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July 4, 1996

Dear American, Re: CFR members mentioned in "Perjury-The HISS CHAMBERS Case by Allen Weinstein

References to the following individuals is quite revealing:

- ALGER HISS CFR
- Dean Acheson CFR
- William F Buckley Jr CFR
- William C Bullitt CFR
- John W Davis CFR
- Charles Dollard CFR
- Allen W Dulles CFR
- John Foster Dulles CFR
- Dwight D Eisenhower CFR
- Felix Frankfurter CFR
- Stanley K Hornbeck CFR
- Philip C Jessup CFR
- Owen Lattimore CFR
- Henry R Luce CFR
- William L Marbury CFR
- T.S. Mathews CFR
- George S Messersmith CFR
- David Rockefeller CFR
- Arthur Schlesinger Jr CFR
- Edward R Steettinius Jr CFR
- Adlai E Stevenson CFR

Weinstein writes on page 351 "House Un-American Activities Committee chaired by Congressman Dies sent to Attorney General Francis Biddle on October 17, 1941 a list of 1,124 alleged Communists, fellow travelers and Communist sympathizers employed by the federal government."

He continues on page 361 "Soviet Ambassador to the United Nations Andrei Gromyko in London on September 7, 1945 urged that the United Nations be located permanently in the United States, not Europe, after which Secretary of State Stettinius pursued a still unsettled problem: " I inquired as to whether his government had given any thought to a person who would take the position of [U. N.] secretary general, he [Gromyko] would be very happy to see ALGER HISS appointed temporary secretary general as he had a very high regard for ALGER HISS, particularly for his fairness and impartiality."

This book may still be available at your local library.

Yours for a FREE AMERICA
Charles R Spross
 Charles R Spross
 Enclosures: 78 pages

THE STORY OF THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION

BY RAYMOND B. FOSDICK



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HARPER & BROTHERS, PUBLISHERS, NEW YORK

FOREWORD

THE HISTORY OF THE ROCKEFELLER Foundation established by my father in 1913 "to promote the well-being of mankind throughout the world," here written by the masterly pen of Raymond B. Fosdick, for twelve years President of the Foundation, is a dramatic story of world-wide service.

As one of my close and valued associates for nearly forty years, Mr. Fosdick had more to do than anyone else with planning and developing the work of the Foundation and its related organizations—the General Education Board, the International Health Board, The Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial and the International Education Board.

That its Board of Trustees has seen fit to have a history of The Rockefeller Foundation written would be as great a satisfaction to the Founder as it is to his son.

JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER, JR.

September 13, 1951

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INTRODUCTION

THIS BOOK ATTEMPTS TO TELL THE STORY OF The Rockefeller Foundation, established by John D. Rockefeller, Sr., in 1913. But Mr. Rockefeller created other philanthropic trusts, and because these various organizations are frequently confined in the public mind, it may be worth while at the outset to identify them. The first organization which he established was The Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research. This was in 1901. Two years later he set up the General Education Board, for the promotion of education within the United States and its territories. In 1913, he launched The Rockefeller Foundation, and in 1918, The Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial, in memory of his wife. Each of these organizations was completely independent of the others; controlling its own funds under its own board of trustees. Mr. Rockefeller's total gifts to these trusts, figured at the market price of the day on which each was made, were as follows:

The Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research	\$ 60,673,409.45
General Education Board	129,209,167.10
The Rockefeller Foundation	182,851,480.90
Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial	73,985,313.77
Total	\$446,719,371.22

In 1923 John D. Rockefeller, Jr. created the International Education Board, to which he gave \$20,050,947.50. This was done because the General Education Board under its charter could not work overseas. The International Education Board has spent its funds, and has been liquidated. In 1928, The Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial was consolidated with The Rockefeller Foundation. One or two of its specialized functions which did not fit into the program of the Foundation were transferred to a new organization called The Spelman Fund of New York, which was given \$10,000,000 by the

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 professionally trained personnel which these schools were helping to develop.

Moreover, special research agencies were coming into existence which were not directly connected with particular universities, but which were playing a part whose significance could not be overlooked. Perhaps the most immediately important example—and one with the creation of which Ruml was himself actively identified—was the Social Science Research Council. Organized in 1923 to correlate and stimulate research in the social sciences, and modeling its plans on the successful activities of the National Research Council in the physical sciences, it became the most important instrumentality in America for furthering intercommunication between students of social problems and sponsoring co-operative research among the several disciplines. The grants which the Memorial made to this council were extensive, and the same pattern of support was maintained during the twenty-year period which in 1929 followed the consolidation of the Memorial with the Foundation.

