

# The Rockefeller Foundation, John Marshall and the Development of the Humanities in Modern Turkey: 1950–1965

Ali Erken

Marmara University, Orta Doğu ve İslam Ülkeleri  
Araştırmaları Enstitüsü. ali.erken@marmara.edu.tr

## Abstract

This article examines the involvement of the Rockefeller Foundation in the realm of the humanities in Turkey between 1950 and 1965. John D. Rockefeller founded the Rockefeller Foundation in 1913. Focusing on medicine and social sciences, the foundation aimed to enrich “scientific culture” and support the pursuit of scientific knowledge. The scale of the destruction during the Second World War, however, showed that scientific and technological progress was not necessarily beneficial for humanity and revealed that the social sciences were an insufficient means of understanding and governing human behavior. In its search for a new approach in the aftermath of the war, the administration of the foundation came to the conclusion that the development and support of the humanities could aid in addressing these failures. As a country of strategic importance for American interests during the Cold War, Turkey increasingly drew the attention of the foundation. While Turkey had received some Rockefeller support before 1945, mostly in the field of health, between 1950 and 1965 the foundation’s growing

113

Dîvân *DİSİPLİNLERARASI  
ÇALIŞMALAR DERGİSİ*

Cilt 20 sayı 38 (2015/1), 113-144

support for projects in the country increasingly focused on the humanities. The key person in the foundation's activities in Turkey was John Marshall, vice-director of its Division of Humanities. During his frequent visits to Turkey between 1948 and 1960, Marshall met and befriended bureaucrats, school administrators, and men of arts and literature. According to Marshall, Islam maintained a surprising hold in the Near East, and he believed that for this reason only locals, not foreigners, could be the vanguards of future social change in the region. Marshall divided Turkish society into two rough groups: the "impregnable majority" and "creative minority," claiming that Turkey's rapprochement with the West could only be achieved by the "creative minority" who shared its vision. For him, the duty of western organizations like the Rockefeller Foundation was to identify members of the creative minority and support their activities locally. In the following years, this framework shaped the activities of the foundation in Turkey. Rockefeller grants quickly became in high demand among the Turkish intelligentsia and left a serious impact on the direction of Turkish Westernization.

**Keywords:** Rockefeller Foundation, John Marshall, Humanities, Intellectual Networks, Political History, Philanthropy, Turkish-American Relations, History of Modern Turkey.

### Introduction

FROM THE LATE EIGHTEENTH century onwards, religious missionaries pioneered philanthropic activities in the United States. In the early twentieth century, however, a new model started to emerge: the leading industrialists such as Rockefeller, Carnegie and Ford founded charitable institutions. Andrew Carnegie founded the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching in 1906 and the Rockefeller Foundation was established in 1913. Two decades later, in 1936, the Ford Foundation was established. These foundations first focused on health and education; the Rockefeller Foundation opened the International Health Board in 1916 and supported to the General Education Board, which had been founded in the United States in 1903.<sup>1</sup> Their pro-

---

1 Raymond Fosdick, *The Story of the Rockefeller Foundation* (New Brunswick: Transaction, 1989), 9, 96-98.

grams and activities reflected an obvious interest in the dissemination of a rational culture based on scientific values.<sup>2</sup> The early programs aimed primarily to help institutions in the United States at large. However, after the end of the First World War, the Rockefeller and Ford foundations intensified their activities outside the United States and began to operate on a global scale.<sup>3</sup>

Turkey was one of the countries that both the Rockefeller and Ford Foundations showed a strong interest during the twentieth century. The elite who founded the Republic of Turkey in 1923 quickly realized the need for foreign expertise in technical and cultural modernization, aims which were by no means incompatible with the vision of these foundations. The collaboration between the ruling elite of Turkey and the Rockefeller Foundation started in the 1930s and went deeper during the rule of the Democrat Party (1950–1960), which was known for pro-American policies, and resulted in a considerable increase in the Rockefeller grants in the field of culture and humanities. The Rockefeller Foundation's interest in the humanities was not free from the political-ideological struggle of the Cold War and reflected the change in the general attitude towards the understanding and application of the humanities after the end of the Second World War. The Rockefeller Foundation sought to develop ways of controlling the behavior of societies by using the tools of the humanities.

