NOTES ON ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION PROGRAM

by

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1. Introductory

The continuing question before The Rockefeller Foundation is how best to use its human and financial resources to "promote the well-being of mankind throughout the world." The Trustees have not felt it either necessary or desirable to attempt to state any precise or fixed definition of "the well-being of mankind"; the Charter purpose was doubtless drawn in broad terms in anticipation of the need for flexible adjustment to changing needs and conditions.

The Trustees have, however, established general guide lines ("program") within which the officers have been encouraged to develop and present specific proposals; in setting such guide lines, the Board has been careful to indicate its readiness to consider any item of unusual challenge, regardless of program.

The Board of Trustees performs a major policy function if it insures that the current program of the Foundation competes successfully, at least in its best corporate judgment, against other possible uses of the Foundation's resources. The primary decision is the determination of program; organization and personnel arrangements follow upon and serve program.

2. Policy Review and Changing Conditions

The most recent formal review by the Trustees of the Foundation's policies and program was made in 1946, supplemented by the review of 1951 which led to the consolidation of medical activities in DMPH. Important changes in the situation have occurred since 1946 which bear upon the program of the Foundation. Among them are:

First, although hopes for an enduring peace were being discounted in 1946 because of rifts among the victorious powers, these rifts have now widened and deepened into a Cold War, with large-scale atomic war as a terrible threat in the background.

Second, the totalitarian influences in the world today, and the reactions to these influences which have occurred in our own country, present a dangerous weakening in the concepts of personal liberty and intellectual freedom. A major problem for free democratic man is to find a tenable modern concept of liberty, to develop practical procedures for assuring it, and to locate a satisfactory boundary between liberty and the restrictions which are essential to its successful defense.
Third, a number of new independent nations have appeared on the world scene and more are to be expected. These new nations are for the most part underdeveloped, with non-Western cultural patterns, struggling to erect viable political and economic systems, and vulnerable to Communist penetration. Most are now forming, at a sensitive period in their development, what might well be lasting impressions about the directions in which they wish to move and about their relations with the West.

Fourth, the period since 1946 has been marked by a sharply increased recognition of the importance, in the period ahead, of the inter-relationship between population and resources, and of the need for supplementing the world's food supply, insofar as that is possible.

Fifth, large new funds are being applied to research and technical assistance by governments, by international organizations, by industry, and by a number of new foundations (notably the Ford and National Science Foundations). Clearly we need to keep ourselves fully informed about the spheres of activity of these new funds.

Sixth, the purchasing power of the dollar has declined by 35-40\% since 1946.

Seventh, two important changes have occurred within Rockefeller philanthropies affecting the Foundation: the General Education Board has decided to wind up its activities and the China Medical Board has undertaken interests over a wider geographical area as a consequence of the situation on the China mainland.

Eighth, priorities in need among independent colleges, universities, and professional schools are shifting toward basic support. This arises in part from the failure of endowment to keep up with institutional growth and rising price levels, in part from the drain upon basic budgets involved in short-term projects and contracts, in part from a desire to prepare for some increase in enrollment from the coming tidal wave of college students. Such institutions are less willing to consider matching funds, except for long-term basic support, and are less interested in commitments to take over responsibility for experimentation or growth in non-traditional directions.

From the point of view of its own techniques, The Rockefeller Foundation is much more than a fund-granting agency. It has been, in the past, heavily engaged in direct field operations in public health and at present maintains an operating program in virus studies and in agriculture. In
addition, advisory and other services are rendered by the Foundation to government and to a wide range of educational and other institutions. Insofar as grants are concerned, many of the newer funds entering the fields of research and technical assistance are short term, highly specified as to purpose, and aimed at "practicality." The Rockefeller Foundation should, therefore, use every effort to extend its aid in ways which minimize the disadvantages of other forms of support, by furnishing a maximum of stability and flexibility.

In the 1946 review the Special Committee of the Trustees stated "our ends in terms of the following three broad categories of objectives: (1) To Understand Human Behavior, (2) To Promote a Better American National Life, and (3) To Facilitate International Understanding and Cooperation." The Committee itself recognized that such broadly stated objectives would serve as criteria for projects only if officers should work out "the general target area" within each of the three objectives. Broad policy objectives can be stated in many ways and combinations, but need sharpening if they are to provide real policy guidance to the officers in applying limited funds to vast human needs.

While it would be essential to leave the officers a considerable range of flexibility, the selection of general target areas is the crucial policy-making function in which the Trustees should actively participate. Under present practice, the Board exercises policy supervision by general discussion at its annual meetings and by discussion and decisions on particular docket items by the Board and the Executive Committee.

It is not clear that present procedures afford the Foundation the maximum benefit of the judgment and broad experience represented on the Board. A periodic policy review by a special committee is useful, but such reports are necessarily cast in general terms and are difficult to relate to an ongoing and realistic exploration of opportunities by the officers. The Executive Committee meets with the officers six times each year. These meetings are used to clarify specific points of policy and to give preliminary criticism to papers to be presented to the full Board (e.g., the area studies paper). The Committee helps to shape general program through discussion of and action upon its docket. The Chairman of the Board and the President are giving further thought to opportunities for additional exchanges of views between officers and Trustees on selected aspects of our work during the course of the year.
3. Selection of Target Areas

One approach to what the Foundation might do "to promote the well-being of mankind" is suggested by the following questions:

a. What seem to be the most compelling problems likely to confront the human race in the next quarter or half century which can be expected to affect fundamentally the "well-being of mankind"?

b. Which of these problems can be influenced significantly by interest and action on the part of The Rockefeller Foundation?

c. At which points should The Rockefeller Foundation attack such problems in order to make the most effective contribution?

d. On what scale should The Rockefeller Foundation be prepared to bring its resources to bear upon selected target areas in order to obtain an optimum of both early impact and enduring result?

