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# PENETRATING THE IRON CURTAIN – THE ROCKEFELLER AND FORD FOUNDATIONS’ EXCHANGE PROGRAMS DIRECTED TO “FRIENDLY” POLES, 1948–1962/1968

## INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this article is to show the undisputable role the Rockefeller and Ford Foundations’ scholarship and fellowship programs played in creating opportunities for scientific and intellectual networks to be created on both sides of the Iron Curtain, creating an abundance of impulses that would eventually penetrate it. Initially designed to reconnect scientific institutions across the Atlantic after the devastation of WWII, the exchange programs directed to scientists, academics and intellectuals ended up serving much grander purposes. Despite having similar selection procedures of prospective candidates for scholarships and fellowships in both Western and Eastern Europe, the impact the programs exerted appeared to be diametrically different.

The aim of the article is to discuss the general objectives of the Foundations’ interest in Eastern Europe, the various approaches both took in circumnavigating the restraints of Cold War reality including pressures from both sides of the political arena. It also juxtaposes the Ford Foundation’s (FF) and Rockefeller Foundation’s (RF) methods in selecting ‘the right’ candidates in cooperation with the Polish government, exemplified by several case studies of Polish applicants and fellows.

In the article, I claim that the activities undertaken by the two leading American foundations not only added impetus to others to follow but helped create a platform to challenge the existing order in Poland and to present varied if not opposing viewpoints.

The travels taken by Polish intellectuals to Western academic centres allowed them to proceed with their careers, their scientific endeavours, and provided unprecedented opportunities of not only surviving the progressing Sovietization of Polish universities, the resulting censorship and gripping Communist rule, but also provided a ray of hope for significant change.

Although the theme of the private foundations' involvement in the shaping of European-American relations has been explored extensively, and evaluated from various critical perspectives,<sup>1</sup> there are only a handful of articles and books published on the projects launched by private foundations in Eastern Europe in the time discussed,<sup>2</sup> with the Ford Foundation drawing more of the scholarly attention.<sup>3</sup> Thus, this article is an attempt at bringing more insight into this fairly unknown scope of activities undertaken by American philanthropic foundations in Eastern Europe, including appeasing anti-American sentiments in Europe, strengthening democratic forces, and improving the "potentialities of East-West contacts".<sup>4</sup>

Contrary to commonly held convictions, it was not the US government that orchestrated the private foundations' programs in Eastern Europe. Since the very beginning, relations between the public and the non-profit sector were doomed to failure. Bearing in mind the rough past of suspicion, marked by a series of US Congressional hearings, the Foundations did not intend to provoke any more accusations of being anti-American.<sup>5</sup> They had to strike a balance with the forces at home. While many doors remained closed to the U.S. government, private foundations, on the other hand, were actually invited to enter.<sup>6</sup> In order to proceed with the projects, the Foundations assented to

<sup>1</sup> One should mention the classic books that deal with the foundations' input in US public policy formulation (both at home and in foreign relations), including supporting US leadership, and contributing to the creation of what is known as 'knowledge networks', e.g.: M. Curti, *American Philanthropy Abroad: A History*, New Brunswick, New Jersey 1963; R.F. Arnove, *Philanthropy and Cultural Imperialism: The Foundations at Home and Abroad*, Bloomington, 1982; R. Kuisel, *Seducing the French: The Dilemma of Americanization*, Berkley, 1993; Ch.T. Clotfelter, T. Ehrlich, ed. by, *Philanthropy and the Nonprofit Sector in a Changing America*, Bloomington & Indianapolis, 2001; J. Roelofs, *Foundations and Public Policy: The Mask of Pluralism*, New York, 2003; I. Parmar, *Selling Americanism, Combatting Anti-Americanism: The Historical Role of American Foundations*, Budapest, 2004; J.L. Fleishman, *The Foundation: A Great American Secret: How Private Wealth is Changing the World*, New York, 2009.

<sup>2</sup> R. Nowaczewska, "Winning the Hearts and Minds": The Intellectual Cold War and the Rockefeller and Ford Foundations' Exchange Programs in Eastern Europe", *Res Gestae*, 2023, vol. 15, pp. 165–81; I. Stensrud, "Europe not taken for granted: The Ford Foundation's exchange programs in Eastern Europe in the 1950s and '60s", PhD Dissertation NYNU, Trondheim, 2018.

<sup>3</sup> The articles mainly focus on the social sciences. See: I. Czernecki, "An intellectual offensive: the Ford Foundation and the destalinization of the Polish social sciences", *Cold War History*, 2013, vol. 13, No. 3, pp. 289–310; A. Sulek, "To America!": Polish Sociologists in the United States after 1956 and the Development of Empirical Sociology in Poland", *Eastern European Politics & Societies*, 2010, vol. 24, No. 3, pp. 327–352; J. Kilias, "Not only scholarships: The Ford Foundation, its material support, and the rise of social research in Poland", *Serendipities. Journal for the Sociology and History of the Social Sciences*, 2020, vol. 5, No. 1–2, pp. 33–46.

<sup>4</sup> Interview with Shepard Stone, quoted in: I. Stensrud, "Soft power" deployed. Ford Foundation's fellowship programs in communist Eastern Europe in the 1950s and 1960s", *Monde(s)* 2014, vol. 6, No. 2, p. 117.

<sup>5</sup> There were several Congressional Committees called to investigate the activities of private philanthropic foundations at home and abroad, e.g. the Walsh Committee (1915), the Cox and Reece Committees (1952–54) and the Putnam Committee (1962).

<sup>6</sup> See: J. Krige, *American Hegemony and the Postwar Reconstruction of Science in Europe*, Cambridge, Mass., 2006, p. 75.

being “used as private instruments of public policy”;<sup>7</sup> while shunning to be “manipulated”.<sup>8</sup> Simultaneously, the Foundations did their best to present themselves to European partners as being “independent of the American government” and not “the slaves to U.S. foreign policy”.<sup>9</sup> The Foundations were “affirming their independence” that let them enjoy the credibility so much needed in relations with foreign partners.<sup>10</sup> These were the convictions mutually shared with the ‘liberal elements’ of the State Department that invited the Foundations to coordinate some of their aims with foreign policy objectives in what Berghahn called “symbiotic relationships” for the shared purpose of exercising what Maier called “consensual American hegemony”.<sup>11</sup> However, as the private sector assumed responsibility for many of the cultural and educational exchange projects, government participation remained only “peripheral”.<sup>12</sup> Consequently, U.S. government’s policies remain outside the scope of this article.

The article is based on the selection of various archival sources, including the Rockefeller Foundation’s and Ford Foundation’s records stored at the Rockefeller Archive Center. The qualitative comparative analysis method was used in this investigation, complemented with synthesis and generalization.

