to Russia or Asia or Latin America. . . ."

3. That area studies will be planned and executed by the most competent persons available in the humanities and social sciences, because, to work effectively, a person should be not only competent in one discipline but highly competent in some region. As usual - many of the first to offer themselves to a stimulating undertaking will be men who are not all of first-rate quality.

So far as the social sciences are concerned, most of the ablest persons from a disciplinary point of view are now in the government service (State Department with one hundred excellent men, OSS with more, OWI, FEA, etc.) receiving invaluable opportunity each by specializing on the study of a particular region. Among these are many of the persons best able to plan

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the work and to carry it through. The situation in the humanities may not be comparable, but here, too, the universities must be weakened in some important disciplines.

What I do not want to see happen is to have the planning done on the campuses by Humanities departments alone, or by cooperation with the less strong members of Social Science departments, thus handicapping a new movement of long dimensions by locking it into weaker hands when stronger ones will be soon available. We should plan with an eye to the best resources in prospect.

This point is extremely important because, with language and literature provided for, the bulk of the work in "area studies" (teaching and research) will have to be done by the Social Science disciplines.

Procedure

You suggested once that in area studies Humanities and Social Sciences approach the problem by a division of labor by institutions. That has the advantage of administrative simplicity both for the institution and for RF; but it has the disadvantage that in individual cases we would be handling linguistic, literary and other Humanities issues, in which we are not competent and you would, in your cases, be passing on Social Sciences issues and personnel with which I take it you would claim no especial familiarity. I, therefore, suggest a different procedure.

I would distinguish seven types of activity in which RF may be asked to give support:



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1. Aids to undergraduate teaching; e.g.,
  - a. "Survey" courses on regions.
  - b. Other undergraduate courses usually given by the discipline involved.

I agree with you that these should be self-financing or financed by the institution itself.

2. Advanced (i.e., graduate) teaching

Graduate teaching will ordinarily be done, I take it, by the disciplines concerned. In the main any financing by RF would be indirect rather than direct. In any event, Humanities would finance Humanities work and Social Sciences would consider proposals of Social Science departments.

3. Research

Research would ordinarily be undertaken by the disciplines concerned. As in teaching, Humanities would finance research in Humanities areas and Social Sciences, in Social Sciences. In general this would mean responsibility by Social Sciences for support of research in economics, government and international relations, sociology, anthropology and social psychology, economic, social and political history, and statistics of foreign countries, with Humanities assuming responsibility for work in language, literature, arts, general history and culture, philosophy, religion, archaeology, etc.

4. Materials

Aid in providing essential materials (chiefly, I take it, of a library kind) would in general be a Humanities responsibility.

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Any action by Social Sciences would be discussed with Humanities before commitments.

5. Personnel, including

- a. Visits to foreign countries by American scholars or scholarly men of affairs for study or teaching.
- b. Similar visits by foreign scholars or scholarly men of affairs for study or teaching in the United States.
- c. The use of outsiders familiar with a specific country for special and usually temporary assistance in teaching or research.

Division of labor between Humanities and Social Sciences would follow the lines suggested under "research" above.

6. The coordinating, integrating organization in universities

I take it that this important mechanism would ordinarily be the university's responsibility. There might be exceptions which we could consider jointly.

7. Conferences

Requests will, perhaps, come for support of conferences for educational consultation; this, I take it, is primarily a Humanities responsibility.

What I am urging is that "area" work be built upon a genuine integration of the competencies in Humanities and Social Sciences disciplines - both in the educational institutions and in RF. It involves a little extra trouble that way; but it makes possible a more mature educational result in time and it means less geographic and cultural provincialism in basic disciplines. The ideal would be to participate as much as possible in joint planning when a proposal is in the stages of development.

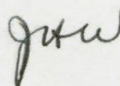
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Two difficulties may develop. Institutions will not put their requests in the specific terms I have mentioned above; but will ask for general grants for miscellaneous purposes. The policy of integration I have above suggested would indicate joint consideration by the two divisions where such general grants are requested. Another difficulty may arise where one division will wish to have the other make a grant to carry further work that seems to stem out of work which the first division has already been supporting. I see no other way than to say that each such case should be approached cooperatively but also that each division shall retain freedom to make its decisions and apply its standards as it sees fit.

The happy personal relations which exist between the two divisions mean to me that these problems of effective integration offer no insuperable difficulties. They are, however, a test of RF's ability to promote standards and effectiveness of a new movement in education.



JHW

P. S.: I attach a copy of Redfield's memorandum, "Area Programs in Education and Research," April 27, 1944. *filed separately*

*not in file as of 11/11/46  
fw*

JHW:EAM

Enclosure

## PRIMARY SOURCE DOCUMENT 5

010624

## MEMORANDUM

TO: William McPeak  
 FROM: W. McNeil Lowry  
 SUBJECT: A Program of Philanthropic Support of the Humanities and Creative Arts

February 9, 1956

General Introduction

The support of the humanities and the arts is obviously of importance to the strength and health of any society. The humanities and the arts exist not merely as an adornment to society but as the repository of some of its most essential wisdom and of a good part of its moral fiber.

In recent years, many circles in the United States have considered it important for other countries to realize the potentialities of American cultural development. Earlier studies of European and Asiatic attitudes toward the United States since World War II had shown full awareness of our military, industrial and commercial resources but a very distorted picture of American culture, and even in some quarters a disbelief that an American culture in fact existed. Most recently, European appearances made by artistic groups from American cultural institutions have been met with as much astonishment as pleasure.

Yet the reasons for philanthropic support of American cultural institutions are more basic and much more important than the desire, however warranted, to exhibit abroad the fact that the United States has a culture. In fact, the temptation since 1941 to defend the humanities and the arts for strictly temporal and strategic reasons has itself created a diversionary movement in U.S. cultural and educational circles. Examples of this diversionary movement are plentiful, and the use of American culture as an exhibit in our international relations is only one of these. Another is illustrated in a good part of the earlier program of the American Council of Learned Societies, which put one kind of value on the art and culture of Japan or Korea, for example, as regions which are newly important to the United States, and a lesser value on the art and culture of America itself, or of more familiar cultures such as the Western European.

If we set aside, without prejudice, purely temporary and strategic considerations, we recognize that the humanities and the arts are at bottom international and indifferent to political boundary lines. If in a few instances, as in the art of literature, there are barriers to the fullest international currency, these are mechanical barriers and subject to removal. In any nation where the importance of the individual is paramount, increased support of the arts for themselves will probably have more lasting effects on intercultural movements among nations than a program which begins with one national political objective, however idealized. The recently established Commission on the Humanities of the ACLS is looking at the importance of humanistic scholarship per se.

The past generations in American education have witnessed an extreme swing of the pendulum away from the humanities and the arts and toward the technologies and the sciences. (Whether this pendulum has reached the farthest point of its oscillation and is beginning to fall back a few degrees, is currently the subject of discussion

W. McNeil Lowry to William McPeak, A Program of Philanthropic Support of the Humanities and Creative Arts, February 9, 1956, Catalogued Reports 10624, Box 429, Ford Foundation records, Rockefeller Archive Center.

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in many groups in our society.) This fact is relatively unimportant in so far as it is used merely to indicate a currently greater need for philanthropic dollars on the part of the humanities and the arts. It is more important to realize that cultural institutions are the repository of much that has to do with strengthening ethical insights and the fabric of the ethical life, both of the individual and of society. The sciences, even those we call social, essentially must move in a rigorous climate that is ethically neutral. Art and culture do not. The "best that has been thought and said in the world" is at least as important to a society that is approaching a material and technological peak as to any other. In few generations could the cultivation of activities in which the individual reigns supreme have been more urgent than in ours.

For a foundation, the area of the humanities and the arts as a program has other advantages than the satisfaction of working in a realm of basic values. First, cultural institutions, by their nature, provide opportunities for the investment of large sums of philanthropic money. Second, there is traditional acceptance of this method of spending private funds, and this acceptance spreads far beyond the institutions themselves and into the general public. Finally, public acceptance itself would today be heightened by awareness of the difficulties the arts experience in obtaining large single grants of private funds.

#### The Nature of the Field

The discrete cluster of activities known as the humanities and the arts contains a wide variety of opportunities for philanthropic investment. They range completely across the board in terms of size, from a small grant to support the creative activity of one artist or scholar all the way to the millions that would be required for one grant to support a national cultural institution in one art field and in one country alone.

Setting aside for the moment the needs of the humanistic disciplines in their academic setting, what common trends or problems can be noted among the other cultural activities?

The most important is the increasing dependency upon a commercial base which has resulted from the rising costs of every cultural production, from publishing a book to maintaining an art museum or producing a play. In the roughly three centuries that artists have received direct payments for their productions, every important cultural activity has in one way or another rested upon a dual support--the commercial and the subsidized. At one extreme, the art museum has generally depended upon admission charges very little and upon private benefactions very heavily. At the other, the theater has relied heavily upon the sale of admissions and much less upon institutional subsidies or the gifts of patrons. But every large cultural field has in one way or another rested upon the dual support.

The rising costs affecting every sort of production have forced cultural institutions to increased dependency on one of these bases, the commercial, and even those relying most heavily on private subsidies have undertaken activities designed to find a wider commercial audience. There are numerous examples. The Museum of Modern Art in New York now shapes its program to raise sharply the number of its \$15.00 "memberships." Subsidized publishers, including university presses, are forced to redefine

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the "normal risk" in publishing a book to a sales yardstick once employed only by strictly commercial houses, while some commercial publishers talk in terms of a prospective sale of 12,000 volumes as a minimum condition to their taking any "risk" at all. Theatrical productions in New York City are now put on at such tremendous costs that the proportion of classical or experimental drama in the entire repertory is even more than normally reduced, while semi-experimental groups "off Broadway" are subsidizing themselves at the expense of their casts, with an assist from Actors Equity. One such theater (in Washington) was killed by its own commercial "success," meaning that the fixed audience limitation of its inadequate house prevented it from paying the staff required to meet the demand for a continuous season.

The requirement of commercial success, in short, is felt ever more keenly by art in a rising cost period, and ventures that in the past would have had an even chance of paying costs, slide untried into limbo. There is left an obvious vacuum; how large it is can only be guessed at. In a few countries (the United Kingdom with its Arts Council is an example) government trusts are filling a part of the vacuum; in the United States the resort to federal funds would normally be considered undesirable even if feasible.

At the same time, the traditional sources of private funds for greater subsidies have suffered attrition. There has been a shift in the pattern of giving by wealthy patrons in the last four decades. Individuals able to devote large sums to philanthropy have met increased appeals from many new fields--social welfare, child care, medical research, institutional education and so on. Only a few individuals, and an even smaller number of foundations, today restrict their gifts to the arts. The artist may continue to thrive in his garret even though his rent is much higher (though this too is a highly debatable point), but the loss to society is not minimized.

To turn to the nature of the humanities field in its academic setting. Here too there are common trends and problems, at least one of which is identical with a problem noted in the field as a whole.

That is the problem of publication in the humanities. Staffwork already undertaken in the Foundation reveals that the increased costs of publishing heavily condition the humanistic researcher's opportunity to make his work current in his field, and even affect his motive for engaging in an extensive piece of research in the first place. There is evidence that aid to publication is the most pressing need of the scholar in the humanities. It is followed, in rough order of priority, by his needs for (a) small on-the-spot grants for travel, books, microfilms and clerical aid, and (b) larger grants for released time to complete more ambitious research undertakings, including travel to a distant point. Though there is as yet no up-to-date national survey on the point, it appears to be true that the old-fashioned sabbatical, except in a very few institutions, no longer fills the scholar's need for released time, certainly does not meet the increased costs of travel and foreign subsistence, and in very many institutions does not exist at all.

As for the support of scholars at the pre-doctoral level, a National Science Foundation study reveals that the humanities and arts receive about the same total support as the social sciences, and much less than other scientific fields; and are much worse off than both the social and other sciences in receiving any support at all from sources outside their home institutions. What this means, in reality, is that the support of pre-doctoral candidates in the humanities and arts is practically confined

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to teaching assistantships, with the consequent stretching out of the apprenticeship period for any young scholar who may lack adequate personal means.

A more basic problem in education in the humanities was noted in the general introduction to this paper: the swing of the pendulum toward the sciences and technologies in our culture. Even in university departments in one of the humanistic disciplines, for example, the basic corpus of arts and letters education is mixed with semi-vocational or technical biases ("English for Engineers," e.g.); the liberal arts curriculum as a whole is proliferated with service functions designed to the requirements of other schools and colleges within the institution.

Divisions and departments of the humanities generally lack so-called "free money" for the development of, or experimentation in, such curricula as literature, language, philosophy, history, archaeology, and subsidies for these purposes are today very hard to obtain in the programs of most American foundations.

#### Opportunities for Foundation Investment

The examples that follow grow naturally out of the previous brief discussion and the broad outlines of the humanities and arts field. The outline in the current docket suggests the stages in which the Foundation might approach consideration of specific programs. The total list is meant to be illustrative, and not exclusive of similar examples that could be expected to proceed from (1) the beginning of staffwork on any concrete proposal and (2) awareness in the public that the Foundation had entered the cultural affairs field. With few exceptions, the institutions indicated could find counterparts in other countries of interest to the Foundation. A few are plainly international or intercultural by their very nature.

- (1) A National Repertory Theater. Outside New York City and two or three cities in which pre-Broadway performances are frequently unveiled, the average American city knows little of the drama. Cities of 400,000 and above may see three to six of the most commercially popular Broadway plays a year. They depend otherwise on occasional little theater productions by college or amateur societies. Cities of smaller size, all of which once boasted an "opera house" for travelling musical and theatrical productions, now do not know the theater outside of "summer stock." And throughout the country, even to a large extent in New York City, the production of classics in the drama is, with rare exception, left to amateur though often talented groups.

In the United Kingdom, there is a somewhat different experience from which to draw. Local repertory theaters in the provinces are more common than in the United States, in the first place. National subsidies, through the Arts Council, range from exemption of amusement taxes for "cultural" plays to support of as many as eight "stars" in a dramatic production with a sustained run in both London and the provinces.

While many attempts have been made to secure federal support for a national theater in the United States, the prospect remains impractical. What appears to be needed is a National Repertory Theater of four to six dramatic companies, established in New York but touring all American cities even to the size of 25,000, wherever an adequate auditorium exists. Investigation would probably indicate that a school of the drama should be

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included as a department of the theater. The Foundation should give first attention to established organizations in analyzing the administrative problems of the grants involved. But since a multi-company national repertory theater has been the objective of members of the profession for at least a generation, consideration should be given to securing the widest possible representation.

- (2) The Theater Outside the United States. In Western Europe the opportunity for strengthening the theater as an important cultural and educational influence lies in the provinces. Even in France there are only rare opportunities for audiences outside Paris to witness productions by the famous dramatic institutions of the capital.

Intercultural theater in the Western European and Trans-Atlantic area now rests partly on a commercial base, partly on government subsidies (the U.S. government recently helped send three dramatic productions to France and one to Yugoslavia). Even in this area, the amount of intercultural theater that will be commercially undertaken is limited; in other areas of the world it is almost nonexistent. Foundation subsidy to theaters of truly national stature in foreign countries offers as great a stimulus to intercultural movements as the creation of special organizations designed to exchange foreign tours, and both possibilities need exploration. It should be recognized that the theater generally lacks the international currency as an art form enjoyed by music, the dance, painting, sculpture and architecture.

- (3) In the entire development of the theater, one art--that of the director--has proved to most internationally translatable. An International School of Directing is a project worth study, and it would receive spontaneous interest in the United States, the United Kingdom, France, Italy and Germany, at least.

- (4) International Center of the Arts. Since expansion of its program in 1950, The Ford Foundation has received various proposals for the establishment of an arts center in Chicago, Washington or New York, with estimated budgets ranging from \$3 to \$9 million. Most recently tentative discussions in New York concerned an international arts center to be located on land close to the UN building and owned by New York University, with departments, however, designed to handle fellowships and exchanges of persons in non-artistic fields.

The presence of talent in all artistic fields makes New York the logical place for a U.S. national arts center, and, given its wealth and its new political position in the world, for an international center of the arts. In view of many considerations, however, some of which have been touched on in this discussion paper, Foundation exploration of this possibility should be oriented about the arts rather than about politics, and about artistic and cultural activities, rather than the building housing them. It would be a disservice, both culturally and politically, to erect an imposing group of buildings merely as an art monument.



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If these assumptions are accurate, then staffwork would begin without reference to previous applicants or ad hoc groups with a vested interest in particular blueprints. It would begin with established institutions and groups, and the degree to which an International Center of the Arts could materially help their present existing programs. It would, of course, involve cultural institutions in other countries, approached direct and not through governments. The technical requirements of particular artistic media (music, drama, the film, the dance, television and the plastic arts) would have to be analyzed at an early stage.

An International Center of the Arts would not be confined to a locus for artistic productions but would also be a center for the development and exchange of artistic skills and for intercultural institutes bringing together creative artists in all media. As an intermediary for the administration of Foundation fellowship programs supporting creative artists, however, it appears that it should be confined to international exchanges or the support of foreign artists in the United States, and not be used to select American creative artists or scholars in the humanities working outside its walls. As pointed out elsewhere in this paper, the Foundation would better avoid pitfalls in the selection of such fellows through the use of other instrumentalities.

- (5) Art Museums. The sixty-odd museums of art in the United States were largely established and supported by the legacies or direct gifts of wealthy individual patrons. A few have modest amounts of civic support, public or private. Their boards of directors are made up largely of businessmen willing to be patrons of art, and usually there can be found on the board one or two men who have labored to keep the institution open at great personal and financial cost. Today many of these institutions are seeking new ways to involve the public in their support through modest "membership" fees or tuition payments for art and craft courses offered for both children and adults.

If these efforts are successful, the most important of the museums, at least in cities of 300,000 or above, may hope to find a source for a half to two-thirds of annual maintenance costs. But it is reported that in the typical case, the effort for wider involvement of the public cannot really be made without a rebudgeting requiring \$1 million or more of endowment or operating reserves from private sources.

To a private foundation with adequate resources, the opportunity to provide these recapitalizing funds is worth careful consideration, particularly since the effects sought would be instrumental in raising the level of general education in the public. The problem of selecting among the 60 institutions apparently would not be insurmountable; the state of an individual budget would almost select or reject the institution automatically. As consultants for such a program there are available experienced businessmen with years of experience in art museum budgets and income sources.

## PRIMARY SOURCE DOCUMENT 5 CONTINUED

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Another program would involve those museums in the soundest financial position. This would call for single grants required (1) to add fee-compensated courses in painting, drawing, sculpture, and crafts design and (2) to afford the loan to other communities of any unique collections for which there has been a steady demand. The second objective would include international loans and exhibits wherever important collections of American art were the subjects.