Considerations of this sort have always been in the minds of Trustees and Officers, as they have worked together to develop programs and activities. Present circumstances, which both limit Foundation effectiveness and make our maximum effectiveness the more imperative, indicate that increasing care and improved insight must be used in the selection of those fundamental problem areas within which our support is to be concentrated. If we range too widely, we can only scratch the surface. And if our activity is to have real and permanent significance, we must dig deep.

4. General Target Areas

The following suggestions of general target areas are made without regard to the present organizational structure of the Foundation; in most instances, they are inter-divisional in scope and character. They also suggest that the Foundation's program should be somewhat more selective at its base, in order that a stronger effort might be made in the approved areas. The officers would hope that the Trustees would continue to invite items of unusual interest outside of the central program of the Foundation.

A. Man - His Biological Nature, His Health, and His Food

The most ancient and probably still most urgent problem besetting mankind is how to wrest a more abundant livelihood from his natural environment and to protect himself from its attacks upon him. Whether or not man's appetites are satiable, the drive to satisfy them more adequately has been a
dominant force throughout his recorded history. It has stimulated his intelligence, shaped his institutions, involved him in endless wars, and affected deeply his concepts of value and his religious beliefs. The struggle against man and nature for scarce supplies affects both the most miserable and those who have gained material wealth far beyond the minimum requirements of a healthy existence. A gap between what men have and what they want seems to be a chronic affliction of the race.

In the mid-Twentieth Century, the problem continues in acute and dangerous forms. The disparity between population growth and available resources grows steadily. In the very long run, assuming that life expectancy will not be indefinitely extended, populations will tend to come to a balance, but in numbers vastly larger than present populations. Nostelten states that the adjustment in Europe required 300 years and a seven-fold increase in population. With the decline in birth rates lagging behind the decline in death rates in a greater portion of the world, the present prospect is that we shall face a considerable period of tension arising from population pressures. The "natural" correctives of war, disease, and famine are repudiated on moral and political grounds; in any event, the prospective victims will insist upon other solutions. Voluntary limitation of births offers no immediate solution since it is rejected by some on grounds of public policy or moral scruple and is not available to others due to ignorance and cost factors.

Apart from considerations of "well-being," the American people have a direct interest in the problem stated above. The appetites of hundreds of millions are being whetted both by our ideas and our example. Major differences in standards of living tend to be associated with national, cultural, or racial boundaries and breed resentment, envy, and conflict. The United States will require from abroad increasing percentages of the raw materials we shall need to maintain our rising standard of living. The willingness of other countries to supply these materials over a long run may be affected by their attitude toward these differences in standards. World communism will seek to exploit such differences to the maximum and will preach the doctrine of "leveling down." The American answer is "levelling up," based upon a hope of improvement plus actual performance sufficient to sustain the hope.

It would obviously be futile for The Rockefeller Foundation to work toward a condition in which men have "enough" of their basic material needs. The Foundation might select, however, one such basic need for fundamental attack. The purpose would be to extend the range of human knowledge in the direction of more abundant supply, to undergird hope by actual improvement, and to reduce or remove one major element in human tensions. Food suggests itself as the appropriate selection because of (a) its importance to human well-being, (b) the splendid beginnings which the Foundation has made in the field, and (c) the opportunity for the Foundation to bring to bear its experience in using techniques in basic research and in pilot demonstrations in those aspects of food production which are most likely to be accepted for further development by other agencies.
The Rockefeller Foundation has elected to make its main attack on food through the great food cereals - corn, wheat and rice. Our programs in Mexico and Colombia have yielded important results in research, have evolved techniques for enlisting the interest and resources of those countries in agricultural research-education-extension, and have established bases from which gains can be carried to other countries. While continuing basic research, we are entering a phase of that program marked by (a) a gradual transfer to Mexico and Colombia of responsibility for carrying the work in those countries; (b) exploration of effective and economical techniques for spreading such programs into other countries. Such techniques are expected to include (1) the posting of experienced Foundation staff, trained and tested in Mexico and Colombia, to other countries to furnish initial leadership in agricultural programs; (2) visits by Foundation professional staff to other countries to advise on agricultural problems; (3) the training of personnel from other areas in the Mexican and Colombian programs; (4) the encouragement of such cooperative efforts as the Central American Corn Program; (5) cooperation with national and international technical assistance programs in agriculture; and (6) a publication program conveying information about work in progress.

The year 1955 marks the first year of Foundation work on rice, following a careful reconnaissance by Drs. Weaver and Harrar and approval of the program in principle by the Trustees. Dr. Richard Bradfield and Dr. Robert F. Chandler are now in Southeast Asia and will spend the greater part of 1955 in the principal rice countries of Asia (other than China). They are concentrating initially on two aspects: (1) opportunities for strengthening basic scientific studies of rice (genetics, plant physiology, plant biochemistry, etc.), and (2) the advanced training of qualified personnel for work on rice. In addition, the Foundation expects to employ a temporary consultant to prepare a careful examination of the economics of rice, both as it is affected by international trade and as it appears on a country-by-country basis in Asia. The appointment of Dr. Norman S. Buchanan to our Division of Social Sciences will greatly strengthen our ability to relate our rice program realistically to the economic problems of the underdeveloped countries.

The Trustees were offered a paper Research on Rice at the December, 1954, meeting which should be considered an annex to these notes.