The Brookings Institution, the Institute of Pacific Relations, and the National Bureau of Economic Research were also among the special agencies which were substantially aided by the Memorial during the brief span of its existence. Here, too, a relationship was established which was followed in later years by the Foundation.

II

Concurrently with this development, Ruml was addressing himself to his second objective: the increase in the number of able men working in the field of the social sciences. In this program he relied to a large extent on a systematic provision of fellowships which, as he said, "will tend to place the social sciences in a more equal relation to the physical sciences." The Memorial's fellowships in the United States were administered by the Social Science Research Council; overseas the program was carried on by the Memorial itself with the aid of "national advisers" in various countries including England, France, Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Italy, Holland, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, and Australia. Ruml was anxious to effect what, with Rose, he called "cross-fertilization"—to promote the easy flow between institutions and across frontiers of men and ideas in the social sciences. In addition, therefore, to fellowships which frequently took men from one country to another, the Memorial appropriated funds for traveling professorships, conferences, in-

and Rumi's program in this direction was expanded and developed. In addition to the extensive use of fellowships, one of the principal techniques employed was the encouragement of social-science committees or councils at various universities which would control and administer the fluid research funds given by the Foundation, thus determining for themselves the fields and projects to which they would devote their attention. This device, in the years between 1929 and 1934, resulted in the appropriation by the Foundation of over two million dollars. In addition, three major fields of special interest were laid out for intensive support—international relations, economic stabilization, and public administration. These fields are briefly discussed in the following paragraphs, although certain aspects of them are reserved for a later chapter.

International relations. Some support in this area had been given by the Memorial, but because of the critical nature of the times it was stepped up under the Foundation in the early thirties. Substantial grants for research, conference, and publication were made to a great variety of organizations, both in the United States and abroad, including the Foreign Policy Association, the Council on Foreign Relations, the Institute of Pacific Relations, the Fiscal Committee of the League of Nations, the Royal Institute of International Affairs (London), the Graduate Institute of International Studies (Geneva), the Centre d'Études Politiques Étrangères (Paris), the *Notgemeinschaft der Deutschen Wissenschaft* (Berlin), the Institute of Economics and History at Copenhagen, and a dozen others. As will be noted later, this type of support was continued by the Foundation during the following two decades.

Economic stabilization. In the early thirties, the conditions prevailing around the globe gave overwhelming evidence of the importance of scientific study of the intricacies of economic stability. No other problem that faced the world at that time offered so supreme a challenge to available resources of scientific method and personnel. "That any early solution of the problem can be found is altogether unlikely," wrote Day, "but that every effort should be made to deal constructively with it as expeditiously as possible cannot be seriously questioned."¹²

Two lines of interest were recognized: (1) the improvement of the statistical record of cyclical change and sharper identification of the causal factors involved; (2) the encouragement of studies designed to develop and perfect appropriate practical measures for minimizing the damaging effects of economic instability. Toward these two

nals and magazines like *Time* and *Newsweek*, or are in government service. Several former students are employed by the United Nations or by UNESCO and other specialized agencies. Whatever the hazards we face in our relations with Russia—and no one would minimize them—the work of this Institute at Columbia and of other research agencies points the way to more intelligent judgment than would otherwise be available.

Another strategic move was the support given to the Council on Foreign Relations for its so-called "war and peace studies." Experience has shown that the policy-making officers of the government are not only desirous of knowing what the intelligent citizen thinks ought to be done but are eager to have the analysis and judgment of outside experts whose help is prompted by disinterested motives. With this in mind, the Council, on the outbreak of the war in Europe in 1939, extended to the government an offer to assemble groups of experts who would analyze and make recommendations on the problems that would face the United States as a result of the conflict. The State Department accepted this collaboration but in doing so avoided, of course, making anything in the nature of an exclusive arrangement. On its side, the Council maintained its complete independence, received no subsidy or financial help from the government, and carried on its work throughout as a private agency. The assignment involved a long series of studies carried on by the best experts obtainable, and the results were forwarded privately to the government, where they were employed not only in the State Department but in the War, Navy, and Treasury Departments as well. The project, which throughout its course received cordial support in Washington, was in effect an active mobilization of the intelligence of the country in aid of foreign policy.