## BREAKING NEW GROUND

Established in 1913, “to promote the well-being and to advance the civilization of the peoples [...] in [the] acquisition and dissemination of knowledge”,<sup>13</sup> the RF launched its first international programs in Europe in 1917. In the inter-War period, it funded various projects in almost every European country, supporting talented individuals with grants and scholarships.<sup>14</sup> All through WWII, the Foundation went to great lengths to keep up the relations it had established. It spared no effort through several of its emergency programs to help those scholars who had been displaced and endangered by the Nazi regime.

<sup>7</sup> V.R. Berghahn, “Philanthropy and Diplomacy in the “American Century””, *Diplomatic History*, 1999, vol. 23, No. 3, p. 399.

<sup>8</sup> B.D. Karl, S.N. Katz, “Foundations and Ruling Class Elites”, *Daedalus*, 1987, No. 116, p. 33.

<sup>9</sup> J. Krige, *American Hegemony*, p. 117. See: Kuisel, *Seducing the French*.

<sup>10</sup> J. Krige, *American Hegemony*, p. 76.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*; V.R. Berghahn, *Philanthropy and Diplomacy*, p. 417; Ch.S. Maier, “The Politics of Productivity: Foundations of American International Economic Policy after World War II” [in] *In Search of Stability: Explorations in Historical Political Economy*, Ch.S. Maier (ed.), Cambridge, 1987, p. 148.

<sup>12</sup> Yale Richmond, *Cultural Exchange & The Cold War. Raising the Iron Curtain*, University Park, 2003, p. 16.

<sup>13</sup> Rockefeller Archive Center (RAC), Office of the Messrs. Rockefeller Records, Series (S) O, Box (B) 24, Folder (F) 242, *Rockefeller Foundation Deed of Trust*, 1909.

<sup>14</sup> In Poland, the RF provided funds amounting to over \$1,500,000, distributed among the State Institute of Hygiene in Warsaw and universities in Lwów, Cracow and Wrocław, sending over 200 graduate students and about 35 fellows abroad. RAC, Rockefeller Foundation Records (RF), Record Group (RG) 1.2, S789, B1, F5, B. Wierzbianski to W.C. Cobb, 19 June 1957; H. Schwartz, “Poland Asks Help of 2 Big U.S. Funds; Seeks Educational Support from Rockefeller and Ford Foundations in Line with U.S. Policy Past Assistance Noted”, *The New York Times*, 14 February 1957, p. 14. For more on the history of international grant making by the RF and other private foundations see: R.B. Fosdick, *The Story of the Rockefeller Foundation*, New York, 1952; J.E. Harr, P.J. Johnson, *The Rockefeller Century*, New York, 1988; M. Curti, *American Philanthropy Abroad*.

With the cessation of hostilities, it immediately endeavoured to reconnect with its European partners.<sup>15</sup> As soon as the borders were opened and governments issued entrance permits, the officers started also travelling to Eastern European countries. Initially, the key motivation behind RF activity was to reach out to the distressed and devastated communities, to help the scientists from this part of the world catch up with the American ones. So much had already been “lost in these years of silence and intellectual darkness” that further isolation, being devoid of research exchanges, inspirations, and influences, would sooner or later become equally detrimental to the American scientific world.<sup>16</sup> RF representatives’ visits to Poland in 1946 and 1947 resulted in several fellowships and grants-in-aid being awarded to individual scholars and various institutions.<sup>17</sup> However, the activities the RF undertook became highly ‘politicized’ and “undermined by suspicion and a lack of trust”, as a result of which the Foundation’s presence in Poland was abruptly terminated.<sup>18</sup>

With Communist Parties gaining popularity in Western Europe, the Korean War unfolding and the Atlantic Alliance soon to be shaken by a conflict that centred around the Suez Canal, the American government realized that what had seemed to have been solid ground for democratic values, had started slipping into the dark pits of an unknown future. At this time it became more than apparent that the Soviet Union had started making a more “favourable impression on Western Europe...” exerting “a consistent, subtle, dangerous pressure on American-European relations”.<sup>19</sup> Clearly anti-American feeling among European nations, the effect of the Communist propaganda, “seeking to discredit and distrust the United States and its actions throughout the world”, became more than apparent. President Truman projected that the Kremlin aimed at “creating distrust and hatred of the [American] government and its motives”. The solution to this he envisaged as supplementing the financial aid (the Marshall Plan) with a “full-scale effort in the field of ideas”.<sup>20</sup> European intellectuals that had been alienated by the Iron Curtain and/or anti-Communist hysteria in the USA needed to be educated on the true motives that were driving American activities in Europe. The source of the problem lay in a general misunderstanding. President Truman called for a “great campaign of [...] plain, simple, unvarnished truth” that would allow the world to get to know the real Americans, not the ones pictured by Communist propaganda.<sup>21</sup> Cultural and educational exchanges seemed

<sup>15</sup> The plans of the RF returning to Europe were made as early as 1943, see: RAF, RF, RG 1.1, S700R, B22, F162, J. Maier, “Memo: Initial Operations in Europe after the War”, 27 Dec. 1943.

<sup>16</sup> RF, *Annual Report of 1946*, p. 7.

<sup>17</sup> RF, *Annual Report of 1946*, 10, 128, 262-4; RF, *Annual Report of 1947*, 30, 86, 127-30; RF, *Annual Report of 1948*, 151-2; RAC, RF, RG 2, S789 SE, B351, F2378, Tracy B. Kittredge to Joseph H. Willits, 9 July 1946.

<sup>18</sup> RAC, RF, RG2, S789, B351, F2378, Kittredge to JHW, 9 July 1946; RG2, S789, B391, F2638, Norman S. Buchanan, *Diary*.

<sup>19</sup> RAC, Ford Foundation Records (FF), Catalogued Reports, Report No. 010640, Shepard Stone, *European Program*, 17 Sept. 1954, 1; See also: J. Krige, *American Hegemony*, Chapters 2 & 5.

<sup>20</sup> Public Papers of the Presidents, Harry Truman, “Letter to the Speaker on the Need for an Expanded Truth Campaign to Combat Communism”, 13 July 1950, <https://www.trumanlibrary.org/publicpapers/index.php?pid=819&st=speaker&st1=> [20.01.2022].