While the Foundation is giving primary attention to the prospect of substantially increased yields from traditional agriculture, it should be alert to the possibilities of a radical improvement in the food situation by less conventional means. This has led the officers to present selective items to the Trustees on marine resources, the exploitation of protein-yielding microorganisms, photosynthesis, the physics and chemistry of clouds, and the utilization of solar energy. If an exceptional opportunity arose, they might also present a proposal on the purification of brackish or salt water.
The intensification of the Foundation's interest in food involves fundamental work by economists, sociologists, and medical personnel, as well as by the natural scientist. In some situations, present obstacles to increased production are political, economic, and fiscal rather than biological in character. The variety and quality of the food produced need to be carefully related to the nutritional needs and long-established habits of local populations. Very often, as demonstrated by the Mexican preference for corn and beans, such habits represent a useful biological adaptation of local agricultural potentials to human nutritional requirements. In such cases a sudden shift to increased production of some less desirable food brings swift deterioration in health. On the other hand, a traditional preference for white rather than yellow corn may be identified as maladaptive by the nutritionist who may enlist the help of the anthropologist and agricultural expert in effecting a highly desirable change in diet. Only a steady cooperation among all three will insure that increased production is directed toward optimal consumption. Really significant changes in production and consumption encounter problems of national economy and international trade. Whether a particular nation (such as Japan) should invest substantial capital in more intensive agriculture rather than in industries whose product can be exchanged for food grown more cheaply elsewhere is a question which bears upon a Foundation food program.

Man's insistent desire for a greater material well-being is closely related to his struggle against disease and physical disability. The naive view is that scientific medicine and public health are responsible for exaggerating the deficiencies in food and raw materials. The more basic view is that mankind aspires both to a longer and more healthful life and to a more acceptable material well-being. The latter view is strengthened by the fact that we simply do not know where the limits are to man's effort to feed himself and supply his essential requirements.

In the field of Medicine and Public Health, The Rockefeller Foundation and the General Education Board have performed a legendary role. In considering the future role of the Foundation, it would seem desirable to avoid both an uncrititized momentum of past accomplishment and boredom with a familiar field. In fact, since the consolidation of DMPH certain long-standing commitments have been terminated, certain personnel adjustments have been made, and the Foundation is in a favorable position to re-examine its medical program. From the beginning, it was the hope that others would build upon the Foundation's pioneering effort. It would be both surprising and disappointing had it not become possible for the Foundation to withdraw from some aspects of its work in medicine and public health. On the other hand, the Foundation should be alert to further compelling opportunities in the field and should not overlook, under an impression that this part of our work is finished, the challenging frontiers where pioneering is still a need.

It is believed that The Rockefeller Foundation continues to have an opportunity and a responsibility in the field of professional medical and public health education. In the United States, there is much uneasiness over
the problem of preparing students for the wise and efficient use of the new knowledge which almost daily becomes more complicated and more powerful. The need for a greater integration of curative and preventive medicine, both in teaching and in practice, challenges creative interest. The obligation of the medical school toward the maintenance of the professional competence of the practicing physician presents questions thus far largely unanswered. The financial demands of medical education continue to be high and a large proportion of new funds entering the field are temporary and uncertain in character. The Rockefeller Foundation can not meet the financial needs of medical education, or of single medical schools, in quantitative terms. The Foundation does, however, have a proper interest in the highest qualitative performance of a few among the leading medical schools, where a clear showing of a new level of performance is present. Even here, the Foundation could not assume the major cost of improvement but would attempt to use strategically placed funds to call forward significant amounts from other sources.

Outside the United States and Western Europe, medical education lags far behind the potential of medical science. There seems to be no medical school in Latin America, in Southern or Southeast Asia, or in Africa which approaches the best medical schools in the United States. Public health and medical care in these areas are shackled by the shortage of adequately trained personnel. The answer is probably not to build PUMC's in such areas, but to select a few of the most promising existing schools and help to bring them to a standard of quality which can both lead and be reasonably multiplied by their respective areas. Opportunities in Southeast Asia might be left for the present to the China Medical Board.

In recent years the subject of "Medical Care" has come in for considerable discussion within the Foundation and elsewhere. The Foundation's best contribution to medical care might well be to improve the quality of the personnel offering medical services. But well-trained physicians alone cannot provide a high standard of medical care. What they are able to do is critically dependent upon the environment in which they work - the availability of diagnostic and therapeutic aids, trained help and above all, opportunities for regular consultation with specially competent colleagues. Various forms of group practice, plans for interchange of information, techniques, patients and consultants between hospitals in a given region, and the integration of certain public health methods with curative medicine are working toward a solution of these problems. An independent body such as the Foundation can aid this important movement by supporting, on a highly selective basis, objective studies of the effects of these arrangements without becoming entangled in the political controversies over means of payment which currently becloud the basic issue - the quality of care actually delivered to the public. Outside the United States, it would seem that highest priority should be given at present to the quality training of more professional personnel competent to offer proper medical care. In assisting the development of high grade medical schools in underdeveloped areas, an occasional opportunity might be offered for relating a medical school to a regional medical care program as a pilot demonstration. Although large sums could undoubtedly
be well spent on medical care programs, priorities would suggest the restriction of Foundation appropriations along the lines herein indicated.

Basic research on specific diseases, while an attractive object of expenditure, is again affected by the question of priorities. Increasingly large sums have been made available for this purpose by other sources. The Rockefeller Foundation has substantially withdrawn from this field, except for its own program of virus studies. This should be continued. Although the Foundation should review periodically its own virus laboratory and associated field stations, assurance of continuity is important both to personnel and for scientific reasons. On the basis of recent competent advice, it is believed that the Foundation can make an important contribution by continuing its virus program for a further substantial period. An occasional strategic grant for other research on specific diseases might be entertained. For example, the Foundation moved from broad support of psychiatry toward interest in brain chemistry and physiological psychology. These fields should be supported on a selective basis somewhat further before a decision is made regarding longer range future program.

The Foundation has been in the process of withdrawing from operating programs which utilize the now well-known techniques of public health. Except where an ecological approach to a particular area requires public health participation, or where public health offers the best entry into a sensitive area, it is believed that our best role is to concentrate upon professional education and allow other agencies to take over operating public health responsibilities. There may be an occasional Foundation staff member assigned in a purely advisory role to public health work, where that officer's time is not urgently required on Foundation programs of higher priority.