The studies on American philanthropy mostly dwell on the activities of American foundations in the twentieth century, whereas very few of the existing works on this topic deal with the Division of Humanities at Rockefeller Foundation.<sup>4</sup> Activities of the foundations in the Near East received less coverage compared to its ac-

---

2 Olivier Zunz, *Philanthropy in America: A History* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012); Lily E. Kay, *The Molecular Vision of Life: the Rockefeller Foundation, and the Rise of the New Biology and Caltech* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993).

3 See Inderjeet Parmar, *Foundations of the American Century: The Ford, Carnegie, and Rockefeller Foundations in the Rise of American Power* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012); Robert F. Amove, ed., *Philanthropy and Cultural Imperialism* (Boston: G.K Hall, 1980).

4 See William Buxton, ed., *Patronizing the Public: American Philanthropy's Transformation of Culture, Communication and the Humanities* (Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books, 2009); Jeffrey D. Brison, *Rockefeller, Carnegie, and Canada: American Philanthropy and the Arts and Letters in Canada* (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005).

tivities in China, Latin America and Western Europe.<sup>5</sup> Only a few scholars have undertaken studies on the activities of the American foundations in Turkey.<sup>6</sup> Studies examining the evolution of the humanities in the modern Near East and the role of the American initiatives in it thus will fill a significant gap. This article explores the Rockefeller Foundation's support for Turkey's "creative minds" in the early decades of the Republic of Turkey. The elites of the United States sought to form ideological control over foreign cultures in an increasingly polarized world. Turkey's educated circles were willing to stay in line with the Western camp. The Rockefeller Foundation's involvement in Turkey helped both sides, namely the American intellectual elites interested in Turkey and Turkish intelligentsia, acquire a more solid understanding of each other and facilitated their collaboration.

### **The Birth of the Division of the Humanities at the Rockefeller Foundation: 1928–1945**

The Rockefeller Foundation was founded in New York by John D. Rockefeller, the oil producer and owner of the Standard Oil Com-

5 See Frank Ninkovich, "The Rockefeller Foundation, China, and Cultural Change" *The Journal of American History* 70 (1984):799-820; Nick Cullather, *The Hungry World: America's Cold War Battle against Poverty in Asia* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010); Robert E. Kohler, *Partners in Science: Foundations and Natural Scientists, 1900–1945* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991); John Krige, *American Hegemony and the Postwar Reconstruction of Science in Europe* (Cambridge: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 2006); Parmar, *Foundations of the American Century*; Kay, *The Molecular Vision of Life*.

6 The most detailed account of the activities of the Rockefeller Foundation in Turkey is a paper presented in a symposium in 2008 by Kenneth Rose, former assistant director of the Rockefeller Archive Centre. See: Kenneth Rose, "The Rockefeller Foundation Fellowship Program in Turkey: 1925–1983," (2008), <http://www.rockarch.org/publications/resrep/pdf/roseturkey.pdf>. Rose had also co-authored an article with Murat Erdem, see "American Philanthropy in Republican Turkey: The Case of Rockefeller and Ford Foundations," *The Turkish Yearbook of International Relations, Research Center for International Political and Economic Relations* (Ankara: Ankara University, 2002),131-159. For a recent study on the role of American governmental agencies and private foundations in the strengthening of anti-communism in Turkey see Cangül Örnek, *Türkiye'nin Soğuk Savaş Düşünce Hayatı: Antikomünizm ve Amerikan Etkisi* (Istanbul: Can, 2015)

pany, in 1913.<sup>7</sup> The Rockefeller Foundation first focused on the advancement of scientific research and medical service in the United States, especially across the impoverished regions in the south.<sup>8</sup> The foundation helped the establishment of the School of Hygiene and Public Health at Johns Hopkins University in 1916.<sup>9</sup> Then, the operations expanded to China and then to the Near East.<sup>10</sup> Yet the foundation's purpose was not only confined to the improvement of medical service but also involved an encompassing quest for a socio-cultural transformation at global scale.<sup>11</sup> The administrators of the foundation advocated the application of a scientific approach against traditional methods of medicine with the firm conviction that the use of scientific knowledge would eventually bring benefit to the well-being of humanity.<sup>12</sup> The Rockefeller Foundation's operations in China in the field of health service, for example, was conceived as bringing scientific culture to a society "where everything depends on customs and traditions."<sup>13</sup>