During this difficult period, also, the Foundation gave substantial help to organizations like the Foreign Policy Association; the Institute of Pacific Relations; the Canadian Institute of International Affairs; the Economic, Financial and Transit Department of the League of Nations, which during the war carried on its highly significant studies at Princeton, New Jersey; the Royal Institute of International Affairs (London); the Geneva Graduate Institute of International Studies, which continued the nucleus of a research program despite the comparative isolation of Switzerland; and the Swedish Institute of International Affairs (Stockholm), which not only maintained its level of activity during the war, but enlarged its work.

No thoughtful person will deny or minimize the need for protecting, and protecting adequately, our national security. The right and duty of national self-preservation cannot be challenged. This protection of the national security requires in certain instances the restriction of some of our traditional civil liberties. We have, however, learned by hard experience that we can be made to sacrifice more civil liberty to the cause of national security than is really necessary. There is, therefore, sound reason for examining with objective care the appropriateness and effectiveness of any particular governmental action sought to be justified as a defensive measure against disloyal or subversive persons or conduct.¹³

Histories. In the decade of the forties, and particularly after the war, the Foundation made a number of grants for certain strategic histories of social consequence, so that the record of past successes or failures might be available for the guidance of the future. Thus a grant was made to the Royal Institute of International Affairs of London to enable Dr. Frank Walters to write a history of the League of Nations. Another grant was given to the Council on Foreign Relations for a history of American foreign policy from 1939 to 1946, to be prepared under the leadership of Dr. William Langer of Harvard. A similar grant was made to the Royal Institute in London for a history of international relations during the decade following 1939, to be written by Arnold Toynbee. Another appropriation enabled the Food Research Institute at Stanford University to prepare, in collaboration with experts from many countries, a history and appraisal of the world's experience in handling food and agriculture during the Second World War.

Moral and Ethical Problems. Beyond the questions of social fact lie the questions of social value, of morals and ethics. With the problems of mankind calling for perspective and vision, our social scientists cannot be merely analyzers and computers. There are desires in the world today that cannot be satisfied by the production and consumption of goods. "God knows we need coal and food to survive," said a European delegate to the United Nations, "but unless America can take the lead in providing a vital faith, in giving us a song that mankind can sing, all her exports will merely postpone the day of reckoning, and the world will die anyway."¹⁴ To expect that exact measurement and exhaustive definition in the natural and social sciences will relieve men of the necessity of ethical inquiry, or that the meaning and values of human life will somehow or other crystallize as physics crystallizes around the concepts of mass and energy, is nothing short of superstition.

Affairs. Luigi Einaudi, an adviser rather than a fellow of the Foundation, is President of Italy. Sir Douglas B. Copland is Vice-Chancellor of the National University of Australia. Philip E. Moteley is director of the Russian Institute at Columbia University. Eric Roll and Arne Skang served as ministers to the Organization for European Economic Cooperation for Great Britain and Norway respectively. Hugh Gaitskell, at this writing, has just been appointed as the new British Chancellor of the Exchequer.

A review of the records of the men and women who over the last quarter of a century have received fellowships in the social sciences from Foundation funds shows gratifying results. Today they are occupying positions of importance and distinction in nearly every country of the world. They are on university faculties; they are connected with research institutions; they hold strategic governmental posts. Some of them, as is indicated by the above list, have gained outstanding recognition. It would be foolish, of course, to assume that their leadership and their contribution to social thinking are the results solely of their fellowship experience. Doubtless, many of them would have gained eminence without this experience or would have obtained the experience in other ways. But it is a satisfaction to record the subsequent success of highly promising men and women, picked largely from the younger generation, whom the Foundation was able to assist.

III

The growth of trained personnel in the social sciences has been paralleled by the growth of institutions for advanced work and teaching. One has only to review the record of the last three decades to obtain a measure of the development that has occurred. Before 1920, there was no National Bureau of Economic Research, no Brookings Institution, no Social Science Research Council, no Council on Foreign Relations, no Foreign Policy Association, no Royal Institute of International Affairs, no Public Administration Clearing House, no Food Research Institute at Stanford, no Industrial Research Department at Pennsylvania, no Russian Institute at Columbia. Today, these, and other centers, in universities and elsewhere, constitute public assets of immeasurable importance. They have provided increased accessibility to materials; they have aided group effort, group criticism, and group morale; they have facilitated the making of comparative studies. On the forge of their broad activities in research and