From what has been said about food and health, it follows that the Foundation has a keen interest in the complex of questions called the population problem. Although there is a narrow sense in which demography might be considered a discrete scientific discipline, changes in human population and the effect of such changes upon man's adjustment to his natural environment and upon his social and political arrangements ramify into almost every important field of investigation. In this broader sense, a concern about population gives a vantage point from which to look at many old problems from a different point of view in the hope that new relationships can be discerned and new insights obtained.

Interest in health, food, and population involves a call upon fundamental research in the biological sciences. The RF interest in experimental biology has formed an important part of the general program for many years. It continues to represent, of and for itself, a major opportunity; it continues to bear a close and sustaining relationship to all the RF interests in the medical fields; and this field of research now has the further advantage of being closely related to the growing interest in agriculture. Thus it seems wise, for a broad set of reasons, to continue the support of experimental biology. The contributory relationship with agriculture is particularly close for such subjects as genetics, plant physiology, and plant biochemistry,
and with medicine for such subjects as the nature of human and animal viruses, human genetics, immunochemistry and brain chemistry; and it is planned to stress biological studies of these types.

Summary of Target Areas in Relation to Man's Physical Environment

I. Food Supply
   a. Basic research directed toward a maximum return from traditional types of agriculture, to include a fundamental and sustained attack upon the possibilities in rice production.
   b. Basic research directed toward a greater utilization over time of the resources of the sea for human consumption.
   c. Basic research directed toward non-conventional additions to food production, such as the physics and chemistry of water supply, the more efficient use of solar energy, the growth of microorganisms for food purposes, etc.
   d. Pilot demonstrations in selected areas to bring to bear upon food production the latest advances in knowledge and to discover techniques for spreading such knowledge over broader areas; in this connection, special attention to be given to economical techniques for making the advances of the Mexican and Colombian programs more widely available, especially in Latin America.
   e. Basic research on the economic and social factors affecting food production and distribution.

II. Health
   a. Strategic support for the professional education of doctors and public health personnel, both in the United States and in underdeveloped areas.
   b. Continuation of the present research program in virus diseases.
   c. Highly selective support for basic research on specific diseases, at strategic points not adequately supported from other sources.
   d. Highly selective support for studies of the distribution, techniques, and costs of medical care.

III. Population Problems
   a. Research on the economics, sociology, and politics of population pressures.
   b. Research on the physiology and sociology of fertility.

IV. Basic scientific research in the life sciences in fundamental support of RF interest in medicine, agriculture and population.
B. Man in His Human Environment

A second broad category of urgent problems has to do with man's capacity to live at peace with freedom and dignity, against the background of his social and political inadequacy and his technical capacity for self-destruction. Secretary of State Dulles said to the General Assembly of the United Nations on September 17, 1953: "Physical scientists have now found means which, if they are developed, can wipe life off the surface of this planet. Those words that I speak are words that can be taken literally."

There is thus far no reason to suppose that such weapons are not being developed to the point indicated in the Secretary's statement. Even if a major atomic war stopped short of its ultimate possibility, it is questionable whether the present institutional structure and values of our present civilization would survive. Although on any rational basis the catastrophe of such a war would seem to overshadow any political purpose for which it might be initiated, the prospect of catastrophe affords unreliable insurance against accidental or irrational factors which might plunge us into an all-out conflict.

What realistic contribution can a private foundation make to an enduring peace? The officers have given considerable time to explorations of the above question. A first suggestion takes into account the role of leadership which the United States will inevitably play, whether well or badly, for the foreseeable future. Broadly speaking, the issue of atomic war will be largely determined by the United States and the USSR, as leaders of two counter-poised coalitions armed with nuclear weapons. A private American foundation is unlikely to be able to influence directly the policies and actions of the Soviet Union. Such a foundation might, however, support timely inquiries and fundamental studies which would add to the factual background and understanding of situations about which the United States must make basic decisions.

It is common knowledge that a President and his principal advisers on foreign policy are required to direct our foreign relations under almost intolerable pressures arising from the pace of events, the complexity of the issues, and the surging political forces of domestic and world opinion. When asked to comment upon the way in which such decisions were made in Washington, Mr. Henry L. Stimson is reported to have said, "The unimportant matters are dealt with after the most careful deliberation; the important matters are decided in panic." It is difficult for public officials to get ahead of the fire-fighting process in order to give imaginative attention to problems clearly emerging on the more distant horizon. Attempts to set aside qualified staffs for longer range planning have largely failed because of the demands of current business. Decisions made under such pressures often ignore important elements in the situation, are not made against the background of broad public understanding of the major facts, and seldom reflect the advantages of timely anticipation. It is not surprising that the free world has been nervous at times about the quality of American leadership.
Of considerable importance would be penetrating studies of the processes by which foreign policy decisions are made - in the United States and in other principal countries. This would involve the structure and procedures of government and the forces which cause them to act, or fail to act. It would require an analysis of intellectual processes of baffling complexity. In any moderately important foreign policy decision, dozens of mutually contradictory "assumptions," "principles," or "major premises" may be involved; the main question (how identify the main question?) ramifies into secondary questions which draw in almost every other important current issue; the "facts bearing on the problem" expand indefinitely in scope and detail. The factors relating to the case are largely incommensurable; they vary from time to time in both directions of impact and intensity; some may be modified by effort, others not. Are there orderly ways of thinking through such jungles, or are hunches, personal predilections, departmental interests, and competition for influence at the highest echelon of decision the best we can do? What training best fits a person for the inter-disciplinary and inter-departmental syntheses required in the process? Can a useful contribution be made by the so-called "operations analysis" technique developed during the war? Have the multiple-value logics of probability theory anything to offer? Would an analysis of the processes of intuitive judgments aid in improving such procedures? What apprenticeship in decision-making is relevant?