<sup>21</sup> Public Papers of the Presidents, Harry Truman, “Address on Foreign Policy at a Luncheon of the American Society of Newspaper Editors”, 20 April 1950, <https://www.trumanlibrary.org/publicpapers/index.php?pid=715> [20.01.2022].

to be the best method to be chosen to eliminate existing misconceptions and private foundations seemed to be the perfectly suited medium to achieve this aim.<sup>22</sup>

The Rockefeller Foundation supported the “cross-fertilization of ideas” using cultural means explicitly that would contribute to reducing international tensions resulting from misunderstandings.<sup>23</sup> Likewise, the Ford Foundation recognized the “exchanges of ideas, and possibly also of artistic and literary productions,” as “one of the most promising methods of fostering the development of world understanding and a sense of moral and cultural community among the peoples of the world”.<sup>24</sup>

Although established in 1936, the Ford Foundation was mostly active locally and not universally recognized until after the death of both Edsel and Henry Ford and the recommendations of what was known as Gaither’s Report were implemented, becoming the nucleus of the Foundation’s international program. It placed the establishment of peace, and the strengthening of democracy and education in a democratic society as the focal points for the FF’s major campaign to win the hearts and souls of intellectuals on both sides of the Iron Curtain.<sup>25</sup> With the help of the Institute of International Education (IIE), several intercultural projects were initiated including an extensive exchange-of-persons program in 1951.<sup>26</sup>

In 1954, the FF proposed a comprehensive set of intellectual, cultural and finally political projects in Europe. The program proposed to include strengthening the European-Atlantic Community as well as democratic institutions in Europe. Furthermore, by aiding the development of European universities, it advocated the widening of European perspectives. Shepard Stone, the assistant director of the international program responsible for Europe, was convinced that cooperating with young intellectuals and young leaders was of equal importance, bringing equally possible positive returns, as were cultural activities. Both were likely to bring political value, break down barriers, and get rid of the “provincialism and nationalism” that seemed to be having the most detrimental effects upon inter-European relations and relations with the US.<sup>27</sup> If Europe was to meet

<sup>22</sup> See: J. Krige, *American Hegemony*, chapter 5; G. Gemelli (ed.), *The Ford Foundation and Europe (1950s-1970s): Cross-Fertilization of Learning in Social Science and Management*, Brussels, 1998; F. Stonor Saunders, *The Cultural Cold War: The CIA and the World of Arts and Letters*, New York, 2000; V.R. Berghahn, *Philanthropy and Diplomacy*, pp. 399–402.

<sup>23</sup> RAC, RF, RG 3, S911, B2, F11, “The Humanities Program of the Rockefeller Foundation: A Review of the Period 1934 to 1939”. The work on “international cultural relations” through exchanges was initiated in 1934 with the RF launching new humanities programs under David H. Stevens. RF, RG 3.1, S911, B2, F10, David H. Stevens, “The Humanities in Theory and Policy”, 31 March, 1937.

<sup>24</sup> FF, *Annual Report for 1951*, 31 December 1951, p. 14. On the role of exchanges see: Ludovic Tournes and Giles Scott-Smith, ed. by, *Global Exchanges: Scholarships and Exchange Programs in the Modern World*, New York, 2017.

<sup>25</sup> H.R. Gaither, Chair and Director, *Report of the Study for the Ford Foundation on Policy and Program*, Detroit 1949.

<sup>26</sup> RAC, FF, Catalogued Reports, Report No. 001567, M.J. Fox, *Report on exchange of persons activities of the Ford Foundation*, January 1953, folder 1 of 2. On the new revised program, funding of East European Fund and many other pilot exchange and direct relief projects, see: R. Nowaczewska, *Fundacja Forda a problem uchodźców w Europie, 1950–56. Od wymiany akademickiej i programów pilotażowych do pomocy bezpośredniej* [in:] *Czas wojny. Czas pokoju: Stany Zjednoczone Ameryki w XX i XXI wieku*. vol. II, Ł. Niewiński, ed. Białystok, 2015.

<sup>27</sup> RAC, FF, Catalogued Reports, Report No. 010640, Shepard Stone, *European Program*, 17 Sept. 1954, pp. 1–5. It was believed that the exchanges would expose elites to the American value system, life and culture, in

the challenge of the “impressive economic, scientific and social development of Russia”, it had to develop an “open, democratic society”, and the proposed program was likely to become a major leverage in that process.<sup>28</sup>

The following year, the Department of State recognized the need to utilise NGOs in the battle for “the hearts and minds” of recipients across the Iron Curtain and what used to be a “three-legged stool” and was now called “new diplomacy”. It was observed that exchanges with satellite states were more likely to bring positive outcomes than American-Soviet exchanges.<sup>29</sup> The most preferred category of scholarship recipients were elites who would be “most deeply impressed by what they see and hear in the United States” perceiving the exchanges as a “promise of the alteration of the fundamental conditions under which they lived”.<sup>30</sup> At the invitation of the Polish government, both Foundations sent their representations to Poland in 1957, to examine possible scientific cooperation and looking for “promising” candidates for exchanges. The visit, estimated to become “another step in the evolution of Poland’s political independence from the Soviet Union”<sup>31</sup> was expected by the RF to result in a furthering of the “liberalization and democratization of Polish life”. Furthermore, the Foundations were convinced that if representatives of “Polish science, press and literature” were exposed to the “thinking and achievements of the West”, it would bring them closer to the “circle of culture” where it belonged.<sup>32</sup>

The visits resulted in full scale exchanges (that were soon extended to other East European countries), with the first grantees leaving for the West in 1958, as well as the generous and quite exceptional Polish Science Program funded by the RF.<sup>33</sup> Both were evaluated as beneficial and as complementary to the new agreement signed on East-West exchanges.<sup>34</sup>

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consequence evoking sympathy for the United States. Stensrud, ““Soft power” deployed”, p. 113. More on the role of exchanges within the European-American relationship, combating, among other aims, European anti-Americanism see: V.R. Berghahn, *America and the Intellectual Cold Wars in Europe: Shepard Stone between Philanthropy, Academy, and Diplomacy*, Princeton-Oxford, 2001.

<sup>28</sup> In 1958, the FF gave around \$2,000,000 to programs for strengthening education and research in Europe, mostly for exchanges of faculty members and students. It devoted about a million dollars to assisting European integration efforts. It granted another half million dollars to the American Council of Learned Societies and several hundred thousand dollars to other organizations to increase international understanding. Finally, it devoted half a million to reducing tensions through East-West exchange. Altogether, the amount spent on international activities in Europe in 1958 was about \$6,000,000. FF, *The Ford Foundation Annual Report, 1958*, pp. 79–82. Five years later, the commitment of the FF to International Affairs in Europe rose to over \$10 million dollars annually. FF, *Annual Report for 1963*, pp. 48–51, pp. 135–140.

<sup>29</sup> The State Department suggested that an immediate program, directed at such countries as Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Romania, and Hungary, should be launched without delay.

<sup>30</sup> East-West Exchanges between the USA and the Satellite States, Strictly Confidential memorandum, 22 October 1955 quoted in: Czernecki, “An intellectual offensive”, p. 291.

<sup>31</sup> H. Schwartz, “Poland Asks Help...”

<sup>32</sup> RAC, RF, RG 1.2, S789, B1, F5, B. Wierzbiański to W. C. Cobb, 19 June 1957; Transcript of Wierzbiański’s Voice of America Broadcast to Poland, 31 May 1957. See: Yale Richmond, *Cultural Exchange*, 200–201.