- (6) American Federation of Arts: "Travelling Gallery." This organization offers several opportunities for Foundation investment in the cultural affairs field. It would be a natural intermediary for the programs, elsewhere discussed in this paper, involving the cultural exchange of American art. (It has previously been used by The Ford Foundation and the U. S. State Department for this purpose.) Extension of this activity has been discussed in the AFA, and it would be able to use grants for this purpose at any time.

Another activity the AFA could undertake would be an important addition to any Foundation program in arts education. Its potentialities were demonstrated two years ago by a Wisconsin businessman who, with a "travelling gallery" of painting and drawings, created sales of from \$50 to \$500 for American artists, among small town businessmen and farmers who had never before in their lives had an opportunity to buy originals. Foundation subsidy of such a "travelling gallery," using the tax-exempt intermediary represented by the AFA, would have the cultural education of Americans as its object. The gain to individual artists would be incidental.

- (7) International School of Architects. Architecture perhaps surpasses even music and the dance as an art form with the most immediate intercultural impact. Photographs of new architectural creations around the world now rival many more traditional collections in art museums. While there appear to be a number of important fellowships for architects studying outside their own countries, the possibility of an international school or institute of architects is worth serious discussion with the universities and other leading institutions in the field. The architects engaged in such selections as those for the Grand Prix de Rome undoubtedly would prove capable of judging the merits of this project and, if it appeared feasible, of bringing together the established institutions required to take responsibility for its location and operation.

- (8) Schools of Fine Arts and Design. These institutions exist both on a commercial basis and as parts of universities. Their students would be involved in many of the potential programs suggested in this paper. In addition, consideration might be given to what may be a special need on the part of such students for more basic humanistic education.

W. McNeil Lowry to William McPeak, A Program of Philanthropic Support of the Humanities and Creative Arts, February 9, 1956, Catalogued Reports 10624, Box 429, Ford Foundation records, Rockefeller Archive Center.

## PRIMARY SOURCE DOCUMENT 5 CONTINUED

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- (9) Opera, the Symphony, Ballet and the Dance. These arts, and the organizations in which they are represented, would of course be involved in many of the proposals discussed herein. There are at least two other possible programs in which they would be more specifically affected--general support, and intercultural exchange.

Under its program to date, The Ford Foundation has received proposals for large grants to support a symphony orchestra or to send one on a European tour, for example. A basic analysis of each proposal would reveal little difference between them; general support was what was actually called for in either instance. Since the "operation" of an institution putting on cultural performances is to perform, almost any financial support is general in character. To a commercial investor, the question becomes one of the proportion between his investment and expected seat sales.

For a private philanthropic institution, this question is much less relevant. If the fact is known that The Ford Foundation is entering into a program supporting the arts, the problem of handling the resulting applications will not be to distinguish between general and project support. It will not be to distinguish between the Philharmonic, the Symphony of the Air, the City Center Ballet, Ballet Theater, Sadler's Wells, Covent Garden, the Paris Opera and so on, as objects of support. The problem will be to give support to the Philharmonic, for example, while denying it to several hundred orchestras in America alone outside the leading symphonies. Even the potentially available resources in the Foundation for the arts would constitute limits on such a program, if other means of limitation did not exist.

The first practical means of limitation is management of the program on an ad hoc basis, in response to unsolicited applications, and seeking opportunities for single grants otherwise unavailable because of their large size. A second means is to adopt internally an arbitrary rule of thumb which would justify such grants only because of the regional, national or international dominance of the cultural organization applying. These informal criteria would probably be more selective than the matching funds formula, which in effect presupposes an invitational program and one of scatteration.

As for the intercultural exchange of the performances of these organizations, this could be expected to proceed naturally from the considerations outlined above. At the same time, projected foreign tours would not become a single criterion for eligibility.

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The acceptability of such a program among disappointed applicants would be improved by the fact that other segments of the Foundation's activities would involve individual performers in the organization, if not the organization as a whole.

- (10) Stimulation of New Musical Compositions. It has been argued that most American composers will habitually work in oblivion so long as the total number of hours played by the leading U.S. orchestras continue to contain only a tiny fraction devoted to new works. A recent proposal to the Foundation pointed out that one of the stumbling blocks was largely mechanical--the inability of conductors to hear new compositions performed. The proposal called for a subsidy to recordings of new American works to meet this need.

The stimulation of new works by American composers will also be found in part in other activities discussed in this paper, notably the program of fellowships to creative artists.

- (11) Support of Individual Creative Artists. The program of the Guggenheim Foundation (about \$400,000 a year) and of the Rockefeller Foundation includes some small grants (\$2,500 to \$4,000) to creative artists. In addition, there are a few fellowships and prizes separately administered by institutions and groups interested in music, art, architecture, the drama and the dance. There are still occasional benefactions from wealthy patrons going directly to the support of particular artists in their work.

A study is needed of the extent of these programs and the number of artists and writers aided by them each year, and a consultant would have to be assigned to it at an early date. However, any assumptions underlying The Ford Foundation's entry into the field of the arts would stipulate the need for increased philanthropic support of individual artists through fellowships of varying size and duration. Staffwork would really go to the best method or methods by which to administer such a program and to assign the responsibility for selection of fellows.

An obvious possibility is an increase in the highly reputable program of the Guggenheim Foundation, with Ford Foundation funds earmarked for the creative arts. There is already, however, a prospect of increase in the amounts available to the Guggenheim Foundation, and when it materializes it will provide all the funds the present director wishes to administer.

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The mechanism used by the Guggenheim Foundation is one that could be added internally in The Ford Foundation (one principal staff person, two professional assistants, two clerks and the use of a geographically spread national advisory committee compensated on a per diem and travel basis). While the likelihood of finding a principal staff person equal to the present director of Guggenheim is not of the strongest, this fact should not discourage consideration of an internal administration of the program. Mr. Henry Allen Moe's experience, after all, can be learned from.

There are cultural institutions and groups in each of the arts which could be used as intermediaries in the selection of fellows. In the operation of any program, they should be used as advisers, but their number would still leave administrative tasks within The Ford Foundation. The prestige of some of these institutions is great enough that consideration should be given to this method of administration.

On balance, perhaps, the administrative location of this program would be determined by its timing. If adopted by the Foundation in the near future, it might most appropriately be handled internally while its virtues and problems were tested.

- (12) University Grants in the Humanities. There are at least one hundred universities with undergraduate and graduate programs in the humanities. Even the most distinguished of these has difficulty at the present in obtaining philanthropic support earmarked for strengthening the basic core of teaching and research in the liberal arts. Some of the trends and problems involved were touched on in the general introduction to this paper, and even a listing of these shows where some Foundation money would be used in any program of free grants (released time, aid to publication, on-the-spot needs of individual researchers and so on). Princeton University and the University of Chicago have also recently indicated the need for larger sums in strengthening the humanities departments through interdisciplinary controls and the aid of distinguished visiting scholars, American and foreign.

Occasional staff visits to universities have also shown a variety of opportunities for Foundation use of university liberal arts and fine arts colleges as intermediaries in a program to tie professors and students alike more closely to the activities and institutions of creative artists outside the academic structure (Allerton Estates Festivals at Illinois, the resident composer at Michigan, etc.).

Since the humanistic disciplines are an important part of basic education in the universities, a Foundation program should generally seek to avoid imposing particular educational reforms or cultural nostrums. The most competent judges of how to

## PRIMARY SOURCE DOCUMENT 5 CONTINUED

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spend special funds earmarked for the humanities and the arts at particular universities are the deans of the arts and graduate colleges, and any other restrictions on the grant would probably prove to be unwise, once the objective of the Foundation's program was understood.

Whether the use of fellowship money in the humanities should be handled in the same way should be carefully considered. On balance it would appear so, but the Foundation, if it ultimately establishes a particular intermediary to service fellowship programs in all areas, might decide to remove this objective from a program of university grants in the humanities.

In view of the necessity to strengthen the resources of liberal education in all small colleges in the next decade, a program to improve the academic resources of the individual teacher of the humanities should be canvassed. This would involve the regional cooperation of one to three graduate institutions and the small colleges in the area, with the host institution selecting teachers of the humanities from the small colleges for an additional year of training at the graduate institution.

Consideration of free grants in the humanities to small liberal arts colleges should be given only after carefully examining the possibilities of using the American Council of Learned Societies, when the current reappraisal of that intermediary has been completed.

- (13) Archaeological Reappraisal of Western and Mediterranean Civilizations. Perhaps no other advances in knowledge in the humanities have so stirred the imagination as the reports of important new archaeological discoveries in the Western world, particularly since the ending of hostilities in World War II. A serious problem for the humanities and education generally, however, is the fact that the implications of these new discoveries are not being made available to political and cultural historians in any comprehensive and authoritative way, or with sufficient rapidity. It is apparently a fact that not only school boys but also university students will for at least another twenty years be taught facts and generalizations about the development of Western and Mediterranean civilizations which already have been proved false (just one discovery, the cryptanalytic breakthrough which enabled scholars to read certain pre-Greek Cretan documents, has made a 500-year correction in our account of Greek history and culture, for example).

An authoritative reevaluation of the course of our civilization would require the cooperative efforts of as many as a dozen archaeological and historical authorities, American and foreign, under the direction, perhaps, of a noted person in

## PRIMARY SOURCE DOCUMENT 5 CONTINUED

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the field almost ready for retirement from his university department. The objective of the synthesis would be its ready and comprehensive use by the political and cultural historians who produce school and college texts. This project would be costly to the Foundation, considering the number of experts involved and the inescapable requirement of travel and conference budgets. Administratively, however, the grant would be easily handled, since it would go through established educational institutions.

This discussion in terms of Western civilization alone is not intended to preclude the possibility of similar reevaluations of Asiatic and Pacific cultural histories, if competent scholars in these fields are available and able to demonstrate the feasibility and urgency of the project.

- (14) Increased Subsidy to Field Exploration in Archaeology, Cultural Anthropology and Cultural Linguistics. Scholars consulted at the University of Chicago and the University of Michigan contend that philanthropic support of field exploration in archaeological and other cultural areas, despite the large ventures still being completed, is in fact largely drying up. There has been no Foundation staffwork seeking to appraise the amount of governmental and official subsidies available in those areas of the world rich in archaeological and cultural deposits. Depending upon the findings that can be made by an outside consultant in this field, the Foundation should undertake discussions with the leading universities involved and with the Rockefeller interests. The Foundation is already considering support to the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

In the American field, work on the linguistic atlas centered at the University of Michigan has stopped at about midpoint for lack of funds, and it is estimated that large funds and another ten years would be required to complete the project as originally outlined.

- (15) Support of Publication. In this activity, there are two groups to consider--the creative writer outside the academy, and the college or university scholar in the humanities and arts. Support of the creative writer is discussed in another section of this paper. Subsidy to strictly commercial publication of novels, poems and other belles lettres presents problems the Foundation probably would prefer to avoid, at least in the absence of the restudy of the economic base of book publishing referred to on page 23 of this paper.

Aid to publication is generally recognized as the most crucial need of scholars in the humanities and arts. The grant of free funds to universities for strengthening their humanities programs may in many institutions be used partly to support the publication of research in both books and professional journals.

W. McNeil Lowry to William McPeak, A Program of Philanthropic Support of the Humanities and Creative Arts, February 9, 1956, Catalogued Reports 10624, Box 429, Ford Foundation records, Rockefeller Archive Center.

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Another opportunity for the support of publication in the humanities lies in the university presses, and in three research libraries, (in Washington, Boston and Palo Alto) which attract scholars in Anglo-American culture for periods as long as a year or more. As many as 20 university presses could be considered as intermediaries for a Foundation program designed to aid humanistic scholars in finding publication. The ACLS is another possible intermediary for this purpose.

- (16) Reassessment of the Economic Base of Book Publishing. The greatly increased costs of book publishing have, within the trade, stimulated only scattered and incomplete attempts to take a new look at the traditional economic mechanism on which publishing has relied. Among individual publishers there is awareness that the whole system of distribution, for example, is antiquated and unnecessarily vague. Now the traditional idea of what constitutes a "book" is itself open to reevaluation, and the advent of photocomposition and photoreproduction makes the reevaluation timely.

This is a question in which educational and cultural groups outside the publishing trade have a legitimate interest, since it is the higher cost of publishing which operates to deny educational and cultural minorities the opportunity to read many books which the publishers believe will not sell, say 12,000 copies. The Modern Languages Association a few years ago made a small study of the question, but limited it to the possibilities of using off-set, varitype and so on for books having limited popular appeal. A much more comprehensive study is timely, directed not only by book publishers but by technicians in new photoelectronic processes and by persons understanding the importance of publishing to the highest development of education and culture.

Foundation subsidy for such a study would help to broaden the base of the board or committee to which the results would be reported. The project would not be undertaken, however, without the strong interest and cooperation of a number of leading figures in the book trade.

#### Size of the Program

The activities suggested above are not meant to be taken as anything but illustrations of the nature of the field the Foundation will find in undertaking the humanities and the arts as a program. Except in the area of supporting the humanities at universities and colleges, each suggested activity would depend on further staffwork to define need and, in some cases, merit.

It will be clear, in addition, that any estimate of the size of the program illustrated is necessarily highly tentative.

Selecting among the activities discussed, however, one can conclude at least that an arts program in the Foundation would be a large one if the Trustees were to conclude that this was an important area in which to invest. Here are examples, purely on a "best guess" basis:



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<u>Possible Activity</u>	<u>Possible Grant</u>
National Repertory Theater	\$10 million
Foreign and Intercultural Theater	1 million annual rate
International School of Directors	.6 million
International Center of the Arts (NYC)	9 million
Art Museums:	
General support grants to 15 of 68	20 million
Support of crafts and design classes; inter-regional and intercultural loans	1 million annual rate
American Federation of Arts: "Travelling Gallery"	.5 million
International School of Architects	2 million
Opera, Symphony, Ballet and Dance; General Support, Including Intercultural Exchange, Domestic and Foreign	20 million
Support of Individual Creative Artists (175 to 200)	1 million annual rate
University Grants in the Humanities, and American Council of Learned Societies	7.5 million
Fellowship Program in Humanities and the Arts	1 million annual rate
International Project in Synthesis of New Archaeological and Other Discoveries	.8 million
Field Exploration in Archaeology, Cultural Anthropology and Cultural linguistics	5 million
Support of Publication:	
(University Grants in the Humanities)	0
American Council of Learned Societies	1 million
University Presses	1.5 million
Resident Research Libraries	.3 million
Study of Book Publishing	.6 million
TOTAL (excluding recurring annual rates)	\$83 million

W. McNeil Lowry to William McPeak, A Program of Philanthropic Support of the Humanities and Creative Arts, February 9, 1956, Catalogued Reports 10624, Box 429, Ford Foundation records, Rockefeller Archive Center.

# PRIMARY SOURCE DOCUMENT 6

## CORNELL RESEARCH IN CIVIL LIBERTIES.

### I. PURPOSE AND VALUE.

The purpose of this proposal is to provide facilities for focussing the attention of competent scholars upon the problems of civil liberty, and to provide them where possible with the aid necessary to permit them to record, analyse, and appraise the management of civil liberties during the war and the post-war period. This was not done effectively during the last war and, without some direction and stimulus, is not likely to be done during the present war. The study of civil liberty problems has until now been left almost exclusively in the hands of the "crusading" organizations, whose work, while valuable and often effective, cannot claim to be objective.

Competent and impartial scholars can render at least three very valuable services by carrying on studies in the field of civil liberty. First, they can actually influence government policy and its administration by placing at the disposal of responsible public officials reliable information, objective analysis, and soundly supported recommendations. There is ample evidence that this sort of aid is sought and utilized. It commands respect and acceptance by reason of its objectivity.

Second, work done on a scholarly level in the field of civil liberty serves to inform entire brackets of educated citizens who would not otherwise be familiar with civil liberty problems, and whose interests and viewpoints keep them from reading the liberal weeklies or the bulletins of the American Civil Liberties Union. This educational process helps to convince these substantial and respectable citizens that civil liberties are not the exclusive concern of radical minorities.

Third, the studies here proposed would provide the indispensable groundwork upon which any adequate and scholarly history of Civil liberties in World War II would have to depend. Such a history ought to be written, but the task would be beyond the competence of any one scholar unless adequate studies of special problems and situations were already available.

Cornell Research in Civil Liberties Proposal, Robert Cushman, n.d.

Folder 3896, Box 327, R.G. 1.1, Series 200, Rockefeller Foundation records, Rockefeller Archive Center.

## PRIMARY SOURCE DOCUMENT 6 CONTINUED

(2)

II. PROGRESS TO DATE OF WORK IN CIVIL LIBERTIES.

Since the proposed CORNELL RESEARCH IN CIVIL LIBERTIES would carry forward with increased effectiveness activities in the field of civil liberties which have already been started, the results accomplished so far may be summarized. These activities have gone on under the auspices of the Special Committee on Civil Liberties created in 1942 by the Social Science Research Council under the chairmanship of Robert E. Cushman, of Cornell University.

A. AN OUTLINE OF RESEARCH IN CIVIL LIBERTIES.

This Outline has been planned and partially drafted. It will have the widest possible coverage, including every phase of the civil liberty problem. It will be broken down into divisions and sub-divisions. Topics and problems will be listed on which research, on various levels, might effectively be done.

The Outline will list the major organizations and agencies which either deal with or control civil liberties, or which are collecting files, publishing materials, or otherwise accumulating records valuable to the scholar.

Studies now going on in this field, or presently planned, will be listed as fully as possible.

Outlets for publication of studies of various types will be indicated when possible.

B. RESEARCH PROJECTS LAUNCHED OR PLANNED.1. The Administration of the Problem of Conscientious Objectors During the Present War.

This study has already been organized and is well under way under the direction of Dr. Mulford Q. Sibley of the University of Illinois. A limited sum of money has been made available by the Committee on Government of the S.S.R.C. to aid in carrying on this project.

2. Alien Enemy Administration in World War II.

Substantial progress has been made in laying the groundwork for a major study in this important field. The project would be carried out either by or in cooperation with the Special Assistant to the Attorney General who is now in charge of the most important phase of the work. There is an opportunity here to bring about the recording and appraisal of one of the most important and successful administrative enterprises in the civil liberty field.

Cornell Research in Civil Liberties Proposal, Robert Cushman, n.d.