Apart from the processes of decision-making, the problems themselves can be more effectively foreseen and analyzed, both inside and outside of government. It is not proposed that The Rockefeller Foundation become involved in specific policy questions at the stage of actual decision. At that point, the responsibility is political and governmental; it is too late to bring to bear the techniques of analysis and research which are appropriate to a private foundation. With reasonable alertness, many important issues can be detected in the mid-distance, three to five years before they become operationally urgent. Examples: a formal review of the UN Charter in 1955 was scheduled ten years ago; growing tensions over the control of and access to the resources of the high seas have been developing over a long period; the Paley Report (1952) predicts that the United States will have to call upon other countries for 25 per cent of our basic raw materials by 1975; since 1945 we have been confronted with the question of how we think Japan can earn a living for 90,000,000 people on its four main islands, etc., etc. Such problems lend themselves to research, analysis, and fact-finding. The shape of the problem can be developed and important materials made available before it becomes urgent and political; the contribution to greater understanding and more effective decisions would be considerable.

Another important range of studies related to peace concerns the United Nations. Thus far, the greater part of scholarly effort devoted to the United Nations has been directed toward its Charter, its structure, and its formal procedures. The alternative has been to discount the "realism" of the United Nations. An important service would be rendered by studies
which relate the structure and activities of the United Nations to international politics. How does the written Charter contrast with the living Charter, i.e., the Charter as amended by practice under the influence of political forces?

Although substantial sums are not involved, there is also a need for the strengthening of work on the general principles of international relations or, if preferred, the theory of international politics. Both the policy maker and the scholar note the absence of general concepts and of sufficient attention to fundamentals. For example, the relationship between morality and international practice or between moral judgments and foreign policy decisions has been the subject of small exploratory grants by the Foundation. The concept of national interest has received more attention than the concept of reciprocal or mutual national interests. A few well placed grants to enable a limited number of competent thinkers to work at such questions might be highly productive.

Studies of international affairs in the colleges and universities have passed through several phases since about 1900. There was first a heavy preoccupation with diplomatic history, then "current events" became fashionable, then a concentration upon the forms and norms of international law and organization. Fortunately, elements of these phases have persisted to the present, but there has been added over the past 10-15 years a lively interest in international politics, i.e., a study of the interests and forces which motivate organization, clash in conflict, or become resolved in adjustment and compromise. International studies, cutting across established disciplines, have not found it easy to settle into the main stream of university work, but much progress has been made. It can be readily admitted that the primary responsibility of the universities is teaching and research, not the solving of foreign policy questions for government. But it is also true that there is an interest and a capacity in certain of the universities for international studies which are more rather than less relevant to emerging problems of foreign policy. It would not be wise for The Rockefeller Foundation to consider itself a GHQ of foreign policy studies. What is contemplated is support for a few groups of competent scholars who are alert to the need and who themselves are in close touch with policy developments. Occasional grants for more important special studies would be contemplated, such as the review of Soviet productivity by the National Bureau of Economic Research.

In exploring opportunities for moving in the directions indicated above, the officers have been impressed by the comparative scarcity of younger men of unusual promise in the international relations field. Military and public service have undoubtedly diverted talent from the campus since 1941 which might otherwise have been available for scholarship. Younger men engaged in teaching international relations, with its almost unlimited subject matter, carry heavy teaching loads which interfere both with research and with keeping abreast of the many fields relevant to their work. The officers of the Division of Social Sciences have discussed the situation with leaders in the field and believe that the Foundation should use its fellowship and
grant-in-aid resources for the flexible support of a few selected younger men over a longer period of time than is customary with the usual fellowship. In a typical case, the individual would retain teaching responsibility for at least one course in international relations, to maintain his academic status and afford him a regularly recurring responsibility, but the remainder of his time would be available for research and the enrichment of his background knowledge. He would be relieved from the pressure to use his summers to augment his income and could be given, during the period of Foundation interest, opportunity for study away from his own institution. If, in rare cases, it seemed important to follow such a person for longer than three years, the matter would be presented to the Trustees under the usual practice.

The universities and colleges are not the only centers where important work on international affairs can be accomplished. Our responsibility in face of the present danger is such that the highest capacities of the country should be engaged. Study groups which bring together scholars, business men, press, government officials, union leadership, etc., might also be given selected support, provided such studies are ahead of events and are pursued with serious purpose and rigorous discipline. It is not recommended that The Rockefeller Foundation enter the field of mass education or political action in international affairs, however important this might be for other types of organizations.

Another major opportunity for a Foundation contribution to peace lies in an area in which The Rockefeller Foundation has been active for many years, namely, that of intercultural studies. An important emphasis would be upon increased understanding between western and non-western cultures, not merely between the United States and other nations. Self-conscious and assertive nationalism is being modified in some degree by broader regional groupings such as NATO, the various European Communities, the Organization of American States, the Asian-Arab bloc and the "Colombo" powers; there remains a danger that the major cultural barriers themselves are taking on political and security features which may make them more difficult to penetrate and more threatening to peace itself. The period since World War II has been marked by a rejection of western political controls in the Middle East, Asia, and Africa; more than a dozen newly independent states have emerged from these areas and the process continues. It is not surprising that these political events have been accompanied by a deep questioning of western values by the intellectual leaders of other cultures and that a residue of resentment and suspicion persists. From an American point of view, our present responsibilities require a perceptive and sound comprehension of other cultures at a time when we have a backlog of deficiencies inherited from a long period of comparative isolation. This comprehension depends in part on knowing how the history of foreign cultures unfolds in current developments. In any event, we have much to borrow as well as much to give if we are to benefit from a mutual cultural enrichment.
A principal technique by which the Foundation has sought to contribute to intercultural understanding has been through area studies, a technique pioneered by the Foundation since the 1930's. The level of academic research and teaching on major foreign areas is not yet adequate to support sound international participation by the United States in world affairs. Equally important are American studies, and studies of western culture, in other parts of the world. The United States has a large stake not only in its own capacity to conduct foreign policy ably and effectively, but also in the capacity of each of its principal associates in the free world to do so. Although an encouraging amount of additional support for area studies is appearing from other sources, The Rockefeller Foundation continues to have a challenging opportunity for leadership in the field.