<sup>33</sup> RAC, FF, Catalogued Reports, Report No. 007874, Richard S. Myer to S. Stone, “Memo: Plan for Eastern European student exchange 29 June 1960”; RAC, RF, RG 1.2, S789, B1, F4, Trustee meeting, 3 April 1957; Appropriation no. 57088 for the Polish Science Program, 23 May 1957.

<sup>34</sup> The Department of State, “United States and U.S.S.R. Sign Agreement on East-West Exchanges”, *Bulletin*, vol. XXXVIII, No. 973, 17 February 1958; Frank G. Siscoe, Despatch No. 274 From the Embassy in Poland to the

SELECTING “PROMISING” CANDIDATES<sup>35</sup>

The Foundations developed guidelines for the Polish program on the evaluation and extraction of the ‘right’ grantees, later applied to exchanges with other countries. They required reciprocity of opportunity, access to archival or other resource materials, and reasonable freedom to travel and visit public places. These provisions seemed to be of particular interest bearing in mind the very detailed itineraries or scrutiny procedures that the visiting scholars or fellows from Eastern Europe had to undergo, such as receiving clearance from the State Department permitting entrance to the USA. This rule was imposed on all foundations receiving foreign visitors from across the Iron Curtain.<sup>36</sup>

The program also outlined the distribution of financial responsibility, including the support of accompanying persons. The RF gave special allowances for family members, whereas the FF required the fellows to cover such costs. While the selection was mostly administered by the Foundations’ officers, the placement at host institutions was handled by the IIE. It also guaranteed the even distribution of candidates among the several major disciplines administered by each of the Foundations.<sup>37</sup>

Both Foundations tried to determine what kind of grantee, if brought to the US under the exchange program, would be more ‘rewarding’ in the long run. The FF preferred younger, not yet established scholars, while the Rockefeller Foundation opted for more mature scholars, yet without very extensive study experience abroad. Pre-PhD students seemed to be less influential, had less impact on their surroundings, particularly on peer groups and the more broadly defined receiving groups than did the group of scholars. However, they were ‘cheaper’ as the administration of their scholarships would engage fewer institutions in the US in terms of organising and monitoring their visits. More advanced and established scholars would guarantee a larger focus on scientific results and not on the potential cultural, social, or political impact the grantees might have been exerting.<sup>38</sup>

The fundamental requirement that the Foundations imposed was fluency in the English language. However, both did grant scholarships to “outstanding individuals”, providing at the same time for an interpreter or a language course. Sometimes the inability to speak the language became the smoke screen for a refusal for some other reasons. The most difficult obstacle to overcome was the fact that the Polish government seemed to

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Department of State, Warsaw, 29 Jan. 1959, *Foreign Relations of the U.S., 1958–60*, vol. X, Part 2; *Expansion of American Aid to Poland Through Polish-American Foundation*, 28 April 1959, U.S. Congressional Record, 86<sup>th</sup> Congress, 1<sup>st</sup> Sess., vol. 5, part 5, pp. 6900–6901.

<sup>35</sup> It should be noted that all the first names and surnames are cited as used in RF and FF archival sources. If no name was provided, the author has added it within square brackets.

<sup>36</sup> Report No. 007874, op. cit.

<sup>37</sup> In 1959, both foundations came to an understanding on the fields each wanted to support. The FF’s program was restricted to the social sciences and the humanities, whereas the RF’s – to the biological, medical, and agricultural sciences. All the exceptions, including the physical sciences, were to be considered by both. RAC, RF, RG 1.2, S789, Box2, F17, “Warren Weaver’s Memo, 29 Sep. 1959”.

<sup>38</sup> RAC, FF, Report No. 007874, op. cit.

withhold ‘the best’ candidates, presenting ones “distinctly weak on quality”, or what was known as “consumer resistance”, meaning some candidates did not want to go through government red tape, some did not want to receive a government recommendation, and some were withheld by the top professors.<sup>39</sup>

Due to substantial discrepancies observed in the international experience between the Foundations, they needed to apply diverse selection procedures. The RF officers were mostly scientists and experts in their own fields of study, and were mature, knowledgeable, and working in several of RF’s divisions. They were also familiar with the European system of higher education, well-travelled and had vast professional contacts. They would go to every institute, lab or research centre and conduct on-site individual interviews. The FF, on the other hand, for the first two years of the program, mostly relied on teams of independent American scholars and experts to interview candidates.<sup>40</sup> Both would consider recommendations sent by scholars from American or West European universities.<sup>41</sup> There would be long lists of candidates presented by the Polish Academy of Sciences and the Polish Government, whereas fewer endorsements from home universities.

The Foundations insisted on drawing up the final lists of grantees independently, a condition the Polish authorities refused to comply with which further hindered the selection of the most qualified candidates. The Ministry of Higher Education (represented by Undersecretary Eugenia Krassowska-Jodłowska) proposed a list of 128 persons, of which about 70 were technical assistants and not independent scholars. Poles urged the FF to accept all their candidates, while the foundation had planned to ‘screen’ only about 50–60 people of which 3/4 would be selected, with researchers representing science constituting about 1/3 of the final group. Although the Foundations were ready to reach a compromise with the Polish government (accepting half of the candidates selected by the authorities and half of their own choice), the authorities pursued seizing the control of the entire selection process. In consequence, the group picked by the Ministry faced problems going positively through the clearance procedure conducted by the State Department and hence they were refused visas.<sup>42</sup> The group designated by either foundation, on the other hand, encountered obstacles in receiving the Ministry of Higher Education’s approval (as there was no formal agreements on exchange programs signed yet between the American and Polish governments) or their passports<sup>43</sup>.

<sup>39</sup> RAC, RF, RG 1.2., S789, B1, F1 Gerard R. Pomerat, *Diary*, 26 Feb. 1958; A note on Dr Henry Makower [Henryk Makower]; Letter from G.R. Pomerat to Prof. W. Stanley, 20 March 1958; RAC, RAC, FF, Catalogued Reports, Report No. 007873 – “Memo to Messrs. Stone and Gordon from John S. Dickey: *The first four days – Warsaw*”, 28 Feb. 1961.

<sup>40</sup> One of them was Paul Lazarsfeld, noted Columbia sociologist.

<sup>41</sup> The letters of recommendation would include pieces of the prospective candidate’s scientific work being attached. Example: RAC, FF, Grant Files, Grant Applications (GA) 05700322, Reel 2517, Letter from J. Lukaszewski [Jerzy Łukaszewski], College of Europe, Bruges, Belgium to James Robert Huntley, International Affairs, Ford Foundation, 30 July 1966, with Andrzej Kwilecki’s article “West-European Integration as a Sociological Problem” published in *Przegląd Zachodni* attached. “Memo from Doherty to Stone and Gordon about Witold Rosinski and his performance during his short research visit at Essex University”, England, 7 June 1966.