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## PRIMARY SOURCE DOCUMENT 6 CONTINUED

(3)

3. RESEARCH IN THE THEORY OF CIVIL LIBERTY.

Scholars agree that there is need for the reexamination of the underlying theories upon which our civil liberties rest. These studies would be both historical and philosophical. In this area the Special Committee on Civil Liberty has been cooperating actively with the Panel on Political Theory of the Committee on Research of the American Political Science Association. Promising beginnings have been made here. A doctoral dissertation in this field of theory is already well along and is being done by a graduate student at Cornell University under the direction of Professors George H. Sabine and Robert E. Cushman.

C. INDIRECT AND INTANGIBLE RESULTS OF THE WORK THUS FAR DONE.

The work so far accomplished has been attended by results of a somewhat indirect and intangible sort, but which are believed to be highly valuable as laying the foundation for concrete results in the future.

One by-product has been the establishment of a network of contacts and mutual acquaintance amongst scholars working in the field of civil liberties. In some cases these men have been brought together in conferences; in other cases they have been made aware of their mutual interests by correspondence. The resulting interchange of ideas and mutual aid by scholars working in the same or related fields lays the groundwork for cooperative scholarship in the best sense.

Out of this network has emerged a situation in which the chairman of the Special Committee on Civil Liberties finds himself acting as a sort of clearing house through which knowledge of what is going on or planned by scholars in the field is made generally available. Within the last month at least four studies in the civil liberties field have come to his attention. Some of these overlapped so that the men involved were brought into contact with each other for readjustment of their fields of effort. In one or two cases the projects were of such a nature that financial aid seemed desirable, and advice at least could be profitably given.

A minor by-product has been the ability of the chairman of the Special Committee to aid in placing manuscripts of articles for publication in professional journals. At least five valuable studies have been published in law journals or political science journals as a result of these contacts.

Cornell Research in Civil Liberties Proposal, Robert Cushman, n.d.

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## PRIMARY SOURCE DOCUMENT 6 CONTINUED

(4)

III. PROGRAM FOR FUTURE WORK.A. COMPLETION OF THE OUTLINE OF RESEARCH.

This will be done during the present year.

B. ENCOURAGEMENT AND SPONSORSHIP OF FURTHER RESEARCH IN THE CIVIL LIBERTY FIELD.

As has been pointed out there is already in existence in a modest way a nuclear network of contacts and acquaintanceships among scholars interested in civil liberty problems. The results here are cumulative,

On this foundation much effective work can be planned and executed. New studies can be set up in areas not yet adequately explored. A number of such studies are already under active consideration and with some stimulation and planning can be gotten under way. This can be much more effectively done if these studies are not regarded as wholly isolated but can be made to appear to the scholars interested in them as plugging the gaps in a broadly conceived program covering all of the more important phases of the civil liberty field. Needless to say many such studies can be set going if there is available some financial support to underwrite modest needs in the way of clerical assistance and travel.

No definitive list of such proposed studies can be set forth but the following tentative list may serve the purpose of indicating some of the areas in which work needs to be done.

1. The management of wartime restrictions on freedom of speech and press - patterned after Chafee's study of the same problem in World War I.
2. Postal censorship and freedom of the press.  
This is one of the sorest spots in the entire civil liberty picture. Progress toward a sound solution of the problem depends upon study and reappraisal of the whole situation.
3. Censorship - military and political
4. Civil liberty and military authority in time of war.  
Many of the old landmarks in this area are gone. This is an intensely challenging problem.
5. Religious liberty.  
An increasingly complex and acute group of problems.
6. Freedom of opinion inside the government.  
Problems here are highlighted by the activities of the Dies Committee and the Kerr Committee. Loyalty tests for officials.

Cornell Research in Civil Liberties Proposal, Robert Cushman, n.d.

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## PRIMARY SOURCE DOCUMENT 6 CONTINUED

(5)

7. The denaturalization of naturalized citizens.
8. The tremendously important program of the Civil Liberties Section of the Department of Justice in providing positive and aggressive government aid to citizens whose civil liberties are invaded. This interesting situation and program has attracted virtually no attention and has not been studied by any competent scholar.
9. Problems of race discrimination during the war. These are numerous, varied, and acutely important.
10. International aspects of the civil liberty problem. Civil liberties in occupied areas. The program of the American Law Institute for an International Bill of Rights, etc.

Many other topics could be added to this list. It is clear that studies in this field should be encouraged not only for the value which would attach to the individual studies themselves, but also because they would cumulatively aid in providing the foundation necessary for any adequate HISTORY OF CIVIL LIBERTY IN WORLD WAR II.

## PRIMARY SOURCE DOCUMENT 6 CONTINUED

(6)

IV. PROPOSED BUDGET

Research and clerical assistance	\$2,300
Office supplies, postage, books, bulletins, pamphlets, etc.	200
Travel	800
Research assistance to scholars	2,700
	<hr/>
	\$6,000

This budget is proposed as a yearly budget for a period of three years.

The following comments may be made on the items listed above:

The item for office supplies and material is designed to permit the purchase of such fugitive materials, serials, and miscellaneous publications as are necessary to aid in enlarging the range of contacts and bring in information as to current activities.

The item for travel is important. Experience shows that much of the information needed in planning and executing projects in this field can be secured only by personal conference. It is impossible to get any adequate and useful information from any of the Government Bureaus or Offices by correspondence. It is necessary to go to Washington and talk to these men. Money to make this possible enormously facilitates the progress of the work.

The amount of money which can be spent in underwriting special research projects is difficult to estimate in advance. It is possible that the sum suggested is greater than could be spent within any one year. At the same time, if money in moderate amount is available, it may make the difference between being able to organize a particular project and not being able to do so.

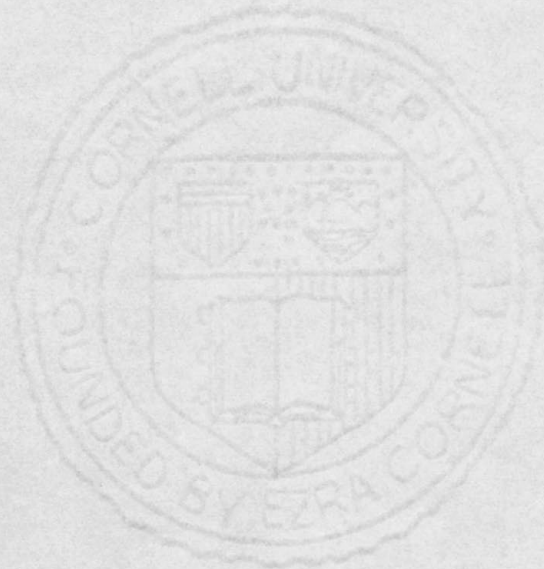
It would be desirable to have funds unspent at the end of any year carried over into the following year with the understanding that all unexpended balances would

# PRIMARY SOURCE DOCUMENT 6 CONTINUED

(7)

revert to the Foundation at the end of the three-year period.

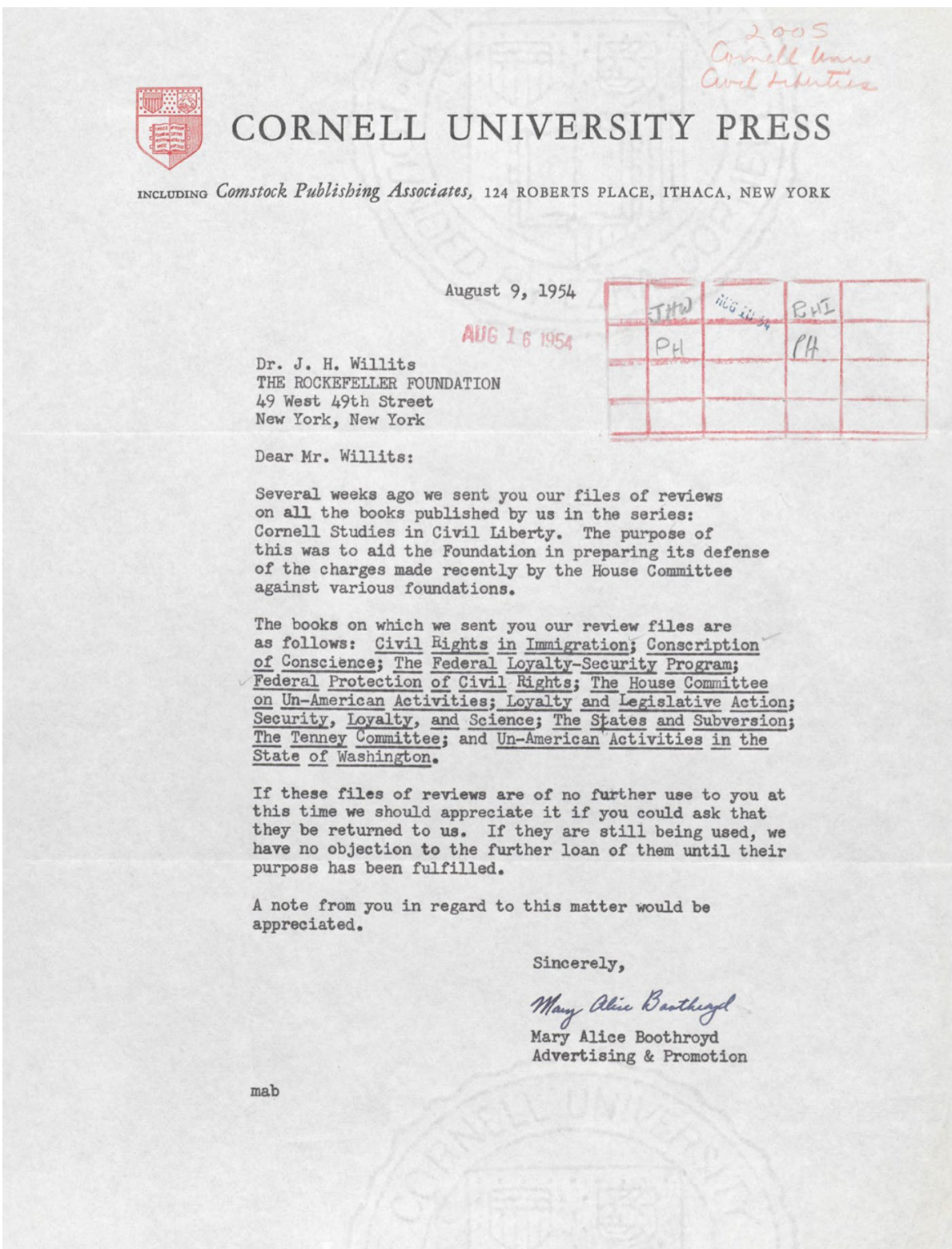
The items in the above budget estimates should be regarded as flexible to a reasonable degree so that if necessary, funds could be transferred from one item to another.



Cornell Research in Civil Liberties Proposal, Robert Cushman, n.d.  
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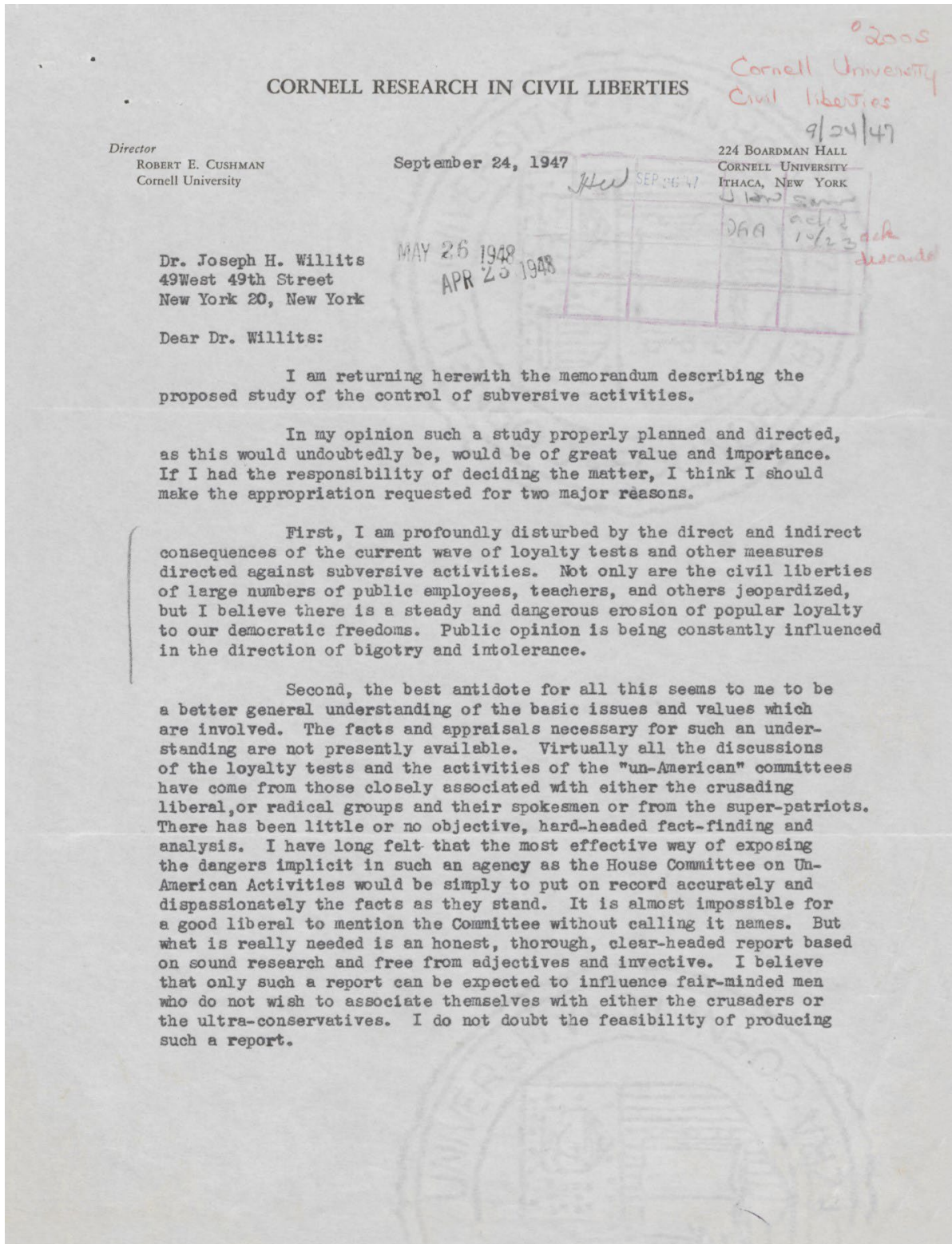


## PRIMARY SOURCE DOCUMENT 7



Cornell University Press Letter to Joseph Willits, Mary Alice Boothroyd, August 9, 1954  
Folder 3903, Box 328, RG 1.1, Series 200, Rockefeller Foundation records, Rockefeller Archive Center.

# PRIMARY SOURCE DOCUMENT 8



Cushman Letter to Joseph Willits on support for RF-funded study, September 24, 1947  
Folder 3897, Box 327, RG 1.1, Series 200, Rockefeller Foundation records, Rockefeller Archive Center.

## PRIMARY SOURCE DOCUMENT 8 CONTINUED

2.

Should the decision be reached to underwrite the proposed study, I hope that one point will be most carefully considered in organizing the group responsible for it. In my opinion, the committee or board should, if possible, have one man on it who has in the past had official responsibility for dealing with the problem of disloyal or subversive employees, persons or movements. In my opinion, there is a strong tendency on the part of those who excoriate the "witch-hunters" to assume either openly or tacitly that the whole program directed against subversive activity is entirely unnecessary, that there is no present danger to the public security and that loyalty tests and similar activities are the result of nothing but hysteria. I think this is far from true. Liberal-minded men in the Department of Justice and other parts of the government who have had to deal with these matters, and who have examined thousands of case records do not share this view. They have had access to facts which are not made public and they do not question the reality of the dangers created by subversive movements which they know exist. A man like Edwin Dickinson (California) who served as executive secretary of the Attorney General's Committee on Investigations in 1942-43 is the sort of man I have in mind, and there must be others. Any study and report dealing with this whole problem which hopes to carry real weight should, in my judgment, come from a group in which this body of experience and point of view are adequately represented.

*Follow*

This is the substance of what occurs to me at the moment, and after pretty careful consideration, I shall naturally be keenly interested in whatever may be the result of the Hutchins proposal.

With best regards,

Very sincerely yours,

*Robert E. Cushman*

Robert E. Cushman

REC/pp

Cushman Letter to Joseph Willits on support for RF-funded study, September 24, 1947  
Folder 3897, Box 327, RG 1.1, Series 200, Rockefeller Foundation records, Rockefeller Archive Center.



## PRIMARY SOURCE DOCUMENT 9 CONTINUED

-2-

As with all routine requests for speakers, this invitation was referred by me to the head of the Information Division in the Regional Office, at that time Mr. Leston P. Faneuf. In due season Mr. Faneuf returned the invitation to me with a request that I accept it if I could fit the engagement into my existing schedule. Accordingly, on January 2, 1943, I responded to Mr. Barron as follows:

January 2, 1943

Mr. Samuel Barron  
Administrative Secretary  
Workers School  
35 East 12th Street  
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Barron:

Forgive my delay in responding to your letter of December 26 inviting me to address a meeting at the Workers School on January 16, subsequently changed to January 23.

I am glad to accept the invitation and shall await your further advice as to the exact time and place of the meeting.

Sincerely yours,

Walter Gellhorn  
Regional Attorney

The final item in this exchange of correspondence is dated January 16, 1943, and reads as follows:

WORKERS SCHOOL  
35 East 12th St., N.Y.C.                      Algonquin 4-1199  
William Weinstone, Director

January 16, 1943

Professor Walter Gellhorn  
Office of Price Administration  
350 5th Avenue    43rd Floor  
New York, New York

Dear Professor Gellhorn:

I have just discovered that through some accident, your letter of January 2nd, in which you accepted the invitation to address a meeting sponsored by the Workers School on January 23rd, was not answered.

I called your office on Friday, Jan. 15th, but you were unfortunately not in. I want to take this opportunity to thank you for your acceptance.

The meeting will take place at Webster Hall, 119 East 11th Street, at 2:30 on January 23rd.

I am sure that you will bring some clarity to offset the confusion with regard

Gellhorn Letter to David Ginsburg, Walter Gellhorn, February 5, 1945

Folder 3900, Box 328, RG 1.1, Series 200, Rockefeller Foundation records, Rockefeller Archive Center.

## PRIMARY SOURCE DOCUMENT 9 CONTINUED

-3-

to the problems of the consumer, which are becoming more pressing than ever.