A paper on area studies, Widening Our Cultural Horizons, was presented to the Trustees at the December 1954 meeting and should be considered an annex to these Notes. The conclusions of that paper are repeated here for convenience:

"The broadening of the humanities and social sciences to take account of all the major cultures of the world is a complicated process. If there were time one would like to take it in smaller and more assimilable installments. But the momentum of world affairs leaves no time to spare. The RF would have to face problems of this sort even if it had not pioneered assistance to work on Asia and Russia twenty years ago. The complexity and apparent confusion is in part a result of success. When Japanese, Chinese, and Russian studies were rare, isolated, and largely philological it was simple to define the objectives and methods of assistance. To the degree which these studies have become a real part of our intellectual and educational life, however, their growth involves all the complexities of curriculum change, reorganization of the established disciplines, general education, and university organization. For most forms of aid it is no longer possible to define a single purpose. But multiple purposes do not mean confusion of purpose. There is no reason to assume that the Foundation's role in these matters should have been completed in twenty years, or that there is not plenty of room for the three major foundations now active. There is real need for The Rockefeller Foundation to continue in a field to which it has made an important contribution and in which it has an important asset in staff experience.

"More specifically we anticipate the need for the Foundation to provide stabilizing capital grants for a few of the programs to which we have previously given support. We foresee less clearly a need for help to strengthen language work and to provide refresher opportunities for the best of the scholars who are in isolated positions. We believe necessary a continued substantial program of small-scale assistance particularly for more effective combinations of area and discipline work. We do not anticipate many recommendations for major support for new area programs in the United States but would wish to
submit one for studies of India and Pakistan if a suitable location can be found. If the RF should become more active in assistance or operations in Africa we would suggest also interest in African studies in the United States but, barring such development of RF commitments in the field, we would leave African studies to the Ford Foundation and the Carnegie Corporation which have already shown a concern for them. We should like to continue exploration and modest help to area studies programs abroad much along present lines."

Intercultural understanding is closely related to the question of values discussed in the next section of these notes. The former Foreign Minister of Pakistan (Sir Zafrullah Khan) remarked recently that the United Nations Charter represents the basic aspirations of the common peoples of all cultures. Within the same week, Madame Pandit referred to the Charter as "a mass of words," but felt constrained to "clarify" her meaning in a subsequent statement. To what extent are there fundamental common values and aspirations on which friendly and peaceful relations can be gradually built? To what extent have such values and aspirations been articulated? To what extent can they be inferred from the complex activities of the United Nations system, which brings together representatives of many cultures both in discussion and in action? What values emerge from the spectrum of international action which extends from such political disputes as Palestine and Indonesia through such tasks as the inoculation of children against tuberculosis and the building of a cooperative center for nuclear studies in Switzerland?

Another example of an intercultural approach to an important issue may be found in such a concept as constitutional restraints upon governmental authority. Is the concept waxing or waning in the modern scene? The Supreme Court of Japan has now passed upon more than 5,000 cases requiring interpretation of the Japanese Constitution which went into effect in 1947. In which directions are these cases leading Japan? Indian courts have been imposing certain restraints upon executive and legislature by decisions based upon the new Indian Constitution. In many Latin American countries, the constitutions and the laws are cast in terms of constitutional guarantees, yet individual liberties are sharply restricted in practice. The Soviet Union bridges the gap between the forms of constitutional government and the practice of dictatorship by broad phrases in the Constitution which free authority from even theoretical restraint. Under what conditions can constitutional government be expected to prosper; to what extent is it exportable to newly independent nations; what are the forces which frustrate and destroy it? In the longer run, the well-being of mankind may be affected more fundamentally by such issues than by dramatic foreign policy disputes in the current scene. There may be other vital issues outside of constitutional law and politics - as in religion, philosophy, literature, and the arts - which need treatment on a broad intercultural basis.
It is believed that The Rockefeller Foundation can make its best contribution to intercultural understanding at the level of intellectual leadership, as contrasted with broad programs of popular information and education. It is at the intellectual level that the problem is crucial, and it is there that the limited funds of the Foundation might produce a significantly fertile result.

American National Life

What has been said above emphasizes the external relations of the United States with other nations and cultures. Without chauvinism, it can be said that the strength of the United States itself is crucial to the vitality of free institutions and to the hope for peace. The strength required is more than military; it means economic, political, intellectual, and moral strength as well. In 1946 the Trustees underlined the urgency of Foundation support to studies which will assist in building a strong American national life, an urgency surely not reduced by the events of the past decade. Two general areas are being explored, subject to the availability of men and ideas. The first would be studies to provide the knowledge essential to a strong, productive, and expanding free economy. Here the Foundation has made a contribution of the greatest importance, typically through the support of such research as that conducted by the National Bureau of Economic Research. The second would be studies which examine the effective operation of a free political system. At a time when free institutions are subject to external attack and internal compromise, studies of the current scene should be reinforced by a refreshment of men's memories as to how and why free institutions came into being. The constitutional definition of the crime of treason, the concept of the "loyal opposition," the guarantees of free speech, free press, and free worship, the rigorous procedures by which men are to be convicted of crime, the presumption of innocence, and the secret ballot are only a few of the ingredients of freedom which have ancient roots in war, revolution, tyranny, and the sacrifice of those who fashioned our constitutional system. A full recovery and critical appraisal of this story would greatly strengthen our democratic system at a time when the tensions of our particular day threaten to undermine confidence in a system designed to preserve freedom in the midst of just such tensions.