<sup>42</sup> RAC, RF, RG 1.2., S789, B2, F16.

<sup>43</sup> RAC, FF, Office Files of President Henry T. Heald, SI, Group (G) 22, B6, F70, “Memo from S. Stone to Mr. Heald, Mr. Price on the Visit of Dr Ludwik Leszczynski to the United States”, 21 November 1958. Granting



This led the FF to halt the exchange program in 1962, whereas the RF ceased appropriating any special funds for the Polish Science Program after 1961.<sup>44</sup> The FF resumed its program in 1968 after a series of negotiations and Shepard Stone's visit.<sup>45</sup> In the years 1957–1962, some 550 individuals – scholars, specialists, and journalists – went to the USA under both Foundations' programs. This was the largest exchange program for the East European region.<sup>46</sup>

## THE STORIES OF PROMINENT GRANTEES

There are numerous examples of Polish appointees for the Ford and the Rockefeller foundations' scholarships but for various, mostly political reasons, the Polish authorities refused to grant them passports.

Jan Tomasz Hołowiński, Polish professor of economics (at the Universities of Gdańsk and Poznań) was one of a larger group that, having been selected by the Foundation in 1961, could not, for one reason or another, take up his award. Six years later Hołowiński turned to the FF saying: "matters seem to have changed here in some respects and there may be a chance for me to get a passport for a trip to the US as a private applicant".<sup>47</sup> However, after a statement made by Mieczysław Moczar, the Vice Minister for Internal Affairs, at the plenary meeting of the Central Committee of Poland's United Workers' Party, calling for the "tightening of ideological discipline and a caution on contacts with the West", there was very little hope that the selected grantees would get passports at all. Moczar's accusation that "scientists and men of learning, specialists, representatives of various firms and institutions and journalists" were helping the United States gather "intelligence information",<sup>48</sup> made the IIE, administering the FF scholarships, particularly cautious and to review their policy. It resolved to look through the list of those candidates that did not come (and the possible reasons) and as far as possible keep the invitations open. Besides Hołowiński, also Jerzy Kostrowicki, Maria Manturzevska and Andrzej Siciński were refused passports. Several other grantees did manage nevertheless to come

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a passport sometimes depended on the "personal goodwill of some bureaucrat or on the pressure that could be brought to bear on him by influential persons in Polish society", for example: Dr Józef Chilczuk assisted Dr [Andrzej] Wróbel, while Dr Józef Barbag assisted Prof. Ann Czekanowska-Kuklińska (the wife of FF grantee Prof. Antoni Kukliński) in getting passports. Chilczuk was the Vice director of the Institute of Geography, Warsaw University, and Barbag used to be with the Ministry of Higher Education. Both were members of the party. FF, Grant Files, GA 05700322, Reel 2518, Letter from W.A. Douglas Jackson, Far East and Russian Institute, Department of Geography, University of Washington to S. Gordon, FF, 12 Oct. 1964.

<sup>44</sup> RF, *Annual Report of 1961*, 29, 31.

<sup>45</sup> RAC, FF, Grant Files, GA 05700322, Reel 2517, Cable from S. Stone, FF to Ambassador Henryk Birecki, Director Cultural Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Warsaw, 27 April 1967.

<sup>46</sup> Under the FF program 330 Poles left, and 30 Americans came to Poland. RAC, FF, Office of Vice President Francis X. Sutton, SII, B20, F6. Under the RF, about 221 fellowships, only under the special Polish Science Program, were awarded. See: RF, *Annual Reports of 1957–61*.

<sup>47</sup> RAC, FF, GA 05700322, Reel 2517, Letter from Ian T. Hołowiński to Ann Doherty, Division Head, IIE, 3 April 1967.

<sup>48</sup> H. Kamm, "Polish Reds Urge Curbs on Contacts with West", *The New York Times*, 21 May, 1967, p. 13.

to the US with State Department scholarships (Janusz Wamiński, Zdzisław Mikulski), though some ceased to reply to any correspondence (Jan Czyżyński, Krzysztof Dąbrowski). Additionally, there was a much longer list of applicants who had been selected before 1961 and the awards were still on hold in 1967. These included Władysław Bienkowski<sup>49</sup> (the IIE unsuccessfully tried to contact him between 1958 and 1960), Antoni Gurnicz (few had hope that he would be allowed to go to the USA), Teodor Wojciech Hoffmann (his visit was cancelled), Zygmunt Kałużyński (made an application for a passport in December 1959 - with no answer till 1967), and Krzysztof-Teodor Toeplitz (put on hold in 1962, but with some optimistic news that he would get his passport in 1967).

There was also Leszek Kołakowski who was selected for a scholarship in October 1957. However, the Ministry of Higher Education did not list his name among the grantees. The request for the permission to leave was renewed to which the Ministry responded negatively. The FF offered the scholarship to remain valid indefinitely, requesting permission to be granted in the following years. Until 1967 there was no permission given.<sup>50</sup> His case demonstrated the extent of the Foundations' involvement not only in the scientific arena but also the perceived political activity of their prospective grantees. The Rockefeller and Ford foundations were very much aware of the local conditions and remained sensitive to the nuances of international relations. Thus, when the City University of New York offered to invite Kołakowski to come to the USA, the Ford Foundation was not eager to support the attempt. Several leading American universities took a stand against the invitation as well. A letter from Steven Muller, the Vice President for Public Affairs at Cornell University, explained the reasons why they rejected the invitation. They were convinced that such an invitation "would render him a great disservice, as it would be interpreted as an American effort to reward him for the criticism he has made of the regime and the party in Poland". The international attention his case received could be also viewed as "a hostile outside intervention" or "an attempt to inject an American point of view into the internal affairs of the Polish people". Both the FF and the representative of Cornell University were not ready to accept the possibly devastating consequences. Kołakowski's courage was very much admired, but they wished no further harm or more serious charges being made against him.<sup>51</sup>

In the groups that were fortunate enough to get through the sieve of Polish government scrutiny, the Foundations' selection processes, and finally clearance by the State Department to receive permission to enter, there were representatives of various fields,

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<sup>49</sup> Politician, sociologist, journalist; was the Minister of Education, resigned in 1958 in protest against removing religion from schools, became a harsh critic of socialism, removed from the Communist Party.

<sup>50</sup> RAC, FF, GA 05700322, Reel 2517, Letter to Stanley Gordon, FF, from Ann Doherty IIE, Polish scholars invited to the US by the Foundation / Polish Invitees who have not yet taken up awards, 27 April 1967. A letter was sent from Ministry of Higher Education stating that L. Kołakowski would not be able to take up the fellowship award, because "the number of philosophy lectures has considerably grown during the 1960/1961 academic year and that is why he has to stay with his students at Warsaw University". GA 05700322, Reel 2520, Letter from Halina Zalewska, Head of the Foreign Section, to S. Gordon, FF, 5 Sept. 1960. FF kept the fellowship award open for the next years, repeating the invitation, but no responses were received. Letter L. Kołakowski to S. Stone, 5 Feb. 1960.