Sincerely yours,

Samuel Barron  
ADMINISTRATIVE SECRETARY

SB:GW

You will observe that both the occasion and the arrangements differed in no aspect from the commonplace scheduling of public meetings to discuss OPA matters. Among organizations which I have addressed on precisely the same basis as the Workers School are the Brooklyn Chamber of Commerce, the New York State Conference of Mayors, the Rotary Club of Bronx County, the Workmen's Circle (said to be a Socialist affiliate), the New York State Bankers Association, the Allegheny County (Pennsylvania) Bar Association, the War Conference of the American Bar Association, the New York Chapter of the National Lawyers Guild, the Practicing Law Institute, the Consumers Councils of Baltimore, the Council of Trade Association Executives, and many others. I have also spoken on a number of radio programs in the same way and for the same purpose, that is, the education of the public concerning price, rationing, and rent regulations.

As for the Workers School meeting itself, my audience was unfortunately a very small one, probably no more than fifty. I have a transcript of the entire discussion, which was recorded by a stenotypist. The Chairlady introduced me as follows:

"Well, we are very luck this afternoon to have Professor Gellhorn from the OPA speak to us on the problem of consumers and the war. Professor Gellhorn is the Regional Attorney for this District, District 2, and he has taken a lead in prosecuting all rent violators, and I believe he's also been very active in the Black Market prosecutions. I am sure that what he has to tell us will be of tremendous interest."

I then proceeded to speak for some forty minutes on the problems of OPA regulations and their enforcement. The transcript is of course available if anyone should perchance be interested in it.

I forward you this information for such use as may seem to you to be proper.

R:2:WG:es

# PRIMARY SOURCE DOCUMENT 10

INTER-OFFICE CORRESPONDENCE

*see L. Cornell Union Civil Liberties*

FROM: RBF <sup>0</sup> OCT 14 1942 DATE: September 15, 1942

TO: 

JHW	SEP 16 1942	JHW
RFE	9-17	RFE
AO		AO
ME	OCT-5 '42	ME
JHW	OCT-5 '42	JHW

COMMENTS:

SUBJECT:

I confess I can not get excited over a research center in civil liberties. Isn't the American Civil Liberties Union doing an adequate job? I have a feeling that this proposed research would become very academic, and without knowing more about it, I should say this was an excellent plan on which not to spend \$20,000 a year.

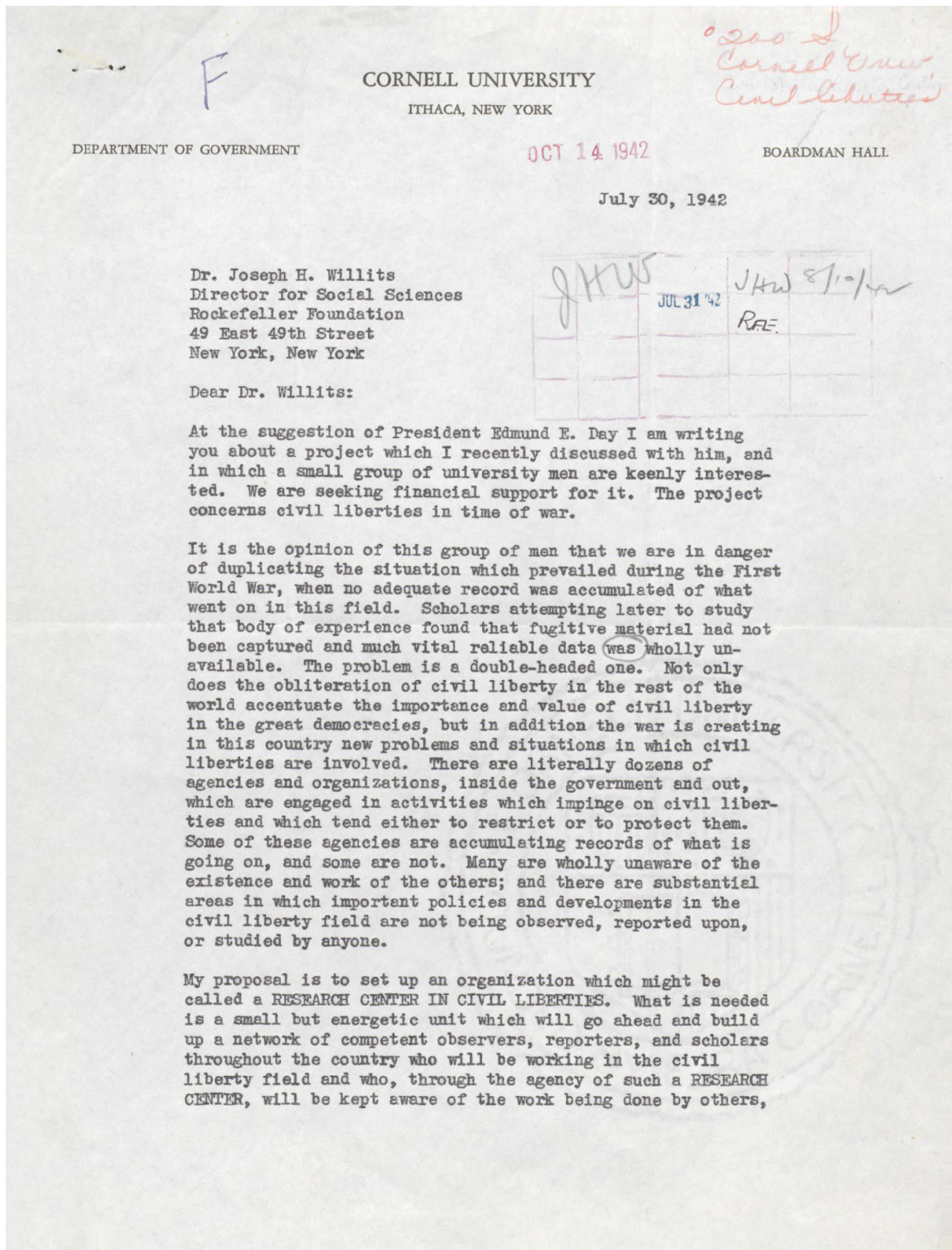
*RMA*

RBF DEF

FORM 100

Letter from Raymond Fosdick to Joseph Willits, September 15, 1942  
Folder 3896, Box 327, RG 1.1, Series 200, Rockefeller Foundation records, Rockefeller Archive Center.

## PRIMARY SOURCE DOCUMENT 11



Letter from Robert Cushman to Joseph Willits, July 30, 1942

Folder 3896, Box 327, RG 1.1, Series 200, Rockefeller Foundation records, Rockefeller Archive Center.



## PRIMARY SOURCE DOCUMENT 11 CONTINUED

Dr. Joseph H. Willits - 2

and of new problems in the field as they emerge. The usefulness of the many existing agencies would be increased if such a central clearing house made their work generally available. I wish to emphasize that such a RESEARCH CENTER would be wholly objective on the controversial issues which arise in the field of civil liberties. It would not, in other words, have a point of view or a program, after the fashion of the American Civil Liberties Union. Its purpose would be to see that problems and situations in this field were competently observed and studied. To get as complete a record as possible while it is available seems to me to be of primary importance.

Some foundation for the work of such a RESEARCH CENTER is already being laid. I have recently become chairman of a special Committee on Civil Liberties set up under the auspices of the Social Science Research Council. The immediate assignment of this committee is the preparation of a rather elaborate OUTLINE OF RESEARCH IN CIVIL LIBERTIES, patterned in some measure after the several outlines of research prepared under the auspices of the Committee on Public Administration of the Social Science Research Council. The general purpose is to stimulate research by showing where in this field work needs to be done, and to aid scholars by putting on record what is already going on. Funds for the preparation and publication of this outline are being provided by the Social Science Research Council. I am now working on the outline and hope to have it completed in the fall.

There are a number of considerations which make the proposal of a RESEARCH CENTER IN CIVIL LIBERTIES seem feasible. First, a small group of us are very keenly interested in the problem and are willing to devote time and energy to it. (None of us is likely to be drawn into war work in Washington. This certainly is true in my own case.) Without such a group of active and willing persons it would, of course, be futile to consider such an enterprise. Second, the work calls for the use of no materials which are tied up by priorities, and the job can be staffed by competent women. I have consulted with Dean Sarah G. Blanding of our College of Home Economics who, as you are probably aware, was a professor of political science before she came to Cornell, and she is confident that we could readily find trained women to carry on the work of such an organization.

I have discussed this project with a considerable number of able and responsible people in different situations and with different points of view. These have included officials in the Depart-

Letter from Robert Cushman to Joseph Willits, July 30, 1942

Folder 3896, Box 327, RG 1.1, Series 200, Rockefeller Foundation records, Rockefeller Archive Center.

## PRIMARY SOURCE DOCUMENT 11 CONTINUED

Dr. Joseph H. Willits - 3

ment of Justice and other branches of the Government, officers of various non-governmental agencies interested in problems of civil liberty, and friends and colleagues in the University field. There has been complete agreement amongst these people that an important and valuable piece of work can be done by such an organization as I am proposing, and that it will not be done unless such an agency is set up. President Day was exceedingly enthusiastic about the scheme when I discussed it with him, and he authorized me to tell you that when he is next in New York he will talk to you about it. The plan has the hearty endorsement of Dr. Robert T. Crane of the Social Science Research Council, whom I should be glad to have you consult.

If this project proves to be one in which you feel the Rockefeller Foundation might be interested I should appreciate the opportunity of talking to you about it personally and would be glad to come to New York for that purpose. I have prepared an outline showing concretely how such a RESEARCH CENTER could be organized and what it might do. At this stage any such outline is highly tentative and I should prefer, in case you are interested, to discuss it with you orally rather than send you what might bear the appearance of a definitive proposal. I should also prefer to talk with you about the budgetary side of the matter, since the amount of money needed would, of course, depend on the scale upon which the work is planned. If the enterprise is set up at all it should be for not less than five years. My judgment is that we could use effectively from \$15,000 to \$20,000 per year.

I feel like saying that my interest and belief in this enterprise come from my very deep concern with the problems of civil liberty, and my conviction that a national public service of first-rate importance can be rendered in this way. I am hoping that you may feel the same way about it.

Very sincerely,

*Robert E. Cushman.*

Robert E. Cushman

Letter from Robert Cushman to Joseph Willits, July 30, 1942

Folder 3896, Box 327, RG 1.1, Series 200, Rockefeller Foundation records, Rockefeller Archive Center.

# PRIMARY SOURCE DOCUMENT 12

*2005  
Cornell Univ.  
Civil Liberties*

INTER-OFFICE CORRESPONDENCE

FROM: RBF

DATE: February 24, 1944

TO:

JHW	FFP:DBF	JHW

COMMENTS:

SUBJECT:

In reply to your suggestion the other day of aid to Cushman in connection with civil liberties, I scribbled a note on your memorandum which was not very satisfactory. The trouble was that I didn't know anything about Cushman, and I wanted to be reassured that he wasn't a wild man.

I have just had a chance to look him up, and obviously he is one of the best people in the field and ranks at Cornell in the intellectual tradition of Carl Becker. I don't think we could do any better than to make a grant to him for this purpose, and I hope you will push it.

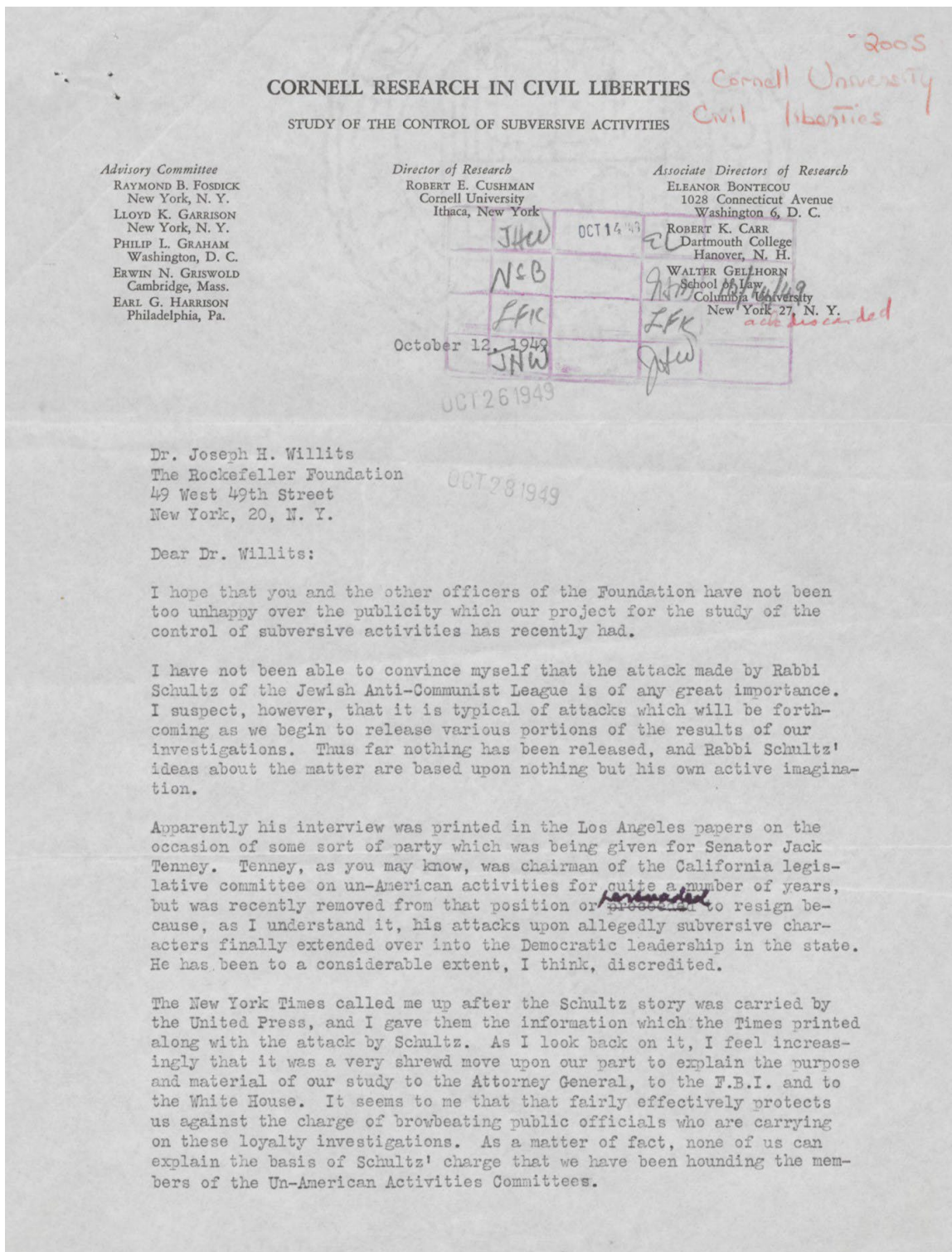
*RBF*

RBF DBF

FORM 106

Letter to Joseph Willits about Cushman's Civil Liberties Study Proposal, February 24, 1944  
 Folder 3896, Box 327, RG 1.1, Series 200, Rockefeller Foundation records, Rockefeller Archive Center.

## PRIMARY SOURCE DOCUMENT 13



Letter to Joseph Willits on backlash against Walter Gellhorn, October 12, 1949

Folder 3899, Box 327, RG 1.1, Series 200, Rockefeller Foundation records, Rockefeller Archive Center.

## PRIMARY SOURCE DOCUMENT 13 CONTINUED

2

On this one point I might give you this information. Last year Representative Nixon on the House Committee on Un-American Activities spoke at Dartmouth in connection with the Great Issues Course. During the two days he was on the Dartmouth campus Robert Carr saw a good deal of him, and they struck up quite a friendship. Nixon has been extraordinarily friendly to Carr, and on Carr's visits to Washington for the purpose of collecting material about the work of the House Committee he has been received with courtesy and has been given a good deal of helpful information. Certainly the relationships there are entirely amicable.

On the matter of Walter Gellhorn, who seems to be the principal object of the Schultz attack, I can only say that Gellhorn is the victim of the kind of loose and irresponsible smearing which has come to be the lot of many active-minded persons. Some time ago Gellhorn was proposed as a candidate for trustee of Amherst of which he is a graduate. At that time some acquaintance of his wrote a long attack upon Gellhorn elaborating his participation in many near-subversive or fellow traveler organizations. In order to meet this attack, and partly at my suggestion, Gellhorn prepared a very elaborate answer to all of the things which had been brought up against him. The answers seemed to me to be absolutely conclusive. I have a copy of this document, and if, for any reason, you feel that it would be desirable to have it in your office I can readily send you a copy of it.

On the most conspicuous point made against Gellhorn, mainly that he was listed as a fellow traveler by the House Committee on Un-American Activities, the answer is very simple. While Gellhorn was with the O.P.A. during the war the Washington office of that agency decided to put on a series of lectures round about the country to explain the work of the O.P.A. Gellhorn was sent to New York to speak before the Workers' College, an assignment which he took on rather reluctantly. The Workers' College is, I believe, on the Attorney General's list of subversive organizations. He gave the lecture which he had been ordered to give, and Mr. Dies, then chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, promptly listed him as a member of the faculty of the Workers' College. Gellhorn's name appeared in the list of thirty-nine federal officers whom Dies tried to persuade Congress to dismiss by cutting off the appropriation for their salaries. As you may remember, the Kerr Committee was set up to screen this list of thirty-nine, and Gellhorn's name was cleared by that committee. The ones who were not cleared, you will recall, were Messrs. Lovett, Watson, and Dodd. However, I suppose it is the sad truth that Gellhorn will always live under the shadow of having been named by the Dies Committee.

I am not sure that you want all this information, but I think there could be no harm in giving you the salient facts as I see them. Our study is going forward in a satisfactory way, and we are all sticking to our original program of doing a thoroughly honest and objective job

Letter to Joseph Willits on backlash against Walter Gellhorn, October 12, 1949

Folder 3899, Box 327, RG 1.1, Series 200, Rockefeller Foundation records, Rockefeller Archive Center.

## PRIMARY SOURCE DOCUMENT 13 CONTINUED

of reporting. After the closest inquiry I am unable to discover that anyone connected with our undertaking has been guilty of any indiscretion or is a legitimate object of criticism.

I am sorry to burden you with this long letter, but I thought perhaps I might undertake to answer certain questions which may have been raised in your own mind, and, at the same time, give you facts which might be useful in answering questions which might be brought to you by other persons.