Human Behavior

In its 1946 report, the Special Committee of the Trustees attached considerable importance to scientific studies of human behavior. The Foundation has attempted to find men with rigorous scientific training, imaginative perception, and a strong motivation to develop a science of human behavior and has backed them in projects which they have believed offered greatest hopes for progress. Thus, support has gone to the Laboratory of Social Relations at Harvard, the Laboratory of Human Development at Harvard, the Department of Psychology at Yale, to Williams and Suchman and their
associates at Cornell, to the Survey Research Center and the Research Center for Group Dynamics at Michigan, and a few others. The need for more fundamental knowledge about human behavior would be generally conceded. A democratic society contains a vast conglomeration of groups, large and small; some are constituted by the voluntary action of the members, others by compulsion of law or other necessity. The conflicting demands of group loyalties impose upon a citizen in a free society baffling conflicts of values and obligations which make for moral confusion. To understand more accurately the human relations within and between such groups is to understand the democratic process with deeper and more fruitful perception. The possibility that relations among the largest groups (nations and blocs) may be influenced by insights drawn from the study of smaller groups poses a special challenge to a private foundation.

Improved understanding of human behavior is, moreover, an activity to which all Divisions of the Foundation contribute. The preceding paragraphs have stressed aspects which lie within the Social Sciences. But a deeper understanding of the biology, the normal and abnormal psychology, and the neurology of man is clearly basic to all such studies. The programs in Medicine and Natural Sciences contain much activity which, while often not in obvious relationship, is actually building slowly but soundly an essential part of the basis on which man can eventually have a more intelligent understanding of his own behavior.

The study of human behavior appears to be in the tentative stages of early development, and this suggests attractive opportunities for the Foundation. On the other hand, it is just at this stage when it is more difficult to separate the significant from the insignificant, to identify the individuals who are capable of making a penetrating and fundamental contribution, and to insure a high "return" from Foundation investment. The Rockefeller Foundation's role should be highly selective in character, where problems of basic significance are being attacked by men of the highest competence.

Summary of Target Areas in Relation to Man in His Human Environment

I. International Studies

a. Analyses of foreign policy decision-making

b. Timely studies of emerging problems of international relations

c. Studies of the United Nations system, with particular attention to the interplay between formal arrangements and dynamic political, economic, and social forces

d. Selective studies on general theories of international relations
II. Intercultural Studies
   a. Continuation of Foundation interest in area studies, to include studies in Asia, the Middle East, and Africa of American and western cultures
   b. Selective studies of values and ideas on an intercultural basis, at the levels of both philosophy and ideas-in-action

III. Studies to Strengthen American National Life
   a. Studies in the operation of an expanding free economy
   b. Studies in the operation of a free political system
   c. See also Legal and Political Philosophy in next section

IV. Scientific Research in Human Behavior

   C. Man's Moral and Aesthetic Values

   If man comes to reasonable terms with his natural environment and discovers how to live at peace with his fellows - to what purpose? What is to give meaning to his present struggle for a free society and a peaceful community of nations? Is man united by a consensus of moral value or is it at this substratum of mind and spirit where conflict and discord are rooted? Can clearer thinking produce more adequate rules to guide men through the confusion which engulfs them? What are the moral assumptions which underlie the methods and aims of the natural scientist, the economist, or the statesman? How can life be steadily enriched by experiences which confirm the beauty and dignity to which men generally aspire?

   The need for deeper moral insight is widely felt in this period of rapid change and turmoil. As the officers of the Foundation have consulted with groups from various academic disciplines, whether in economics, law, international relations, human behavior, or philosophy, some of us have been impressed by a persistent groping for the underlying values and logic from which their studies might proceed. Friendly representatives of other cultures regularly plead for stronger moral leadership from the United States. They have pointed out the anomaly that the United States, which should have so much to offer in moral and spiritual values, rests so much of its effort abroad upon material goods while communism, essentially materialistic, seems somehow to challenge so many in non-material terms.
The Rockefeller Foundation has been concerned with moral values through much of its history and a large proportion of its work can be counted as constructive in moral terms. There may be serious limitations upon the direct contribution which a private foundation can make by a direct approach to moral questions. Neither insight nor virtue can be created by fiat or by appropriations except where perceptive and creative minds can be found. With modest sums, however, it is believed that the Foundation can and should make a somewhat more direct effort than those hitherto attempted.

The Creative Arts

The officers have presented to the Trustees during the past two years a number of items in the creative arts. The arts of philosophy, interpretative history, and literature, in which the principal aim is the cogency and significance of the ideas and values expressed, are related through the novel and poetry to the non-verbal arts such as painting, music, sculpture, and architecture in which the expression becomes a value in itself. One of the great issues of our present period is whether a modern society, with broad distribution of economic benefits, can provide stimulating opportunities for artistic expression and enjoyment. Beauty, beyond bread, is one of the essentials of human well-being, and a civilization which does not provide it will not long satisfy the deeper aspirations of man. The demonstration that democratic industrial society can use and support flourishing artistic endeavor is needed not only for the enrichment of American life but also for an adequate understanding abroad of the potential of a free civilization. The Rockefeller Foundation can properly aim to support creative work in the arts where such help will lead, not to indefinite dependence on Foundation patronage, but to more significant artistic contributions to contemporary life and, at the same time, to a higher plateau of public interest in and support for the artist.

