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Investigations

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 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. 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.

In addition to this major interest in medical education, between the years 1935 and 1945, \$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	425,000.00

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.

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.

F. M. R.