With best regards,

Very sincerely yours,

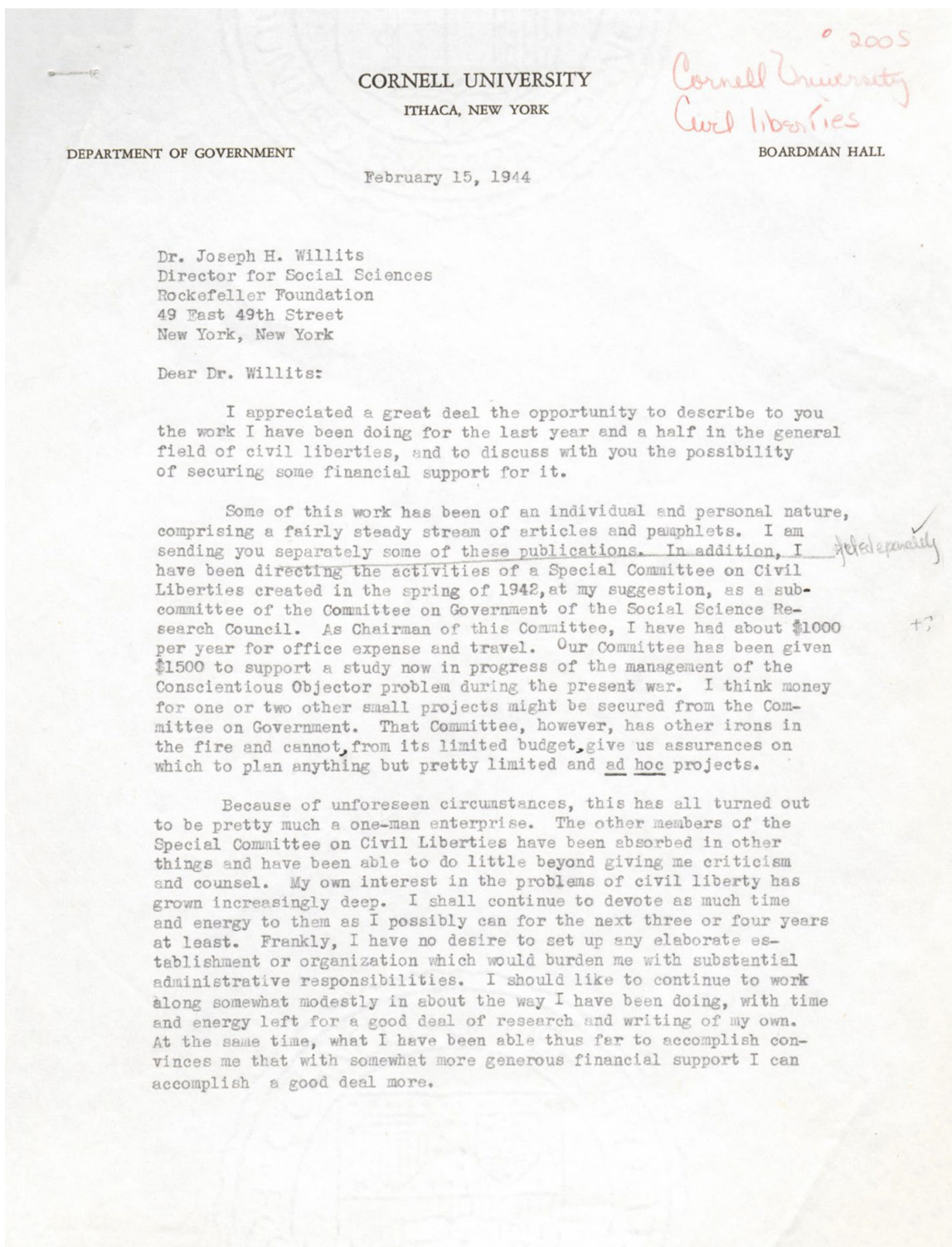
*Robert E. Cushman*

Robert E. Cushman

REC:RM

Letter to Joseph Willits on backlash against Walter Gellhorn, October 12, 1949  
Folder 3899, Box 327, RG 1.1, Series 200, Rockefeller Foundation records, Rockefeller Archive Center.

## PRIMARY SOURCE DOCUMENT 14



Letter to Joseph Willits on backlash against Walter Gellhorn, February 15, 1944

Folder 3899, Box 327, RG 1.1, Series 200, Rockefeller Foundation records, Rockefeller Archive Center.

## PRIMARY SOURCE DOCUMENT 14 CONTINUED

Dr. Joseph H. Willits - 2/15/44 - p 2

If this financial support should be made available, the activities in the field of civil liberties which I have referred to could be centered and strengthened in what I should propose to call the Cornell Research in Civil Liberties. President Day agrees with me that such funds could be more effectively employed if allocated to Cornell University than would be the case if they were assigned to the Special Committee on Civil Liberties of the Social Science Research Council. Dr. Robert T. Crane of the S.S.R.C. has written me to express the same opinion. I find that it would still be possible to keep the Special Committee on Civil Liberties as an advisory body, even though financial support for the work cleared through other channels.

I am sending you herewith a memorandum embodying my ideas about this whole project. This falls into four parts, in which I have indicated what I believe to be the purpose and value of this enterprise; what has been accomplished so far; what I believe can be accomplished; and, finally, a budget indicating how funds would be spent.

If financial support for this plan can be secured from the Rockefeller Foundation, I am convinced that a piece of work can be done which will be of genuine public importance and value. I greatly appreciate the interest you have shown in the matter and I take pleasure in submitting the outline of the plan for the Cornell Research in Civil Liberties for your further consideration.

With best regards,

Very sincerely yours,



Robert E. Cushman

Letter to Joseph Willits on backlash against Walter Gellhorn, February 15, 1944  
Folder 3899, Box 327, RG 1.1, Series 200, Rockefeller Foundation records, Rockefeller Archive Center.



## PRIMARY SOURCE DOCUMENT 15

H-12

C O P Y

TO: Mr. Barnard

October 18, 1951

FROM: Miss Rhind

SUBJECT: Cox Resolution re Investigation of Foundations

You may wish to have the following facts bearing on Cox's statement to the House.

In presenting his resolution for an investigation of philanthropic foundations and other comparable organizations to the House of Representatives on August 1, 1951, Congressman E. E. Cox made a number of references to the work of The Rockefeller Foundation. The references appear to be lifted bodily from a sheet called "Headlines" (published by the Constitutional Educational League, Inc., 342 Madison Avenue, New York City) in an issue dated February 15, 1951, under the heading "Rockefeller Fortune Backed British Socialism."

Congressman Cox gives a number of examples of "misuse of foundation funds." The following comments may be made on his references to The Rockefeller Foundation:

1. Langston Hughes - mentioned as "poet in residence at the Rockefeller-supported University of Chicago." No grant was ever made by The Rockefeller Foundation for Mr. Hughes or his work, nor has the Foundation any responsibility for his studying at the University of Chicago.
2. Hanns Eisler - New School for Social Research. In 1940, The Rockefeller Foundation made a grant of \$20,160 for a study of experimental demonstrations of music in film production. The action was based on a recognition of the importance of experimentation in the field of music and the films, a knowledge of Eisler's qualifications to make the study, and a belief that the New School for Social Research, which sponsored the study, offered favorable auspices for the work. The political affiliations of Eisler were not taken into consideration - they would have appeared irrelevant at that time.
3. Louis Adamic. A grant in aid of \$3,000 was made in January, 1937, under the Foundation's program in the Humanities, to enable Adamic to collect materials on cultural life of foreign language groups in the United States. At the time Mr. Adamic was engaged in writing a book called My America. He planned to use some of the materials in this book and in another volume, the purpose of which would be to help foreign language groups realize

Memo to RF Pres. Chester Barnard, Flora Rhind, RF Cox-Reese, October 18, 1951

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## PRIMARY SOURCE DOCUMENT 15 CONTINUED

Page 2.

their place in American culture. His abilities were well known through the publication of an earlier book called The Native's Return and a number of articles which appeared in Harpers. There was no indication in these writings that he was engaged in subversive activities.

4. Study of Civil Liberties and the Control of Subversive Activities, Cornell University. There follows a list of the grants made by the Foundation for this and a related study. They were all made to Cornell University, at its request, and were directed by Professor Robert E. Cushman and not "turned over to Professor Walter F. Gellhorn of Columbia University." Professor Gellhorn was engaged to undertake certain phases of the research and writing. These are scholarly, competent inquiries and complete reports on them are or have already been published. Any judgment of them must rest not only on a knowledge of the way in which the inquiries were conducted and of the qualifications of the research group for this kind of work, but on a careful reading of the reports.

RF Grants

1944	\$18,000	to Cornell University for a study of civil liberties in wartime
1947	\$10,000	for completion of the foregoing
1948	\$110,000	for a study of civil rights in relation to control of subversive activities
1950	\$20,000)	for completion of the foregoing
1951	\$6,000)	

5. "The Rockefeller Foundation . . . must take its share of the blame for the swing of the professors and students in China to communism," etc. and "For two generations, The Rockefeller Foundation played a guiding role in higher education in China. Over a period of 32 years, \$45 million of Rockefeller money was expended in China, most of it going to Chinese universities."

This is incorrect. The facts are these: The Foundation's major interest in China was medical education. Between 1914 and 1926 more than three million dollars was spent through the China Medical Board for hospitals and medical education. In addition, a total of \$44,974,514.92 was appropriated for the building and development of Peking Union Medical College, and for the work of the China Medical Board, Inc.

Memo to RF Pres. Chester Barnard, Flora Rhind, RF Cox-Reese, October 18, 1951

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## PRIMARY SOURCE DOCUMENT 15 CONTINUED

Page 3.

Besides this major interest in medical education, between the years 1935 and 1946, \$2,439,651.33 was appropriated to a number of Chinese universities and organizations distributed as follows:

Chinese Mass Education Movement . . . . .	\$173,150.71
Commission on Medical Education . . . . .	\$ 38,545.73
Emergency Funds . . . . .	\$ 30,706.30
Fellowships - Local and Foreign . . . . .	\$396,710.90
Grants in Aid . . . . .	\$191,285.41
Lingnan University . . . . .	\$ 10,000.00
Nankai University - Institute of Economics . . . . .	\$ 77,984.09
National Agricultural Research - Bureau of the Ministry of Industry and Agriculture - Insect Control . . . . .	\$ 46,559.88
National Central University - College of Agriculture . . . . .	\$ 28,479.20
National Health Administration of China . . .	\$145,646.78
National Council for Rural Reconstruction .	\$132,138.46
University of Nanking, Department of Agriculture . . . . .	\$131,502.96
Yenching University - College of Public Affairs and Natural Sciences . . . . .	\$ 39,823.37
Yenching University - College of Public Affairs . . . . .	\$ 72,117.54
Associated Boards for Christian Colleges in China - Emergency grants to private universities and colleges . . . . .	\$925,000.00

Thus, close to two and a half million was used in a program concerned chiefly with rural reconstruction, through which efforts were made to develop the collaborative functioning of public and social administration, education, agriculture, rural economics and public works in a comprehensive and balanced program to improve conditions in rural areas. Even here a large part of the funds went into medical and public health training, and for agricultural research.

6. Grant in 1944 of half a million dollars for translation and publication in this country of Soviet books. This is incorrect. From 1943-1949 Foundation grants totaling \$95,500 have been made to the American Council of Learned Societies for the expenses of translating from the Slavic materials for the development of Slavic studies in the United States. In 1947, \$100,000 was appropriated for the procurement and reproduction of materials on Slavic subjects. In 1950, \$55,000 was appropriated toward the expenses of a Current Digest of the Soviet Press. Another small grant of \$2,850, made in 1950, was for the purchase of current Soviet publications for American libraries.

Memo to RF Pres. Chester Barnard, Flora Rhind, RF Cox-Reese, October 18, 1951

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## PRIMARY SOURCE DOCUMENT 15 CONTINUED

Page 4.

The procurement and translation of the materials mentioned above have been of incalculable value to this government and to universities and other agencies who faced a need for developing rapidly a knowledge of Slavic cultures and languages.

The above relates to specific charges made by Congressman Cox. Complete reports on these grants and all grants made by The Rockefeller Foundation have always been issued annually in a printed report to the public. Beginning in 1950, these reports have been supplemented by quarterly reports released to the press.

Memo to RF Pres. Chester Barnard, Flora Rhind, RF Cox-Reese, October 18, 1951  
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## PRIMARY SOURCE DOCUMENT 16

*NY Journal 1/22/51 Copy initialed by CIB  
FMR  
JHW  
WW  
LFR*

*02005  
Cornell Univ,  
Civil Liberties  
1/22/51*

*Rockefeller money to destroy the U.S.*


**Sokolsky's THESE DAYS: 1951**

## Rockefeller Aids A Puzzling Book

By GEORGE E. SOKOLSKY

IT WOULD seem that the Rockefeller Foundation provided some money to Cornell University to make it possible for scholars to investigate the question of national security and its impact upon civil liberties.

The first book in the series produced by this Rockefeller money is entitled "Security, Loyalty, and Science," by Walter Gellhorn, professor of law in Columbia University. So I bought the book and read it and came away from it wondering what the book tries to prove. It is a puzzle.



GEORGE E. SOKOLSKY

In the first place, I read the book after Dr. Klaus Fuchs was sent to jail for stealing the atom bomb; I read it after Harry Gold, Abraham Brothman, and Miriam Moskowitz were convicted. I read it after Alger Hiss was convicted. I read it during the Remington trial. Professor Gellhorn, of course, wrote the book after much of the data of these trials was available.

THAT IS why I cannot understand why the book was written, except that Professor Gellhorn himself had been troubled by the House Committee on Un-American Activities, which reported:

"While there is no doubt that some of the individuals who sponsored and were associated with the Open Road (a left-wing travel bureau) were primarily interested in promoting the cultural effects of travel to other countries, there is ample evidence of infiltration of the organization by those who have been primarily interested in propaganda favorable to the Soviet Union and the Communist movement of which it is a symbol.

"Illustrative of the second type of conscious propagandists who have unquestionably influenced the policies of the organization are such fellow-travelers as: Frederick V. Field, Mrs. Corliss Lamont, Joseph Barnes, Walter F. Gellhorn, Jerome Davis, Maurice Hindus, Joshua Kunitz, Maxwell S. Stewart, Colston E. Warne, and Goodwin Watson, all of whom have been affiliated with the Open Road."

AS THIS citation was published in 1944, it in no manner proves what the state of Professor Gellhorn's mind is today. I find such a statement as this in his book:

"... Fuchs's dereliction of duty was grave. So, too, would be the misdeeds of other spies who may conceivably have found employment in American scientific establishments. Grave as they could perhaps be, these misdeeds might still cost the United States less dearly than would excessively rigorous controls.

"As the following chapters suggest, there are dangers in damming, as well as dangers in wholly unblocking, the streams of knowledge. There are dangers, too, in over-cautious selection of the scientists in whom trust is to be placed.

"American strength rests upon advance rather than upon nervous hoarding of present scientific knowledge. If Fuchs's treachery leads the American public to overlook that fact, this country will indeed have paid heavily for his faithlessness."

PRECISELY what are we to do? We gave Russia not only \$11,000,000,000 but free access to our industries. Russia never permitted us to investigate anything.

They sent agents to steal our bomb and other inventions and in some instances our State Department protected the spies, as in the case of Arthur Adams, to avoid offending Russia. They arrested Vogeler in Hungary on the charge of espionage, and Vogeler was never a spy.

Precisely how long can we go on making it easy for Americans or aliens to act as spies in this country, to infiltrate departments of Government, or to corrupt our children by teaching them Marxist doctrines?

Our liberties are valuable; they are the most precious heritage our ancestors have left to us. We do not want to lose or weaken one of them. On the other hand, just as we deprive our sons of their liberties and even their lives by requiring them to fight in war, so must we make some sacrifices to protect our national security.

I wonder why Rockefeller money and Cornell University and Professor Gellhorn did not prepare this book when Nazi agents were being arrested.

Can a man make a distinction between Fritz Kuhn and Klaus Fuchs? I do not recall that any of these folks came to the rescue of George Sylvester Viereck.

If the principles of civil liberties apply to those who, because they are scientists, insist that scientific espionage is to be called international exchange of scientific knowledge, then it applies to any exchange of any kind whatsoever.

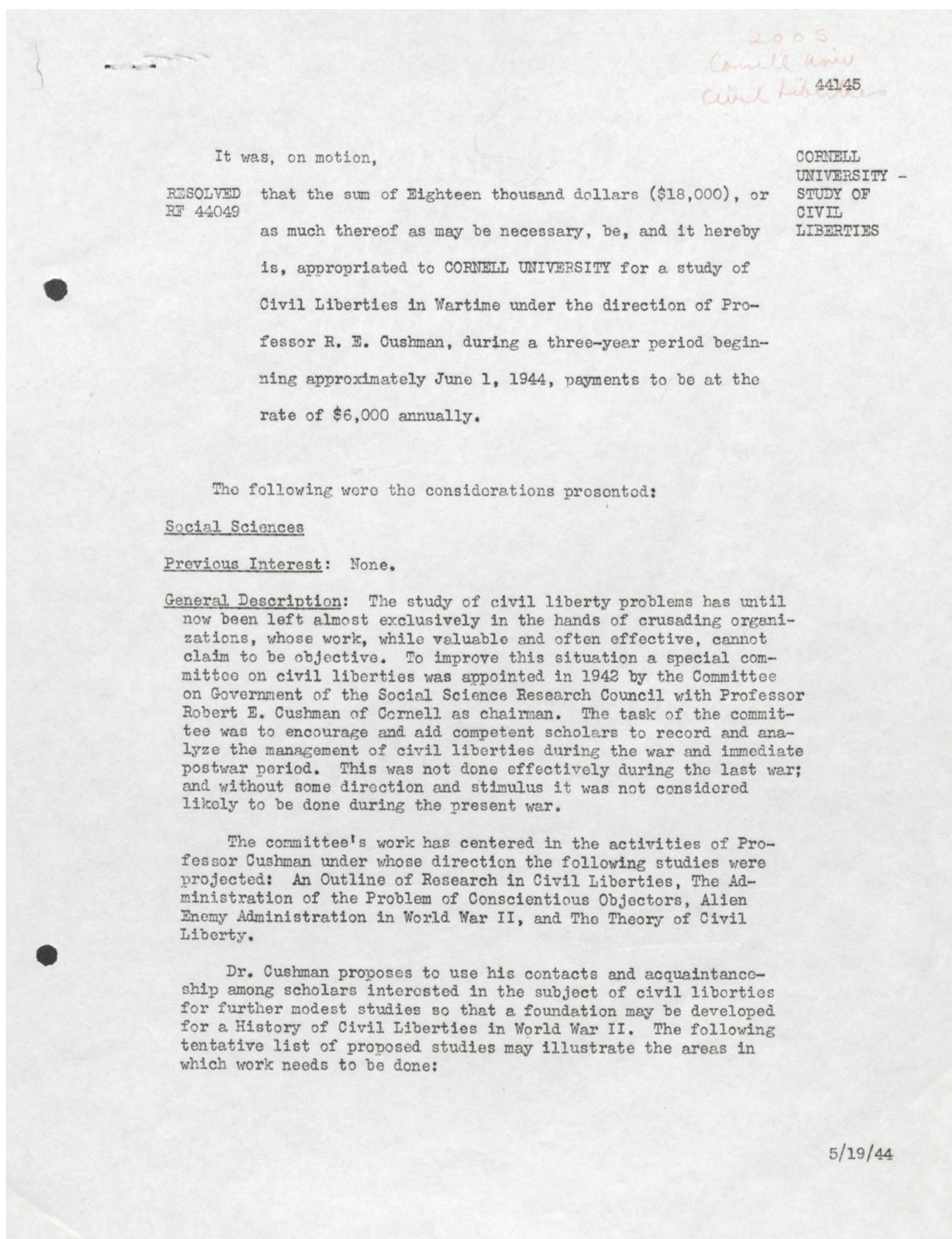
It will be interesting to see the other books that Rockefeller money is paying for through Cornell University.