<sup>51</sup> RAC, FF, GA 05700322, Reel 2517, Letter from Steven Muller to Professor Alfred Bloch, Department of History, Brooklyn College of the City University of New York (cc S. Stone, S. Gordon), 8 Nov. 1966.

professions, levels of experience and expertise. Their stories vary in respect to the amount of pressure put on their candidacies, expectations put on the results of their research work, evaluation of their performance and possible return on the investment after they went back to Poland. Some of them clearly were Communist Party members, some were government members, and some others - independent candidates or in opposition to the regime. All were expected to become transmitters of knowledge, values, beliefs or hopes.

As has already been stated, the Rockefeller Foundation expected the fellows to become part of the open-access scientific world, bringing some of their brilliant concepts and testing them in the welcoming conditions of American research labs, leading in consequence to the cross-fertilization of scientific ideas. The Ford Foundation, on the other hand, saw them as being part of an ongoing long-term cultural diplomacy, sharing the values of the democratic society that they had experienced during their stay in the USA, and slowly transferring these ideas into the minds of their peers and people surrounding them. Due to the constraints of the article word limit, I can only focus on some FF grantee case studies. They represent the approach the FF took in assorted cases of variously apt candidates, including their individual stories, usefulness, scientific standing, political beliefs or code of conduct.

One of the grantees was Dr Ludwik Leszczyński. He was a director in the Ministry of Higher Education, directly responsible for the Ford Foundation program in Poland. Upon coming to the USA under the same scholarship he was supervising, he was formally welcomed with a luncheon organised for this occasion to which representatives of the FF were invited, including Stanley Gordon, who had been handling the Polish program on behalf of the FF, and Shepard Stone, the Assistant Director of International Affairs of the FF.<sup>52</sup> Leszczyński, having admitted that Poland was “under tremendous pressure from Soviet Russia” expressed high hopes that “the Polish-American understanding would have long-term implications ‘no matter which way the winds blow temporarily in Poland’”. In this manner he alluded to the recent events of the 1956 protests, the tense relations with the USSR and what was known as the “Gomułka Thaw”. Leszczyński praised “the immense strength” of the Soviet Union, where he had spent four weeks before coming to this five-week program to the USA. He was taken aback by the Americans’ fear of Russia and wondered why they did not give up “their negative fearful attitude” and get on with their own affairs. He conducted an extensive tour of American universities and institutions, receiving “high marks for [his] intelligence, charm, ability to ask sharp questions and cynicism”. He made an impression but not on the Polish students he met during that trip. They were not at all enthusiastic when he made it very clear he would be having “considerable influence on their careers when they return[ed] to Poland”. No matter how much Leszczyński wanted to impress the FF representatives, he did not succeed in forcing a new candidate selection method upon the FF. To his proposal, that the Polish government would receive the Foundation’s lists of candidates well in advance to advise on the ones who would not be getting their passports if selected, the FF threatened to

<sup>52</sup> RAC, FF, Office Files of President Henry T. Heald, SI, G22, B6, F70, International Affairs, “Memo to Miss Alice Brown from S. Stone”, 8 October 1958.

completely cease their program, which they ultimately did anyway. The FF was very much aware of the convictions Leszczyński held and the futility of hoping that any study tour would make him change them. Several of the observations made by the FF officers about him, however, are worth quoting. In their view Leszczyński was “(a) reluctant to leave the United States, (b) impressed beyond expectation, (c) full of admiration for many of our outstanding scholars and scientists, (d) unimpressed by the level of many members of college and university faculties, (e) puzzled by the variety of American educational institutions and by the differences in quality among them, (f) uncertain about the objectives and philosophy of American higher education, (g) grateful to the Ford Foundation for a ‘great, unbelievable experience of [his] life’”.<sup>53</sup>

Leszczyński was the case of a ‘lost cause’, the grantee that came with unshakable convictions and left with an even more uncompromising, ideological stance against everything the USA represented. The impression he had created on the FF officers was reinforced by the opinion of Jerzy Giedroyc. He wrote a letter to Shepard Stone in which he expressed his resentment at the way several of the Polish candidates (namely Agnieszka Osiecka, Zdzisław Najder) had been treated by Leszczyński who had originally refused their passports. Giedroyc questioned Leszczyński’s motives and warned that “one should take all possible precautions when dealing with him” as he was “an opportunist and false”.<sup>54</sup>

The FF was equally critical about another grantee, Longin Pastusiak, whose case was quite notable. He was the “only known” scholar from Poland, under the Foundation’s Polish exchange program, to receive a grant from the FF not once but twice – first in 1961/1962, and again in 1968/1969. For reasons unknown to the Foundation, he was arbitrarily selected by the Polish authorities who also gave him additional leaves of absence for the time of the scholarships.<sup>55</sup>

Thanks to the cooperation of many Polish intellectuals living in Europe or the USA, the Foundations were able to closely follow the events taking place in Poland. Konstanty A. Jeleński, who led the Eastern European division of the Congress for Cultural Freedom was one of them. He frequently advised the FF on the merits of the prospective candidates being invited to study and research by means of the Foundation’s scholarships. He also informed the FF about 34 Polish writers and scholars who on 14 March 1964, signed a letter protesting censorship. The Ford Foundation took notice of all these “impressive signatories” who had participated in the “first major action of intellectual opposition since 1956”.<sup>56</sup> In fact, some of them had already been to the USA under the FF scholarship or were granted one in the following years.

Jan Kott, a renowned Polish theoretician and theatre critic, and the author of *Shakespeare, Our Contemporary*, was one of these intellectuals. In 1963 he spent about nine months in

<sup>53</sup> RAC, FF, Ibid., “Memo from S. Stone to Mr. Heald, Mr. Price on the Visit of dr. Ludwik Leszczyński to the United States”, 21 November 1958.

<sup>54</sup> RAC, FF, Grant Files, GA 05700370, Reel 0530, A letter from Jerzy Giedroyc to S. Stone, 28 June 1968.

<sup>55</sup> RAC, FF, Grant Files, GA 05700322, Reel 2519, Letter from Ann Doherty, Division Head, Special Projects and Arts Department, IIE to Pastusiak, 23 Oct. 1968. Letter from Pastusiak to Doherty, 30 Oct. 1968. “Memo to S. Gordon from A. Doherty, Subject: Longin Pastusiak”, 31 Oct. 1968.

<sup>56</sup> RAC, FF, GA 05700322, Reel 2518, Letter from K.A. Jeleński to S. Stone, 9 April 1964.