Moral, Political, and Legal Philosophy

A second promising field for Rockefeller Foundation interest in values lies in moral, political, and legal philosophy. President Henry Wriston remarked recently that there has been no serious political thought in the United States since Woodrow Wilson's Congressional Government; others might say since the Federalist Papers; although these suggestions are probably overstatements, they reflect a concern for more capacity for general ideas. The officers have been informed, not for publication, that there is a strong probability that the examination paper on moral and political philosophy would soon disappear from Final Schools at Oxford — this despite the fact that undergraduates are asking to read for that paper in increasing numbers. Some of the present uncertainties of democratic procedures undoubtedly reflect the increasing pressures of security upon individual liberty; but there are times when these seem to be related to a lack of understanding
of the underlying principles upon which democracy rests. The ideas which were alive and vivid when our Republic was born may have lost some of their motivating power, perhaps because they have been taken for granted for so long. These ideas are now in contest with an ideology containing the most sinister implications for intellectual and personal freedom and for the well-being of mankind. Literally hundreds of millions now sit as a jury and are choosing between them. The contest is one which can refresh and revitalize truth, but truth will need strong champions.

The officers have explored with great care the opportunities for action in this field of ideas. The proposals submitted may seem trivial, measured in financial terms. It is a field, however, in which the officers see a Foundation responsibility over a considerable period as chances appear to encourage larger numbers of thoughtful men. Final "answers" are unlikely to emerge but a strengthened continuing discourse on such matters is the realistic hope.

A third approach to the problem of value lies through the leadership of religion. It would be unrealistic to talk about the moral problems of our modern society without attention to the role of religion as the major institution primarily concerned with moral issues. In a letter to the Trustees of March 27, 1953, the President recapitulated the course of discussion within the Foundation on moral and spiritual values and summarized the conclusions which appeared to have been reached. Subsequently, a consultant of the Foundation traveled extensively throughout the country for interviews with leaders in religion, higher education, politics, business, labor, and the press to uncover ideas which might be helpful to us on this elusive matter. A few grants have been made on the basis of Foundation discussions of the past three years, most of modest size. If unusual opportunities seem to merit consideration, the officers will draw them to the attention of the Trustees.

Summary of Target Areas in Relation to Man's Moral and Aesthetic Values

I. The Creative Arts

II. Moral, Legal, and Political Philosophy

III. Religion and Moral Values

The Underdeveloped Countries

This paper indicates some shift in the center of gravity of the Foundation's program toward the underdeveloped countries. There are many reasons which support an increase of interest in this direction, but they can be summarized in two general observations. First, there is an opportunity for a high yield from Foundation investment, in terms of "the well-
being of mankind." Second, the world situation in the second half of this century will be largely determined by what happens — politically, economically, and culturally — in Latin America, Africa, the Middle East, and non-Communist Asia. Without becoming involved in the narrow aspects of the Cold War, the Foundation can accept a responsibility for doing what it can to assist these countries to erect free societies, a task which is crucial to the purposes of the Foundation itself.

Interest in underdeveloped countries requires careful attention both to the techniques of Foundation action and to the selection of countries for primary interest. On the first point, the officers are conscious of the fact that it is difficult to make a lasting contribution to a particular country on too narrow a front. The Foundation's own experience, as well as that of the General Education Board in the South, tends to show that health, education, increased productivity, and cultural enrichment move together. Even though the Foundation concentrates its own resources at a selected point, the longer range effect is likely to depend upon improvement at other points through the efforts of other agencies and resources.

In Latin America, the several aspects of the Foundation's program are drawing to a focus in Mexico, Colombia, Brazil, and Chile. Thus far, the greater part of our work has been in health and agriculture, although the Division of Humanities has been active in Mexico. The Division of Social Sciences has not been active south of the Rio Grande and it now seems necessary to close that gap. As a first step, we have in mind the addition of a staff member who would work full time on the Humanities and the Social Sciences in Latin America, concentrating initially in the four countries mentioned above. Hopefully, such a Foundation-wide interest will bring the several parts of our program into mutual support.

For further thought is the possibility of selecting one or two "strategic" countries outside Latin America for an intensive Foundation effort which combines our capacity to contribute in health, agriculture, the social sciences, and the humanities. If the political prospect in Indonesia should reach a point where such a long-range broad interest on our part would appear to be a reasonable bet, that country might be a good selection. Other possibilities would have to be carefully examined, from the point of view both of the result which our limited resources might achieve and of the contribution which the country itself can make from its own resources and other forms of aid.

The officers may also wish to propose an occasional item affecting an underdeveloped country in which we have no major program. There might be cases where it would seem desirable to register an interest and to establish channels for keeping the Foundation informed. Where the situation is highly sensitive (Finland, Yugoslavia, Burma) or where we wish to prepare an opportunity for a possible later Foundation interest (the Central African Federation, Ethiopia, Iraq, Iran), the psychological returns on modest grants can be an important addition to the specific results to be expected from the grants themselves.
Finances

Quite obviously, the program outlined in these notes can cost far more than the resources of The Rockefeller Foundation if it is pursued everywhere at the same time. Certain aspects of the program lend themselves to fairly accurate financial planning (virus research, Latin American agriculture) but others depend upon the presentation or discovery of significant opportunities (the creative arts, international relations, American studies abroad). It has been our practice to make tentative allocations to major fields, retaining flexibility in actual appropriations. In the background is the possibility of using capital funds for grants of unusual significance, but we have been reluctant to use capital merely to increase the number of small or medium-sized grants.

As we proceed, the financial implications of a program of this scope will become clearer. If we are to add important new fields, the use of capital will probably be required. It may well be that the vigorous pursuit of a program as presently outlined will present a choice between the use of capital funds and the narrowing of the program base. Substitution of new fields for old is, of course, a possibility. In any event, the financial implications of program require more attention from Trustees and officers and will be injected more specifically into our discussions.