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New York Journal article, January 22, 1951

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## PRIMARY SOURCE DOCUMENT 17



RF Grant to Cornell for Study of Civil Liberties, May 19, 1944

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## PRIMARY SOURCE DOCUMENT 17 CONTINUED

44146

The management of wartime restrictions on freedom of  
speech and press  
Postal censorship and freedom of the press  
Censorship - military and political  
Freedom of opinion inside the government  
The denaturalization of naturalized citizens  
The program of the Civil Liberties Section of the De-  
partment of Justice, etc.

CORNELL  
UNIVERSITY -  
STUDY OF  
CIVIL  
LIBERTIES  
(Continued)

Finances: The annual budget is tentatively made up as follows:

Research and clerical assistance .....	\$2,300
Office supplies, postage, etc. ....	200
Travel .....	800
Research assistance to scholars .....	2,700
	<u>\$6,000</u>

Future Implications: Although there is no commitment, if the work develops as expected there will probably be a request for continuance.

Comment: The war and the events which preceded it underscore the significance of each nation's management of its civil liberty issues. The assembly and analysis of this country's record during World War II will serve many useful and scholarly purposes. Dr. Cushman has the balanced judgment essential to the investigation of this subject. He is interested in the scholarly task of making facts and assumptions clear. His committee of the Social Science Research Council will continue as an advisory committee.

5/19/44

RF Grant to Cornell for Study of Civil Liberties, May 19, 1944

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## PRIMARY SOURCE DOCUMENT 18

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06/22/1951

INVESTIGATION OF CERTAIN EDUCATIONAL AND PHILANTHROPIC FOUNDATIONS  
Speech of Hon. E. E. Cox of Georgia  
In the House of Representatives  
Wednesday, August 1, 1951

A Mr. Cox. Mr. Speaker, I have introduced a resolution [to create a special committee to conduct a full and complete investigation and study of educational and philanthropic foundations and other comparable organizations which are exempt from Federal income taxation, to determine which such foundations are using their resources for purposes other than the purposes for which they were established, and, specifically, to determine which such foundations and organizations are using their resources for un-American and subversive activities or for purposes not in the interest or tradition of the United States.]

The resolution is not intended to raise suspicion against all foundations. Those that have restricted themselves to health, medical research, and popular culture have, as a rule, carried on in admirable fashion. In this class there might be mentioned the Kellogg Foundation, the Duke Endowment, the Hayden Foundation, the Mellon Trust, the Falk Foundation, the Donner Foundation, the Milbank Fund, the Commonwealth Fund, and many others; but of those that have operated in the fields of social reform and international relations, many have brought down upon themselves harsh and just condemnation.

To be specific let me give you a few examples of what I am talking about.

The Negro poet, Langston Hughes, author of the poem, Good-by Christ, which urges Jesus to "beat it on away from here now" and to "make way for -- Marx, Communist Lenin, Peasant Stalin, Worker Me," last heard of as a "poet in residence" at the Rockefeller supported University of Chicago, was the recipient of a Guggenheim fellowship in 1935, and of fellowships from the Rosenwald Fund in 1931 and 1941. In 1946 he received a grant from the National Institute of Arts and Letters.

When Hans Eisler, brother of the top Soviet Agent Gerhardt Eisler, was about to be expelled from the United States because he was a Communist, Dr. Alvin S. Johnson, then director of the New School for Social Research, intervened and persuaded James L. Houghteling, then Commissioner of the Bureau of Immigration, to let Eisler remain in the United States in order that he might engage him as a teacher in his New School for Social Research. He then secured a grant of \$20,160 from the Rockefeller Foundation to defray the costs of a music study project to be conducted by Eisler at the New School. All of this was done with the full knowledge that Eisler was a Communist and in this country to spread the doctrine of communism.

The writer, Louis Adamic, a member of or sponsor for 38 Communist organizations, and whose entire literary life has been given to propagandizing for Communist Russia - and more recently Communist Yugoslavia - has worked the various foundations for continuous subsidies. At one time he was given a fellowship by the Guggenheim Foundation worth \$2,500. He received a grant-in-aid from the Rockefeller Foundation in 1937.

Speech of Hon. E. E. Cox, RF Cox-Reece, August 1, 1951

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Later, in 1940, he obtained a grant-in-aid from the Carnegie Corp. to enable him to write his book, *From Many Lands*. In 1942 he was given two additional grants-in-aid by the Carnegie Corp. to write *Two Way Passage* and *What's Your Name?*

Through his Communist friends in the information-education branches of the Army in wartime, Adamic was able to arrange for the distribution of 50,000 copies of his book *Native's Return* among enlisted men. This book was distinctly pro-Russian.

The Public Affairs Committee, supported by the Sloan Foundation, was the publisher of another of Adamic's books, *America and the Refugees*.

A grant of \$110,000 was made by the Rockefeller Foundation in 1947 to Cornell University to conduct a study of "civil liberties and the control of subversive activities." The administration of this grant was then turned over to Prof. Walter F. Gellhorn, of Columbia University, who has himself been the subject of investigation by the Committee on Un-American Activities of the House of Representatives. Professor Gellhorn's qualifications to investigate subversive activities are highlighted by the fact that he is a member of the National Lawyers Guild and the International Juridical Association. It will be recalled that the Un-American Activities Committee has branded the National Lawyers Guild as the "legal bulwark of the Communist Party" and as "an agent of a foreign principal hostile to the interests of the United States." Attention should also be called to the fact that a committee of the California Legislature described the International Juridical Association as an organization which has specialized in the defense of individual Communists or of the Communist Party itself. It has followed the Communist Party line without deviation.

Gellhorn has also been affiliated with the Open Road, an activity headed by the millionaire Communist, Frederick Vanderbilt Field, and has outspokenly demanded the abolition of the Un-American Activities Committee.

The Rockefeller Foundation, whose funds have been used to finance individuals and organizations whose business it has been to get communism into the private and public schools of the country, to talk down America and to play up Russia, must take its share of the blame for the swing of the professors and students in China to communism during the years preceding the successful Red revolution in China. For two generations, the Rockefeller Foundation played a guiding role in higher education in China. Over a period of 32 years \$45,000,000 of Rockefeller money was expended in China, most of it going to Chinese institutions of higher learning. If the Rockefeller fund spenders had had even an elementary conception of what was going on among the Chinese teachers and students, they would have taken steps to halt the stampede of the Chinese colleges to Communism. When the crisis of the Chinese Revolution came it was the student and teacher element, educated largely with Rockefeller money, who were the backbone of the Red success. Our boys are now suffering and dying in Korea, in part, because Rockefeller money encouraged trends in

Speech of Hon. E. E. Cox, RF Cox-Reece, August 1, 1951

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the Chinese colleges and schools which swung China's intelligentsia to communism.

Again the Rockefeller Foundation, in 1944, made a grant of half a million dollars for the translation and publication in this country of Soviet books. The executive head of the organization which received this grant, the American Council of Learned Societies, was the head of the committee which raised funds for the defense of John S. Service when he was revealed in 1945 as a purveyor of information to the Amerasia spy ring.

Owen Lattimore, who played such an important part in the betrayal of China and the delivery of the mainland of that country into the hands of the Communists, is a past master in extracting money from the various foundations. The Walter Hines Page School of International Relations, which he heads, regularly milks the foundations. For instance, in 1949, the Carnegie Corp. gave Lattimore's school \$75,000.

Guggenheim money was used to spread radicalism throughout the country to an extent not excelled by any other foundation. Among those with Red records who have received Guggenheim fellowships are the following: Louis Adamic, Newton Arvin, Peggy Bacon, Carleton Beals, Albert Bein, Alvah Bessie, Marc Blitzstein, Kenneth Burke, Harriet Buckmaster, Jack Conroy, Aaron Copland, Adolph Dehn, Angner Enters, Kenneth Fearing, Hallie Flanagan, Mordecai Gorelik, William Gropper, Albert Halper, Josephine Herbst, Granville Hicks, Abram L. Harris, Maurice Hindus, Langston Hughes, Rolfe Humphries, Joe Jones, Otto Klineberg, Owen Lattimore, Douglas S. Moore, Carey McWilliams, Lewis Mumford, Alexander, North, Max Nomad, Saul K. Padover, Nathaniel Peffer, Bernard Reiss, Earl Robinson, Isidor Schneider, Harry Slochower, Maxwell S. Stewart, Tom Tippet, Genevieve Taggard, Charles R. Walker, Edmund Wilson, Richard Wright and William E. Zeich.

The resources of the Rosenwald Fund, now finally exhausted, were disbursed irresponsibly to aid organizations which made a profession of stirring up class and race dissension throughout the South. Among leading Communists and Communist frontiers who received fellowships from the fund were Langston Hughes, W. E. B. DuBois, Claude McKay, Clark Foreman, James Dombrowski, Ira de A. Reid, Lillian Smith, Shirley Graham, Pearl Primus, Horace Clayton, and John P. Davis.

Another notorious situation in the foundation field is the Robert Marshall Foundation. This fund, it has been revealed by the inquiries of the Un-American Activities Committee, is devoted almost exclusively to the aid and subsidy of organizations working for communism in America. One of its trustees, and the dominating figure in the foundation, George Marshall, recently served a prison sentence for refusing to divulge information to the Committee on Un-American Activities concerning the Communist-front Civil Right Congress, of which he is chairman.

The Robert Marshall Foundation, in a period of 2 years, allocated approximately \$100,000 to a group of organizations all of which have been cited by the Un-American Activities Committee as Communist fronts, including

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the American Youth Congress, the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, the National Negro Congress, and the Southern Negro Youth Congress, which have been listed by the Department of Justice as subversive and Communist.

Mr. Speaker, these instances are only a few examples, among many of the tragic misuse of foundation money. Over a comparatively short period of time, the foundations have become a powerful and unregulated factor in our national life, enjoying Federal subsidy through tax exemption. The Sloane Foundation, which has since changed its policy and is now being careful not to have any more of its funds used for un-American purposes, has recently estimated the annual spending of the foundations in America as \$100,000,000 per year. This huge amount, if administered irresponsibly, can do an incalculable amount of harm in misleading American public opinion. There are disquieting evidences that at least a few of the foundations have permitted themselves to be infiltrated by men and women who are disloyal to our American way of life. They should be investigated and exposed to the pitiless light of publicity, and appropriate legislation should be framed to correct the present disquieting situation.

Therefore, Mr. Speaker, I submit that the resolution is deserving of the serious consideration of those who fear for the safety of our country.

Speech of Hon. E. E. Cox, RF Cox-Reece, August 1, 1951

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## PRIMARY SOURCE DOCUMENT 19

FORM 100

INTERVIEWS: JHW

RFE	11-9-42	RFE
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NOV 18 1942

*2005  
Cornell University  
Civil Liberties*

Thursday, October 29, 1942

PROFESSOR ROBERT E. CUSHMAN, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York

I told Cushman we could not finance his proposal for a study of civil liberties because of pressure of international relations proposals and long continuing operating support. I suggested to him that possibly Mr. Fels of the Fels Foundation in Philadelphia might and agreed to write to Mr. Fels. He mentioned the Kresge Foundation in Detroit, which he said had \$56,000,000, but they had refused to help.

He referred to his recent book on public administration. I felt impressed by the man's strength, integrity and intelligence. He is worth watching.

He agreed to prepare a list of the most promising men in the field of government as he saw it and will stop in with it the next time he is in New York.

*JHW*

Summary of Conversation with Robert Cushman, Joseph Willits, October 29, 1942  
Folder 3896, Box 327, RG 1.1, Series 200, Rockefeller Foundation records, Rockefeller Archive Center.

## PRIMARY SOURCE DOCUMENT 20

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CORNELL CIVIL LIBERTIES  
STUDIES  
-----Background information

In 1948, The Rockefeller Foundation voted a grant of \$110,000 to Cornell University for a study of the relation of civil rights to the control of subversive activities. To permit completion of this work, three additional grants were made, \$20,000 in 1950, \$6,000 in 1951, and \$3,500 in 1952. The Director of the Survey was Dr. Robert E. Cushman, Chairman of the Department of Government at Cornell and formerly President (1943) of the American Political Science Association. Dr. Cushman chose his own assistants, although Foundation officers knew who the major ones (~~including Walter Gellhorn~~) were to be before the first grant was made.

This was not the first time that the Foundation had concerned itself with the question of civil liberties. In 1944 and 1947 grants totaling \$28,000 had been made to Cornell for a study of civil liberties in wartime, headed also by Dr. Cushman. This wartime study embraced questions relating to the civil rights of enemy aliens, of conscientious objectors, and of civilians under martial law.

The idea of the postwar study originated with Robert M. Hutchins, then Chancellor of the University of Chicago, who called on JHW and left a memorandum asking for a grant of \$50,000 to enable the University of Chicago to make the study. JHW pointed out to RMH that Dr. Cushman had been making studies of civil liberties in wartime under a Foundation grant and said he would like to obtain Cushman's critical judgment of the Chicago proposal.

Summary of Cornell Civil Liberties Studies, Joseph Willits, RF Cox-Reece, June 9, 1954  
Folder 681, Box 36, RG 1.1, Series 200, Rockefeller Foundation records, Rockefeller Archive Center.

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The letter of comment from Cushman was so sensible and judicial that JHW felt justified in suggesting to Hutchins that Cushman be asked whether he would be prepared to undertake the study at Cornell. Hutchins, with complete generosity of spirit, agreed.

Purpose of study

The purpose of the study was set out by the officers in the 1948 docket as follows: "The research program proposed by Professor Cushman involves studies of the loyalty program in the Executive Branch of the Government, the loyalty tests of scientists, the federal legislative loyalty program and the state loyalty programs as they relate to civil rights. It is the expectation of those concerned that the results of this research will provide a sound factual basis for objective appraisal and criticism of the procedures under examination, as well as proposals of a constructive nature designed to correct discovered abuses of shortcomings..."

The purpose was stated in greater detail by Dr. Cushman in an article in the Cornell Alumni News of October 1, 1950: "This study was set up to explore one of the crucial and perennial problems confronting our American democracy -- the problem of determining the extent to which we are justified, in concrete situations, in restricting our traditional civil liberties in order to guarantee our internal security. No thoughtful person denies the existence of dangers to our security or the need for dealing with them effectively. But if the principle is sound -- as I think it is -- that a democratic government should sacrifice as little liberty as possible in order to be safe, then there seems good ground for studying with dispassionate care our various internal security measures in order to find out how they

Summary of Cornell Civil Liberties Studies, Joseph Willits, RF Cox-Reece, June 9, 1954  
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## PRIMARY SOURCE DOCUMENT 20 CONTINUED

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actually operate, to what extent they impair freedoms previously enjoyed, and whether changes might be suggested for their improvement. This is what our study undertakes to do.

"This project is in no sense a crusade, or an attack. From the outset its basic purpose has been to do an honest and objective job of reporting on what the government's various programs for internal security and the control of subversive activity actually are; how they are presently operating; what are their advantages and achievements as well as their liabilities; and what, if anything, might reasonably be suggested for their improvement. We had no conclusions in mind when we started, and with regard to our unfinished reports we do not yet know what our conclusions will be... I need hardly point out that the problems with which this study deals are highly controversial. There will be sharp disagreement among thoughtful people with regard to some of our conclusions and proposals. People who are emotional rather than thoughtful will, in some cases, feel that it is unpatriotic to undertake such a study as this, since it might result in some criticism of the Loyalty Program or the work of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Our greatest hope is that a good many people will be able to read our reports and think seriously about the problems with which they deal. We are much less interested in having people agree with us than we are in placing in the hands of our fellow citizens reliable material upon the basis of which they may reach what seem to them to be sound and fair judgments upon these very important national problems which may affect us all."

Studies published

The following studies have been published:

Security, Loyalty and Science, by Walter Gellhorn, Columbia University Law School

## PRIMARY SOURCE DOCUMENT 20 CONTINUED

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\*The Tenney Committee, by Edward L. Barrett, Jr., University of California Law School

\*Un-American Activities in the State of Washington, by Verne Countryman, Yale Law School

\*Loyalty and Legislative Action, by Lawrence H. Chamberlain, Columbia University Law School

\*\*The States and Subversion, partly written and partly edited by Walter Gellhorn

The House Committee on Un-American Activities, by Robert K. Carr, Dartmouth College

The Federal Loyalty-Security Program, by Miss Eleanor Bontecou

A summary volume bringing together the conclusions as a whole is being prepared by Dr. Cushman, and is scheduled for publication in 1954.

#### Criticisms

JHW has obtained all the reviews of these publications. KWT has reviewed them and reports: "Consensus is that for what they set out to do, the volumes are immensely useful and valuable. It is characteristic of them all that they describe and analyze their subjects largely within a legal frame of reference."

Unfavorable criticisms came from two sources - the public press and professional journals. The chief critics from the press included George Sokolsky (chiefly aimed at Gellhorn), the Chicago Tribune (aimed at Carr and Gellhorn), Westbrook Pegler (Carr and Gellhorn), and "Counterattack."

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\* Condensations of these three volumes also appear as chapters in The States and Subversion.

\*\* Chapters for this volume were also prepared by E. Houston Harsha, University of Chicago Law School, on the State of Illinois; by William B. Prendergast, Assistant Professor of Political Science, US Naval Academy, on the Ober Act of the State of Maryland; and by Robert J. Mowitz, Department of Government, Wayne University, on the City of Detroit.