Britain, Italy and France. He impressed the FF extensively with the ideas brought forth by him in the book, its popularity, and his performance. Described as “not a fanatic-either way”, he was offered a FF grant in 1965, when he travelled to lecture in Yale and Berkeley.<sup>57</sup> Kott’s initial experience and problems getting permission from the Polish authorities made him draw up a scheme. In a letter to the FF, he outlined the plan of bringing more of the Polish intellectuals who “courageously opposed Stalinism”, a plan that was to outsmart the Polish authorities. He acknowledged the importance of the FF’s exchange program. In his opinion it contributed substantially to “forming a very valuable group of young writers and scholars, [...] reinforcing ties with the West” and indirectly by reinvigorating the connections with “Western thought and culture” which had resulted in the events of October 1956 in Poland. He complained about the tightening of censorship in Poland and intellectuals being forced to publish in the magazine “Kultura”. The suspension of the FF exchange program by the “ill-willed totalitarian group in the [Polish] Government” would, in Kott’s view, deprive the new generation of intellectuals of the possibility to develop contacts with the West. This would most probably result in them becoming “cynical and provincial, and easy prey for political manipulators”. He even presented a plan to outmanoeuvre the restrictions put forward by Polish authorities in which he proposed to create a pool of institutions willing to grant scholarships to Polish intellectuals. Normally, when they were invited, the government did everything possible to prevent them from benefiting. However, it rarely rejected passports if people wished to go abroad in their private capacity. Thus, he suggested forming “an unofficial committee in Warsaw, composed of a few very trusted friends who would give to young scholars, writers, [and] artists, letters of recommendation”. Once abroad these young people would be automatically granted stipends. Besides him, the group was to include Stanisław Ossowski (for sociology), Leszek Kołakowski (for philosophy), Professor Bramer [Mieczysław Brahmmer] (for languages) and Antoni Słonimski (for writers, artists, the theatre and cinema). The young people selected by the committee were to be sent to Konstanty Jeleński, who would be responsible for matching them with the right Western institution.<sup>58</sup>

The FF was perfectly aware of the fact that “the future outlook for the program was black” and that Poland itself “would lose the most by discontinuing the project”. Nevertheless, the FF declined Kott’s proposal. It felt that it had to maintain its position of neutrality as a private philanthropic foundation. In the given circumstances, the FF opted for staying clear of openly antagonizing the Polish authorities. In order to prevent further hostile reactions to the selection procedures of prospective independent candidates, the FF decided to keep the exchange program on stand-by until more favourable conditions prevailed.<sup>59</sup>

Polish fellows were not only travelling to the US, where their high scientific standards, artistic talents, formidable intellect and displayed aptitude were “noted”, but were also

<sup>57</sup> RAC, FF, Grant Files, GA 05700370, Program for Exchange of Scholars and Specialists Between France and Poland, Reel 0530, Excerpts from Michel Gordey’s Letter to Shepard Stone, 18 August 1964.

<sup>58</sup> RAC, FF, GA 5700322, Reel 2518, Letter from Jan Kott to S. Stone, 23 August 1963.

<sup>59</sup> RAC, FF, GA 05700370, Program for Exchange of Scholars and Specialists Between France and Poland, Reel 0530, S. Stone to Jan Kott, 17 Sept. 1963.

sent to Britain, France, Italy, Spain, Switzerland, Greece and the Scandinavian countries. The FF fellowships, granted to Polish scholars at British universities, were administered by the British Council, acting as another intermediary institution. One of the grantees was Zygmunt Bauman, who spent the academic year of 1957/58 at the London School of Economics. The university was very much impressed with his work, praising him to be of “absolutely first-class ability and with tremendous diligence”. In the opinion of the reviewer, his “rigid Marxist background” did not prevent him from showing “great flexibility and subtlety in examining the structure and functioning” of other labour arrangements. It was suggested to the FF to prolong his study time with additional resources, as the decision to select Bauman should only be congratulated.<sup>60</sup>

Another institution administering FF grants in France was L'Office National des Universités et Écoles Françaises in Paris. Among the fellows that received the rewards were Jan Kott, Maria Staszewska (Professor of literary history) and Agnieszka Osiecka, a “member of the youngest left-wing intelligentsia, a very gifted poet and critic, recommended by Giedroyć” as we can read in the evaluation report. She was first considered for a grant in 1958, receiving one in 1962, but was not allowed to leave until 1967. Due to her relations with “Kultura” in Paris, and being a member of a student theatre group “expressing the idea of 1956”, problems with her receiving a passport were anticipated. After the given period of time, her initial purpose for the grant had changed. By this time, she had already spent some time in France, then left for NY, where she stayed with another Polish grantee, Maciej Małecki (Polish composer and pianist who composed many pieces of music to Osiecka’s poetry). The FF asked for a new application. She replied in a typically affectionate, straightforward way: “I dear to hope that I really am a polish writer. And the only purpose of coming abroad is to try to write for different people- not only for Polish people. That’s why I only need simple to [and here the word is illegible but could be “TeaCH” or “Touch”] your life and your country. I don’t need any precise studies at any university. I want to see as much theatre as I can and just to meet people. Different people”.<sup>61</sup>

Kott and Jeleński also provided references. She also attached a personal letter to Stanley Gordon, the FF officer conducting the interview, with her photo attached, signed “Mrs. Agnieszka Osiecka (a Polish girl from Rochester!)”.<sup>62</sup> During her stay she managed to make a multitude of friendships, travelling extensively. She was yet another Polish grantee who appeared to be a perfect candidate for the Foundation’s East European program, guaranteeing her return to the country of origin, equipped with new experiences, broadened horizons and the set, ‘right’, impressions and convictions about the USA or

<sup>60</sup> RAC, FF, GA 0570032, Exchange of Students, Professors, and Specialists Between the United Kingdom and Poland, Reel 0530, Report on Ford Foundation Scholar - Z. Bauman, 1 April 1958.

<sup>61</sup> Spelling and stress - original.