The Humanities Division of the Rockefeller Foundation was established in 1928 when the General Education Board, which was founded in 1902 to reinforce the means of education within the United States, was re-organized.<sup>14</sup> As noted, the main emphasis of the Rockefeller Foundation was on medicine and natural sci-

---

7 Frederick Gates, a Baptist Minister, was the senior figure in the Rockefeller Foundation. Rockefeller and Gates had worked together during the foundation of the University of Chicago in 1908. For a detailed investigation of his career see Fosdick, *The Story of the Rockefeller Foundation*.

8 Fosdick, *The Story of the Rockefeller Foundation*, 96-100.

9 Fosdick, *The Story of the Rockefeller Foundation*, 41-42.

10 <http://rockefeller100.org/exhibits/show/health/international-health-division>. RFA (Rockefeller Foundation Archive), RG.1.1, Series 805A, Box 1, Folder 2.

11 Ninkovitch, "The Rockefeller Foundation, China and Cultural Change," 799-800.

12 Wickliffe Rose, general director of the International Health Division at the Rockefeller Foundation from 1915 to 1923, notes: "Science determines the mental attitude of people, affects entire system of education and carries with it the shaping of civilization." For this, see Ninkovitch, "The Rockefeller Foundation, China and Cultural Change," 803-05.

13 Ninkovitch, "The Rockefeller Foundation, China and Cultural Change," 803.

14 David Stevens, *A Time of Humanities: An Oral History: Recollections of David H. Stevens as Director in the Division of the Humanities, Rockefeller Foundation*, (Madison: Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts and Letters, 1976).

ence. However, some of the board members of the foundation pushed for taking the humanities more seriously.<sup>15</sup> The Division of the Humanities embraced a dynamic approach after the appointment of David Stevens, formerly the Dean of the College of Arts, Literature and Science at the University of Chicago, as its head in 1932.<sup>16</sup> Stevens had joined the Rockefeller Foundation in 1929 as a representative of the General Education Board. He was very much concerned with supporting young and bright talent in the study of the humanities rather than supporting established scholars.<sup>17</sup>

The Humanities Division first focused on raising the standard of teaching in American culture and history.<sup>18</sup> After 1934, the division started to pay more attention to foreign cultures and under the scheme of “international understanding” encouraged the interpretive study of different cultures in various other institutions throughout the rest of the world.<sup>19</sup> The Humanities Division worked in collaboration with the American Council of Learned Societies (ACLS), which was also under the control of the Rockefeller Foundation, and increased its support to the development of foreign language teaching and literature studies in the United States.<sup>20</sup> The Rockefeller Foundation and ACLS helped in the publication of dictionaries in Chinese, Korean and Russian so as to increase the number of available sources in English on these cultures.<sup>21</sup> Libraries were another center of attention for the administration of the division; a foundational statement said “a resource for accumulated knowledge is necessary for humanists” and libraries fulfilled very central function in that purpose.<sup>22</sup> The Division of the Humanities initiated the renovation of big libraries in America as well as in Europe such as the extension of the Bodleian Library of the University of Oxford.<sup>23</sup> The development of microfilm technology

---

15 Stevens, *A Time of Humanities*, 25-29.

16 <http://rockefeller100.org/biography/show/david-h--stevens> (accessed on 1.1.2016)

17 Stevens, *A Time of Humanities*, 29.

18 Stevens, *A Time of Humanities*, 29.

19 David Stevens, “The Humanities Program of the Rockefeller Foundation: A Review of the Period Between 1942 and 1947.” For this, see RFA, RG 3, Series 911, Box 2, Folder 14.