## PRIMARY SOURCE DOCUMENT 20 CONTINUED

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The charges against Gellhorn boiled down to the fact that he had lent his name to a series of "liberal" causes that were actually Communist-front organizations. (This criticism was also made to JHW privately by Morris Ernst, a prominent liberal lawyer.) "Atmospheric" support for these charges was given by the fact that Gellhorn's sister, Martha, had been married to Ernest Hemingway, fought on the loyalist side in the Spanish Civil War, and was charged with Communist sympathies. Gellhorn asked the House Committee on Un-American Activities for the privilege of appearing before it to refute the charges. This request was refused. Gellhorn then prepared a statement refuting the charges. (JHW has a copy if Counsel desires to read it, or JHW can summarize it.) Dr. Cushman accepted the statement and re-affirmed his confidence in Gellhorn.

All these criticisms appeared and were repeated many times long before the study was completed. Gellhorn appeared in JHW's office one day and wanted to know if the Foundation was being embarrassed by his connections with the study. JHW told him that only poor work or dishonest work embarrassed the Foundation and that he hoped that Gellhorn's published work would be the answer to all criticisms. This proved to be the case.

After the appearance of Gellhorn's book, the reviews were practically all favorable and the book won the first annual Goldsmith Award of the Bulletin of Atomic Scientists (1952).

Gellhorn is a very able man who, since the controversy outlined above, has been selected for an important job by the Association of the Bar of New York.

R. K. Carr was criticized by the Chicago Tribune (partly, JHW believes, as a phase of the Tribune's general row with Dartmouth and John Dickey over the

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"Great Issues" course) and by Westbrook Pegler. No severe criticism appeared after his book was published, however, even though Carr concluded that the bad outweighed the good in the work of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. The book was not mentioned by the Cox Committee. Apparently the reason for this lay jointly in the very satisfactory personal relations that Carr had established with the House Committee through Mr. (now Vice-President) Nixon and, perhaps, because he justly gave credit for the good that the Committee had achieved.

The criticisms from professional sources were generally favorable. But KWT gleans these unfavorable comments from the reviews:

1) of several contributors it is said:

"The author makes no attempt to deal with materials outside statutes and courts reports."

2) of Eleanor Bontecou's volume, The Federal Loyalty-Security Program:

"(a) Assumes Loyalty-Security Program unconstitutional - not shown.

"(b) Underestimates common sense, wisdom and experience of loyalty board members."

3) of all books:

"(a) Ignore reality of public opinion. In the American Political Science Review: 'There is a certain air of unreality about much of the scholarly discussion of the broader problem of loyalty and subversion with which this book is concerned.'

"(b) Books reach the converted but those who feel there is a danger will not be reached. Authors too often 'regard the belief that such a danger exists as a great aberration, and ... conclude that they can only denounce it or deplore it.'

"(c) Perhaps a more dispassionate analysis of the moral, socio-psychological and economic roots of the present situation is needed."

Yet the evidence is clear that Foundation money has contributed to understanding important aspects of this problem.

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(Severe criticism by reviewers did attach to one volume of Cushman's previous series on civil liberties in wartime. This book, The Alien and the Asiatic in American Law, by Konwitz, is held to be emotional, unscholarly and polemical. On the other hand, another book in the same series, Conscription of Conscience, by Sibley and Jacobs, won the award of the American Political Science Association as the best book of the year in the field of American government and politics.

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The general conclusion seems to me to warrant the Foundation taking the following position:

- 1) A good and important job was done well - a job that should aid the American people in their analysis of the issues involved in attaining the two important objectives of national security and civil liberty;
- 2) The most criticized study (Gellhorn's) was probably the best; [Not for DR to state.]
- 3) The popular criticisms were greater before publication of the studies than after;
- 4) The studies should help to substitute analysis of issues for name calling.
- 5) The studies were made by human beings. If some had bias, it was a good bias - in defense of civil liberty.

*JHW*

JHW:ph  
6/9/54

Summary of Cornell Civil Liberties Studies, Joseph Willits, RF Cox-Reece, June 9, 1954  
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## PRIMARY SOURCE DOCUMENT 21

FORM 100

INTERVIEWS: LFK

JHW	NOV 29 '49	JHW
	NOV 29 '49	
	JAN 5 1950	
	FEB 24 1950	

*2005  
Cornell University  
Civil Liberties*

November 16, 1949

Telephone conversation between LFK and  
George Sokolsky on November 16, 1949

The office of John D. Rockefeller, 3rd, reported that they had telephoned Mr. Sokolsky, who was unavailable, and that they had therefore left a message with his secretary to the effect that the RF would be glad to furnish him with the facts.

Having heard nothing from Sokolsky, I called him. I told Sokolsky that:

- (1) Public announcement of our grant was made with the release of our annual report last June.
- (2) When we made a grant, we did it on the twin basis of our belief in the value of the project and the responsibility and capacity of the auspices, in this case Cornell University.
- (3) I pointed out that if the Foundation were to go beyond that and concern itself with the administration and conduct of the project, it would involve us in a highly improper relationship in terms of financial pressure and so forth.

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Foundations,  
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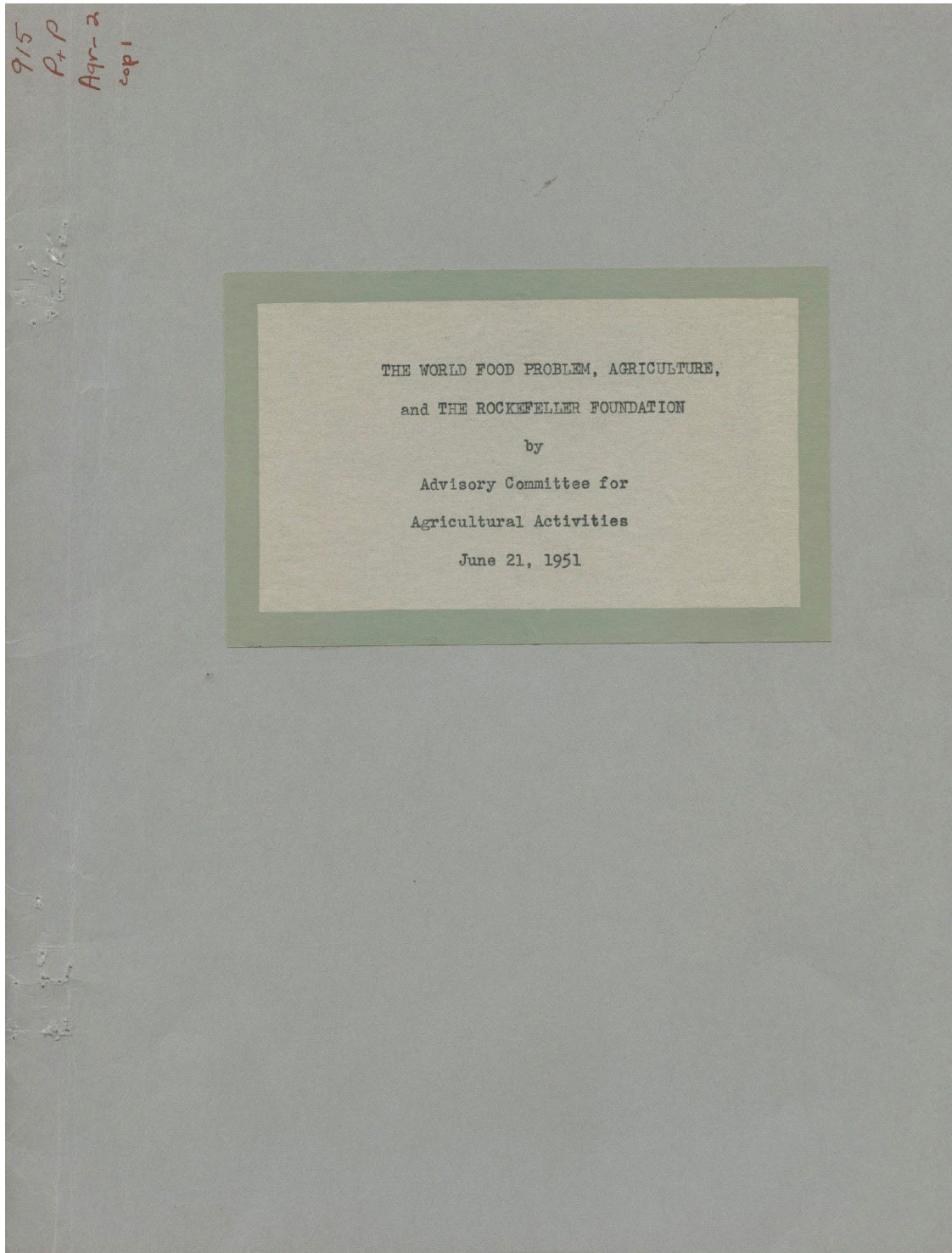
To all of this, Sokolsky agreed wholeheartedly. He then raised the question of Gellhorn, and I read over the telephone extracts from Professor Cushman's communication to us. Sokolsky broke in in the middle and said "that is a pack of lies--now listen to me." He proceeded to read a list of Gellhorn's communications and doings as long as your arm, a dozen or fifteen at least. He then said "the information I am giving you is from the files of Congress and the FBI. Mr. Gellhorn is now busy interviewing all the witnesses who appeared before the Dies Committee. He is obviously sympathizing with them, muddying the waters, and, in Sokolsky's judgment preparing a report that is anything but objective. Sokolsky then said "I intend to wait for the publication of the report and then blow it sky-high together with the support for such a project."

Thinking that if there were definite information it would be better for us to have it than not to have it, and that it would be difficult for us to get it at first-hand, I asked Sokolsky if he would like to send us a copy of his information. He replied "Certainly, my only interest is to protect the public,- I'll have my staff bring the file up to date and send it to you within a week."

Summary of Joseph Willits Conversation with George Sokolsky, November 16, 1949

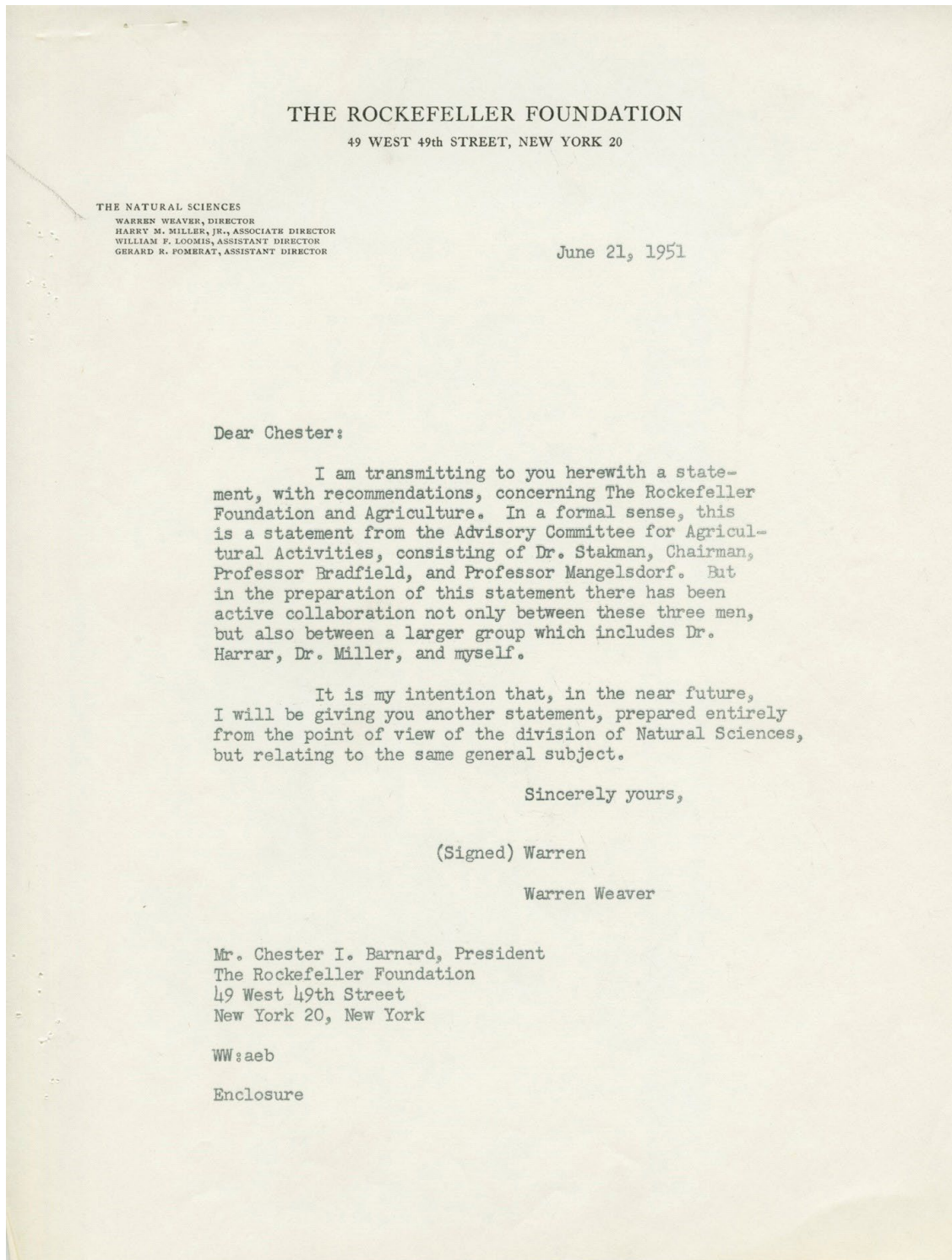
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# PRIMARY SOURCE DOCUMENT 22



The World Food Problem, Agriculture, and The Rockefeller Foundation, June 21, 1951  
Folder 23, Box 3, RG 3, Series 915, Rockefeller Foundation records, Rockefeller Archive Center.

# PRIMARY SOURCE DOCUMENT 22 CONTINUED



The World Food Problem, Agriculture and The Rockefeller Foundation, June 21, 1951  
Folder 23, Box 3, RG 3, Series 915, Rockefeller Foundation records, Rockefeller Archive Center.

# PRIMARY SOURCE DOCUMENT 22 CONTINUED

## THE WORLD FOOD PROBLEM, AGRICULTURE, AND THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION

### I. INTRODUCTION

Britain's last reigning queen died in 1901, but the Victorian period continued on until 1914. In those days the world seemed a reasonable one. There had been no major wars for some four decades. Radio and the airplane had not yet destroyed time and distance. Local difficulties remained local; and only the occasional prophet dreamed that fierce and global tensions would some day have their ultimate cause in the conflict between population growth and unequally distributed and inadequate natural resources.

What was the enemy of mankind in those untroubled years just after 1900? The answer was obvious. It was disease.

Medicine was just reaching the point where it could deal successfully with the great scourges - yellow fever, typhus, hookworm, malaria, etc. If imaginative and able men asked, in that period from the turn of the century to World War I, how to serve the welfare of mankind throughout the world, it was very natural that their answer was: fight disease.

The Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research was founded in 1901; the Rockefeller Sanitary Commission in 1909; and The Rockefeller Foundation - with its great initial emphasis on public health and medical education - in 1913. As one looks back, he sees how logical and natural, indeed how almost inevitable, was this emphasis on the medical sciences.

Whatever our present era will eventually be called, the name must indicate a world wholly changed. What now are the great enemies of the welfare of mankind? Hunger, the incapacity of the hungry, the resulting general want, the pressures of expanding and demanding population, and the reckless instability of people who have nothing to lose and perhaps something to gain by

The World Food Problem, Agriculture and The Rockefeller Foundation, June 21, 1951  
Folder 23, Box 3, RG 3, Series 915, Rockefeller Foundation records, Rockefeller Archive Center.

# PRIMARY SOURCE DOCUMENT 22 CONTINUED

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embracing new political ideologies designed not to create individual freedom but to destroy it - these seem to be basic dangers of our present world.

It is the thesis of this memorandum that The Rockefeller Foundation has, at the present time, a great opportunity to serve the welfare of mankind through activities in agriculture; and that this opportunity is, for our present world, as pressing and important as was that opportunity in medicine which was so clearly seen and so effectively seized, some forty years ago.

## II. AGRICULTURE IN THE MODERN WORLD

To understand the role of agriculture in present-day human affairs, one must glance briefly at its history. Agriculture is a relatively recent human activity. Man has lived upon the earth at least a half million years, spending most of his time during that period in the never-ending search for his next meal. The invention of agriculture, occurring some ten thousand years ago, completely altered man's mode of life and established new patterns of human behavior. The transition from a food-gathering to a food-growing economy created for the first time in man's history an assured and stable food supply. Agriculture made it possible for a small fraction of the population to produce food for all. The result was leisure. Leisure for pottery-making and weaving, leisure for the development of other arts and crafts, leisure for contemplation and invention, for the development of a rich and rewarding culture.

The invention of agriculture did not immediately result in great increases in population, but its subsequent improvement has done so, and has created the potentialities for still greater increases. The practice of agriculture has in fact permitted more people to live on a given land area than had ever lived there before. The area of the United States, for example, which



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now supports more than 150,000,000 people, previously maintained a food-gathering Indian population, in equilibrium with its natural food resources, of approximately 750,000.

Agriculture has, of course, been only one of many factors in population growth. Industrialization, which taught men to exploit the fossil fuel resources of the world, was a second. The application of public health measures, which has drastically reduced natural death rates, has proved to be a third. These three factors have combined in our generation to create an unprecedented situation in which a population already outrunning its food resources is still increasing at a fabulous rate. The problem of population and food is no longer one of the future. It is upon us now. The problem of food has become one of the world's most acute and pressing problems; and directly or indirectly, it is the cause of much of the world's present tension and unrest.

There is tragedy and danger in human hunger and the resultant suffering. Hunger is a powerful enemy of peace. There is a growing appreciation of the relation of subsistence to health and to human attitudes; to friendly relations or tensions between peoples; to peace or war.

The establishment by the United Nations of the Food and Agriculture Organization, and the emphasis placed on "food and people" by UNESCO are instances of recognition of the problem and of intent to do something about it. One of the purposes of President Truman's Point IV Program is to improve food production in underdeveloped countries. Unfortunately, however, concepts of needs, methods, and procedures in these relatively young organizations are still somewhat nebulous and limitations of trained personnel are serious, so that there unfortunately is little hope that they can function effectively

## PRIMARY SOURCE DOCUMENT 22 CONTINUED

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enough and soon enough to meet the situation. There is still acute and urgent need for immediate and intelligent action. Whether additional millions in Asia and elsewhere will become Communists will depend partly on whether the Communist world or the free world fulfills its promises. Hungry people are lured by promises, but they may be won by deeds. Communism makes attractive promises to underfed peoples; democracy must not only promise as much, but must deliver more.