<sup>62</sup> RAC, FF, Grant Files, GA 05700370, Program for Exchange of Scholars and Specialists Between France and Poland, Reel 0530/ Reel 0531. A letter from Jerzy Giedroyć to S. Stone, 28 June 1968. Polish Exchange Program, Application Form: Agnieszka Osiecka, September 1959. Comments on the Application, 3 September 1958. “Memo from Drucilla Evans to S. Gordon on A. Osiecka”, FF, 6 December 1967. “Memo from Gordon to Stone on Osiecka”, 12 December 1967. Application form: A. Osiecka, 7 December 1967. Letter from Osiecka to Gordon, 7 December 1967. “Memo from Myer/Doherty, IIE to S. Gordon, FF on Osiecka”, 18 December 1967.

the West. Once there she also sent lists of people the FF “could probably help”, including “Modzelewski, Kuroń, Kutz i Młynarski”.<sup>63</sup> Her status as a “witty, sharp, satirical writer” made her an important and influential person among the young intelligentsia and students. In the opinion of Professor Andrzej Korboński of UCLA, because of her “unique status she was in an excellent position to create a considerable impact on her audience and readers, establishing good will for the United States”<sup>64</sup> and for the FF, she was one of the “friendly” Poles.<sup>65</sup>

## CONCLUSION

The scientific, cultural or political impact of the exchange program of the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations as well as the extent to which all the Polish grantees contributed, is difficult to measure. Professor Andrzej Korboński of UCLA, who administered the FF exchange program for Polish candidates, shared the opinion that the termination of the program by Polish authorities indicated the “ferment it introduced from outside [that] persisted unabated for years”. In his view, the program had a great impact on many of the grantees and on general development in Poland. It induced “implicit and occasionally explicit criticism of the system”. Furthermore, he was convinced that “it [was] difficult if not impossible to draw a direct connection between the Exchanges and the March 1968 explosion which shook Polish universities and resulted in a major purge of faculty and students”. He also noted that among “the purged professors, most if not all [had] participated in the Exchange Program sponsored by the Foundation”.<sup>66</sup>

As Zbigniew Brzeziński rightly observed, Communism would be destroyed by the “politics of knowledge” impacting “professional elites” and not by using the most lethal of all weapons, while American mass culture was to win the hearts and souls of the rest.<sup>67</sup>

This group of grantees brought significant attention to the developments taking place in Poland and the region. Contrary to the intentions of the Polish government, the exchanges served their purposes. Besides sharing scientific experiences, and bringing knowledge across the Iron Curtain, they allowed the foreign public to learn more about the people of Poland, and to find out about the beliefs they held. While the “friendly” grantees, outside of Poland, served the roles of informal ambassadors of Poland and the Polish people, they also became voluntary or random transmitters into Poland of democratic values, freedom, and of open society.

<sup>63</sup> RAC, FF, Grant File 0570322, Reel 2517, Letter from Osiecka to Stone, 10 Jan. 1968.

<sup>64</sup> RAC, FF, Grant File 0570322, Reel 2517, Letter from A. Korboński to Stanley Gordon, FF, 14 May 1968.

<sup>65</sup> The adjective used by the IIE describing prospective candidates RAC, FF, GF 05700322, IIE “Memo to S. Gordon”, FF, 7 Feb. 1961.

<sup>66</sup> RAC, FF, Grant File 0570322, Reel 2517, Evaluation of Foundation Exchange Program with Poland, A. Korboński to Miss Kimble, FF, 13 April 1972.

<sup>67</sup> Z. Brzeziński, *Between Two Ages*, New York, 1970, p. 59.

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## Penetrating the Iron Curtain – the Rockefeller and Ford Foundations' Exchange Programs Directed to "Friendly" Poles, 1948–1962/1968

The research objectives of this article are to analyse one form of international philanthropy undertaken by two American private foundations: the Rockefeller and the Ford foundations. It poses questions about the possible impact the exchange programs directed to Poland in the early Cold War period had upon the opening of research opportunities

to catch up with peers in the West. The article covers the time span between the first visit of the Rockefeller Foundation representatives and the year when both temporarily withdrew or suspended their extensive programs. The method of critically analysing archival documents of both foundations made it possible to explore the circumstances of their engagement, candidate selection procedures, and the different approaches to achieving set goals. It reveals that the Rockefeller Foundation focused on scientific results, leading to the 'cross-fertilization' of ideas, network creation, and the opening up opportunities, while the Ford Foundation aimed at long-term cultural diplomacy, impacting upon groups of 'friendly' recipients. The article explores several case studies of Polish grantees, showing the foundations' non-discriminatory practices based on merit and the role these grantees might have exercised in the development of science, strengthening the free world, and promoting international understanding.

#### KEYWORDS

Rockefeller Foundation, Ford Foundation, philanthropy, exchange programs, Cold War, Poland, scientists, intellectuals, case studies

## Otwieranie żelaznej kurtyny – program wymiany kulturalnej fundacji Rockefellera i Forda skierowany do „przyjaznych” Polaków, 1948–1962/1968

Celem artykułu jest analiza jednej z form międzynarodowej filantropii, świadczonej przez dwie amerykańskie fundacje prywatne: Rockefellera i Forda. Poszukiwane są odpowiedzi na pytania o wpływ programów wymiany, skierowanych do Polski we wczesnym okresie zimnej wojny, na stworzenie możliwości badawczych, służących dogonieniu osiągnięć naukowych na Zachodzie. Cezury czasowe to data pierwszej wizyty przedstawicieli Fundacji Rockefellera w Polsce i rok, w którym fundacje tymczasowo wycofały się ze wsparcia lub zawiesiły swoje rozległe programy. Krytyczna analiza dokumentów archiwalnych obu fundacji pozwala poznać okoliczności ich zaangażowania, procedury wyboru kandydatów oraz różne podejścia do sposobów osiągania wyznaczonych celów. Fundacja Rockefellera koncentrowała się na wynikach naukowych, dążyła do wzajemnej wymiany idei, do tworzenia sieci powiązań współpracujących ze sobą naukowców i intelektualistów, podczas gdy Fundacja Forda prowadziła działania z zakresu dyplomacji kulturalnej, która wywierałaby długofalowy wpływ na grupy „przyjaznych” odbiorców. W artykule przedstawiono kilka studiów przypadku polskich stypendystów, ukazując w ten sposób niedyskryminacyjne praktyki fundacji oparte na zasługach i roli, którą podopieczni mogli odegrać w rozwoju nauki, umacnianiu wolnego świata i promowaniu porozumienia międzynarodowego.

### SŁOWA KLUCZOWE

Fundacja Rockefellera, Fundacja Forda, filantropia, programy wymiany, zimna wojna, Polska, naukowcy, intelektualiści, studia przypadków

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**RENATA NOWACZEWSKA** – doktor nauk humanistycznych, adiunkt w Instytucie Historycznym Uniwersytetu Szczecińskiego. Studiowała amerykanistykę i historię na Uniwersytecie Warszawskim, gdzie uzyskała tytuł doktora. Opublikowała książkę na podstawie rozprawy doktorskiej: *Dobroczytna Ameryka. Walka ze skutkami Wielkiego Kryzysu w latach 1929–1937*. Autorka artykułów na temat amerykańskiej filantropii, pomocy społecznej, prywatnych fundacji i ich interakcji z rządem Stanów Zjednoczonych, pomocy uchodźcom i uciekinierom z Europy Wschodniej. Obecnie zajmuje się mechanizmami wzmacniania demokratycznych wartości przez programy wymiany i inne działania kulturalne, podejmowane przez fundacje w okresie zimnej wojny w wybranych krajach europejskich.