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H-12

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.

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

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. Zeuch.

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

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 misguiding 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.