The Western democracies are handicapped because Asiatic and other underprivileged people attribute their present plight to the domination of the capitalist colonial system, and resent the political and racial discrimination under which they have lived. These are handicaps which only effective action can overcome. In this struggle for the minds of men the side that best helps satisfy man's primary needs for food, clothing, and shelter is likely to win. Philosophical subtleties and pious platitudes are ineffective substitutes for bread and milk in the minds of hungry and uneducated men. The philosopher Seneca, more than 2,000 years ago, saw clearly that "A hungry people listens not to reason, nor cares for justice, nor is bent by any prayers."

There are those, undoubtedly too pessimistic, who believe that the problem of furnishing basic necessities is essentially insoluble and that the world must resign itself to the inevitable consequences of the Malthusian law: ever-increasing poverty, ever-recurring famine. Some of these pessimists question the advisability of giving any help at all to people in underdeveloped and overpopulated countries, on the ground that better food and health would probably result in further increase in population. There is much evidence, however, indicating that this will probably be only a temporary effect. A higher standard of living in the long run usually results in a reduced birthrate,

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and improvements in agriculture are among the first essential steps in the improvement of the living standards of a country. People who are well fed are usually more efficient, vigorous workers. As the efficiency of agriculture is improved, more workers can be spared for making other needed improvements in transportation, manufacturing, sanitation, housing, clothing, education, etc. After the first essential steps are taken in these fields, agriculture can take another step forward because of the interdependence of all phases of the economy of the modern nation.

Others among the pessimistic assume that the present levels of agricultural productive efficiency and of subsistence can be only slightly increased, and they conclude that the prospect for the future is alarming, if not indeed hopeless. Actually the food-producing capacity of the world is unknown. Modern statistics on world food production are continually being revised upward, as improved techniques result in increasing yields. It is probable that yields per acre will increase still further as scientific agriculture and the sciences which underlie agriculture continue to advance. And there are still large unexploited areas in the world that can be utilized at least for highly specialized agriculture, once the appropriate techniques have been developed.

The potentialities of modern agriculture are only beginning to be appreciated. Within the past century and a half there has been a most fruitful application of the techniques of science to the traditional methods of agriculture. The principles of physics and chemistry together with those of physiology and microbiology have been utilized in the study of the soil and in the maintenance and improvement of its fertility. The principles of genetics have been applied to the improvement of domestic animals and cultivated plants. Studies of mycology and entomology have given the agricultural scientist control

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6.

over plant diseases and pests and have enabled him to develop effective new fungicides and insecticides.

Agriculture has made more progress in the advanced countries of the world in this last century and a half than in all the preceding centuries of recorded history. During this period the percentage of population engaged in agriculture in the United States has declined from over 80 per cent to less than 20 per cent. The better half of these farmers, or less than 10 per cent of the population of the country, are producing 90 per cent of our farm products. An additional 10 per cent increase in the output of the better 50 per cent of our farmers would enable 10 per cent of our population to produce as much as we are now producing. This would free 90 per cent of our population for other services desired by modern man. Equally striking progress has been made in Western Europe. Farms are usually smaller and less mechanized. Yields per acre are higher but output per farmer is less.

In most of the underdeveloped countries, agriculture is in about the same stage as it was in the more advanced countries 150 years ago. Usually from 60 - 90 per cent of the population is engaged in agriculture. Farm wages are very low, often only 2 - 5 per cent of those in the United States. Crop yields and labor efficiency are both very low. As a result, basic food costs are so high that the average laborer cannot afford an adequate diet. In such a primitive agriculture the ravages of insects, plant diseases, and drought have free play. The use of commercial fertilizer, lime, green manures, and crop rotations is unknown. As a result the food supply varies widely from year to year. Inadequate transportation often makes it difficult to move food into deficit areas and aggravates the relief of famines.

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The contrast between the efficiency and productiveness of agriculture in the more advanced countries and its primitiveness and inefficiency in the underdeveloped countries is one of the really disturbing factors in world affairs today. The seriousness of the situation is aggravated by the fact that these contrasting areas are in more intimate contact with each other than ever before.

Observers from all the underdeveloped countries report that a ferment seems to be working in practically all of them. This has been especially noticeable since World War II. Prior to that time many of these countries were very much isolated from the rest of the world and the masses of the people accepted their lot as inevitable. As a result of contacts with the more highly developed countries during and since the war their leaders are becoming conscious of the fact that there is a better way of life for them. The airplane and radio are constantly reminding them of this fact. Agitators from Communist countries are making the most of the situation. The time is now ripe, in places possibly over-ripe, for sharing some of our technical knowledge with these people. Appropriate action now may help them to attain by evolution the improvements, including those in agriculture, which otherwise may have to come by revolution.

All well-informed agriculturists are agreed that the potentialities for the improvement of agriculture in most of the underdeveloped countries are enormous. In many areas, because of the nature of the climate, two to four or more crops can be produced on the same land each year. If the farmers in these countries are taught modern scientific methods and given access to the materials which have come to be essential to modern agriculture, such as fertilizers, insecticides, fungicides, etc., rapid progress can be made. Experience in both

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the United States and in the Foundation's agricultural program in Mexico has shown that, once momentum is attained, progress in agricultural improvement may be spectacular.

III. OPPORTUNITIES FOR THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION IN AGRICULTURE

The problem of population and food offers both an opportunity and a challenge to an organization concerned with "the well-being of mankind throughout the world." However, in considering an expansion of effort in agriculture on the part of The Rockefeller Foundation, it is not sufficient to recognize food production as a leading world problem, nor simply to believe that agricultural activities can in both direct and indirect ways notably serve the welfare of mankind in the modern world. If we are to convince ourselves of the desirability of expansion of our agricultural work, it is necessary, in addition, to see that the opportunities are such as to fall specifically within the competence, the experience, and the practical possibilities of our Foundation. Among all the vast number of things in the world which are important and need doing, The Rockefeller Foundation must select opportunities to which it can hope to make a significant and characteristic contribution.

In this connection it should be recalled that the interest of the Foundation in agriculture is not new or recent, but traditional. When Mr. Gates wrote Mr. Rockefeller in 1905 a letter which presumably contained the original motivation for the creation of The Rockefeller Foundation, he suggested several fields in which a great philanthropic trust should operate. It is worth remembering that the first field named by Mr. Gates was "scientific agriculture." From 1906 to 1914 the General Education Board invested nearly a million dollars in a pioneering agricultural program of farm demonstration. This support, augmented from state and federal funds, resulted in more than

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and foreign, and the continuity of the programs. It has been repeatedly demonstrated by the experience of other agencies in a number of Latin countries that little lasting effect results from the use of temporary agricultural consultants imported into a country for only short periods. A much more effective procedure is to establish carefully planned and stably supported projects of limited dimensions, within whose reasonable scope definite success can be attained. On this established success one can then advance to additional projects, and thus create a steadily growing body of material, information, and trained personnel capable of functioning actively and durably in the improvement of agriculture. The role of the Foundation in such a program should be that of a catalyst promoting a reaction without becoming a permanent part of it.

The present opportunities for The Rockefeller Foundation in agriculture are twofold: 1) to apply its experience and resources in building up the agriculture in certain backward countries; 2) to promote the sciences which underlie agriculture in order to stimulate the application of new discoveries in these sciences to the advancement of agriculture.

The first opportunity is world-wide, but for practical purposes it is concentrated, although not confined, to this hemisphere. The problems of the Americas are of necessity common problems. Whatever affects any country in this hemisphere must inevitably affect the others. Since there is a distinct possibility that this hemisphere may become the world's principal refuge from Communism, Americans concerned with the preservation of free societies must, in their own enlightened self-interest and not motivated merely by generosity or sentimental humanitarianism, do everything within their power to raise the living standards of their neighbors in this hemisphere.

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The agricultural programs in Mexico and Colombia have already attracted wide attention as one method of accomplishing this result. They have shown how the United States can export its technical skills to a friendly neighbor at relatively little cost. They have had an influence far beyond the boundaries of the countries in which they operate. Information and improved plant materials developed in Mexico have been made available to other Latin American countries; numerous visits have been exchanged with foreign scientists; and the program in Mexico has become a training center for young scientists from several other Latin American countries.

There are many ways in which the Foundation could become more widely helpful in Latin America, but none that appears more immediately promising than that of exploiting on a wider front the success of its present agricultural activities. The Mexican Agricultural Program stands as a hub around which future developments can be built. The experience gained in Mexico and the pattern of operation developed there can and should serve for operations elsewhere. The Mexican program should serve as a training center not only for American scientists later to be assigned to other countries, but also for young Latin Americans destined to return to their own countries.

This subject of training agricultural scientists for work in Latin America deserves special emphasis, for upon adequate training hinges the ultimate success of the entire program. The opportunities for training are numerous and diverse, and no useful type of training should be overlooked. The existing agricultural schools in most of the Latin American countries are far from effective and need substantial improvement. Much can be accomplished by sending some of the more promising young agricultural graduates from other countries to Mexico to serve as working apprentices in the Mexican Program. Still other



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students can benefit from a course of study in the United States. But this is only half of the picture. Training is needed for North American agricultural scientists, not primarily in their special techniques, but to teach them how to employ these techniques to good advantage in countries and cultures other than their own. The Mexican Agricultural Program can be used for this purpose; but perhaps, in addition, one or more agricultural colleges in the United States should be encouraged to give special attention to preparing some of their most promising agricultural students for service in foreign countries.

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13.

Another important opportunity not to be overlooked lies in sending distinguished American and European agricultural scientists to Latin American countries on a term basis for teaching or research. As past experience has already proved, this would serve little useful purpose if it were done apart from other measures. But such men could make notable contributions to established and active agricultural programs. The Mexican Program, for example, has benefited greatly by the fact that its agricultural advisers have been more than advisers. All have participated actively in research and teaching in Mexico, and have helped to keep the Mexican Program in touch with recent advances in their respective fields. Other agricultural scientists, not on the Advisory Committee, could be advantageously employed in Mexico and other countries in this same fashion. A roster should be made of agricultural scientists who are well qualified in certain fields and who are available for special assignments in Latin American countries. Such men, too, require training, but primarily the kind of training which they would gain by actual experience in the field.

As was stated above, there is a second large opportunity for The Rockefeller Foundation in agriculture, over and beyond - or perhaps one should say underneath - the extension of existing agricultural knowledge into backward areas. We should also promote the sciences which underlie agriculture, and should aid in those fundamental advances which are necessary if agriculture is to keep pace with the world's demand for food.

For example, if the Foundation should embark upon an expanded program of improving agriculture in Latin America, it must sooner or later also assume a share of the responsibility for maintaining high levels of agricultural research in the United States, which, for the immediate future

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at least, will continue to furnish the model for our neighbor countries. Since the United States already has an extensive and well-supported system of agricultural colleges as well as a vast research organization in the United States Department of Agriculture, it might be thought that this problem is one with which the Foundation need never concern itself. Unfortunately, this is probably not true. American agricultural scientists, like other applied scientists of this country, have shown themselves to be extremely skillful at applying theoretical knowledge to practical problems. They have been much less successful, and indeed many have been little interested, in creating a new body of theoretical knowledge upon which further technical advances can be built. The situation is rapidly becoming a serious one which is giving real concern to the more forward-looking workers in the agricultural colleges and in the United States Department of Agriculture.

It is possible, and indeed quite probable, that The Rockefeller Foundation could exert great influence upon research in agriculture by making occasional grants within the United States in the encouragement and support of really basic research. Such agricultural activity in the United States could operate on the principle that a project is of no particular interest to the Foundation if it is concerned primarily with the application of existing knowledge, but that it becomes eligible for consideration by the Foundation if it is concerned primarily with the advancement of knowledge in this area. Some effort might perhaps be made to invite applications in the second category. This proposal is a natural supplement to the Foundation's proposed objectives in Latin America. There the stress would be upon practical applications; in the United States the stress would be on those advances in pure science which would lay the foundation for future advances in the applied sciences.

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15.

Our discussion of agricultural opportunities has so far been confined to those of this hemisphere. These, we believe, take precedence over those in other parts of the world, but the latter must not be completely overlooked. Expansion in countries outside the Western Hemisphere could well be on an opportunistic basis. The methods might be different from those in Latin America and would vary from country to country. In India and Pakistan, for example, the difficulty is perhaps not so much the lack of competent scientists as the fact that their services are not utilized. Some need opportunity, and others need motivation. The same may be true of Japan. German agricultural scientists need equipment, facilities, and renewed intellectual intercourse with the United States and Canada. Japan and Western Germany are agricultural-deficiency countries. If they are to be outposts against Communism, spiritually and physically, some agency must help them to develop their agriculture.

There is a special problem in the Philippines, and perhaps special responsibility on the part of the United States to contribute so far as it can to its solution. It is not at all certain that there will be an opportunity to render help in the Philippines, but if there should be, it ought by all means to receive serious consideration.

#### IV. RECOMMENDATIONS

We are aware that the results of operations in agriculture, like those in public health, are sometimes dramatic and spectacular. Because these results are tangible and obvious, they have a natural appeal. Thus research in agriculture has a distinct tactical advantage when it competes for financial support with certain other fields of learning and application which may easily be of equal or even greater long-range value.

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Recognizing this, we are not recommending that The Rockefeller Foundation engage in either an abruptly rapid or an unlimited expansion of its agricultural activities. But we are equally convinced that an expansion is now in order. The success of the Mexican Program has been so conspicuous, the opportunities for similar success in other localities are so numerous and attractive, and the needs are so basic and pressing, that some increased action is clearly called for. Therefore we submit the following recommendations:

- A) That a program in agriculture, utilizing operations led by Rockefeller Foundation staff as well as research, training, and developmental grants to other agencies, be recognized for Latin America.
- B) That within the United States there be no support of agricultural activities which primarily involve the application of existing knowledge, but that projects be considered for support which involve the acquisition of new fundamental knowledge applicable to agriculture.
- C) That for parts of the world other than Latin America and the United States, The Rockefeller Foundation adopt for the present an opportunistic attitude with respect to agriculture, not actively canvassing for opportunities, but studying such individual opportunities as arise.

We recognize that our recommendations could move forward under a wide range of financial support. We assume that this aspect of the situation would be the subject of discussions between the President, the relevant officers, and the Trustees. We assume also that the decisions regarding

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suitable central-office personnel and other facilities are essentially administrative and would be made by the President of the Foundation with such advice as he wishes to seek.

Our recommendations are designed to suggest a broad general policy for The Rockefeller Foundation with respect to agricultural activities. Once a framework of policy has been adopted, detailed and specific recommendations for both its immediate and long-range implementation will be in order. Thus we would propose to proceed promptly and energetically with the recruitment of more United States personnel, and with the training of these men, in the Mexican and Colombian programs, for future service elsewhere.

In activating this policy of expanded effort in agriculture we would recognize the interdependence of improvements in health, education, agriculture, and other basic aspects of a country's economy and culture, and we would give priority to the relatively few situations where a well-rounded program of development seems most probable.

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# PRIMARY SOURCE WORKSHOP SUMMARY

**Time needed to complete workshop:** 1 hour 30 minutes

In this workshop, students assume the roles of foundation program officers identifying the benefits and risks associated with the programs being proposed for funding during the Cold War. After a close read of the documents and small group discussion, the students will engage in a whole-class debate about which of the programs offers the most effective weapon to further American Cold War interests. They should be encouraged to reference information from the primary source documents as evidence for their stance during the debate.

This workshop was developed for Victoria Phillips' Women as Cold War Weapons course at Columbia University. The workshop was facilitated at the Rockefeller Archive Center during the Fall 2019 semester. The documents included in this educational resource can be shared with students before the workshop, or the educator may choose to use a selection of the digitized primary sources depending on the length of time they are planning to dedicate to the workshop.

## **EXERCISE PROCEDURE:**

45 minutes - 1 hour: Independent, Small Group Work, Whole Group Work

- Students are briefed on the historical context in which the documents are to be read
- Students are briefed on the selected primary sources
- Assuming the role of foundation program officers, students independently close read the proposed programs to fund
- The students should be encouraged to take notes using the primary sources and identify any Cold War strategies used by the foundation
- After independently reading the documents, the students will share their notes in a small groups and start to articulate the benefits and risks of each program
- Each small group will be asked to represent one of the programs and share out the benefits and risks they identified in the documents
- Collectively, the class debates which of the programs is the most effective weapon to further Cold War interest
- Reflection: Students look for connections/commonalities among the documents

# FOLLOW-UP QUESTIONS

- Describe how your close read was affected knowing you were looking at these primary sources through the lens of foundation decision making during the Cold War.
- Describe Cold War strategies used by the foundations.
- What were your expectations going into the exercise?
- What was most challenging when articulating your arguments for and against funding?
- What experiences have you had working with primary sources before this exercise?
- How did the primary sources affect your interest or investment in the exercise?



# ABOUT US



**Elizabeth Berkowitz** was the 2018–2020 Mellon/ACLS Public Fellow at the Rockefeller Archive Center, where she worked as the Outreach Program Manager for the Research and Education division. An art historian, Elizabeth has taught extensively in museums and universities, and has published both popular and academic articles. She holds a BA in Art History and English, an MA in Modern Art, a Graduate Certificate in Museum Studies, and a PhD in Art History.



**Marissa Vassari** is Education Program Manager at the Rockefeller Archive Center. She coordinates the Archival Educators Roundtable to facilitate communication among professionals who use primary sources in public outreach and teaching. She holds a BA in Psychology and Special Education, an MA in Childhood Education, and an MLIS degree with an Archival Studies specialization.



**Barry Goldberg** was a Research Fellow at the Rockefeller Archive Center, 2018–2020. He earned his PhD in History from the CUNY Graduate Center and has written for numerous publications. Barry has ten years of teaching experience at the high school and college level. As a postdoctoral scholar, he has developed public-facing projects at several archives and museums.

# ABOUT US

The Rockefeller Archive Center (RAC) is a major repository and research center dedicated to the study of organized philanthropy and the Third Sector. It holds the records of over forty major foundations, cultural organizations, and research institutions, as well as the papers of over one hundred individuals associated with these organizations.

The Research and Education (R&E) Program at the RAC brings together historians, educators, and archivists to explore topics in the history of philanthropy for public, scholarly, and professional audiences and to cultivate new audiences for archival research. The team's activities include digital publishing, conferences and workshops, educational outreach, practitioner engagement, and a competitive research stipend award program.

R&E develops and makes available archive-based interdisciplinary projects and curricula for levels ranging from upper elementary grades to graduate study. These materials support the development of information literacy and research skills, as well as deeper engagement with primary sources and the practice of history. R&E also works to strengthen the bridge between education and archives by hosting workshops and discussions for a growing professional network through its Archival Educators Roundtable.

# CONTACT



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