20 Stevens, *A Time of Humanities*, 29.

21 Stevens, *A Time of Humanities*, 61-63.

22 Stevens, “Humanities Program Review,” 63.

23 David Stevens, “Time in the Humanities.” For this, see RFA, RG 3 Series 911 Box 2.

in the United States and European libraries was likewise one of the achievements the Rockefeller Foundation boasted about. The microfilms were “the most unusual that we were able to put into the library service” Stevens stated, in that this technology made available a vast amount of resources humanists had to have at hand when they were working on a scholarly study.<sup>24</sup>

In a report he submitted in the 1940s, Stevens explained that the purpose of the Humanities program was to “help all humanists get the material needed in their work, and to make humane learning and creative expression useful to a general public.”<sup>25</sup> That would require a careful selection of fellowship recipients and could be achieved through providing foundation grants for those talented artists and musicians who had “individual potential” and “institutional position.”<sup>26</sup> The range of the Rockefeller Foundation’s global aims would however require experience in the organization, training of the foundation staff and institutional as well as individual networks at a global scale.

### The Aftermath and the Second World War and New Directions

Since the early twentieth century, Rockefeller, Carnegie, and Ford Foundations sat on the driving seat of the internationalist camp, which opposed to the policy of isolationism, in the United States.<sup>27</sup> During and after the war years, the Rockefeller Foundation increased the amount of funding in area studies, humanities, and mass communication and tried to develop international knowledge networks. This investment in the generation of knowledge brought a wider acceptance of liberal values that would help the protection of American interests after 1945.<sup>28</sup>

---

24 Stevens, *A Time of Humanities*, 39.

25 Stevens, “Humanities Program Review.” For this, see RFA, RG 3, Series 911, Box 2, Folder 14.

26 Stevens, “Humanities Program Review,” 62.

27 Inderjeet Parmar, “To Relate Knowledge and Action: The Impact of the Rockefeller Foundation On Foreign Policy Thinking During America’s Rise to Globalism: 1939–1945,” *Minerva* 40 (2002): 235-240 and “The Carnegie Corporation and the Mobilisation of Opinion During the United States’ Rise to Globalism, 1939–1945,” *Minerva* 37 (1999): 355-358.

28 Inderjeet Parmar, “American Foundations and the Development of International Knowledge Networks,” *Global Networks* 2 (2002):13-14.

The outbreak of the Second World War brought to a halt most of the ongoing projects and programs of the Rockefeller Foundation. Yet, from 1942 onwards, possibly because the tide of war had turned against Germans and the exhaustion of the great European powers, it seems that the administration of the foundation became more interested in their foreign operations and began to complain of the scarcity of experts and informative material in the United States on foreign cultures such as Russian, Chinese and Portuguese.<sup>29</sup> The heads of the foundation stated that the deficiency in knowing foreign cultures outside Western Europe crippled the diplomatic presence and participation of the United States in world affairs. The United States needed to recruit and train many more “internationally oriented” people to be able to repair this defect.<sup>30</sup>

A report of the foundation, written in the aftermath of the Second World War, pointed out that the United States needed to train hundreds of citizens to acquire foreign languages and to apply this knowledge in international operations.<sup>31</sup> The same report acknowledged that since 1941 there was an increasing interest, in American universities and colleges, in the study of foreign languages and cultures.<sup>32</sup> Only through the formation of an institutional specialization in the universities and colleges could American institutions exert “greater control on foreign ideas.”<sup>33</sup>

The establishment of the departments of area studies during the 1940s and 1950s helped fulfill the need of the United States for qualified men—a need related to the changing role of the United States in global politics. The Russian Institute at Columbia and Russian Research Center at Harvard received substantial grants from the Rockefeller Foundation.<sup>34</sup> Chinese Studies at the University of Chicago and Near Eastern studies at Princeton were other examples of early Rockefeller grants in area studies.<sup>35</sup> The model of

29 Stevens, “A Review of the Period,” 5.

30 Stevens, “A Review of the Period,” 4-7.

31 Stevens, “A Review of the Period,” 8.

32 Stevens, “A Review of the Period,” 8.

33 Stevens, “A Review of the Period,” 7-8.

34 Edward Berman, *The Influence of the Carnegie, Ford and Rockefeller Foundations on American Foreign Policy: The Idea of Philanthropy* (Albany: State University of New York, 1983), 101.

35 Harvard’s Center for International Affairs, Centre for International Studies at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, the Institute of International Studies at Berkeley received similar funding. Berman, *The Idea of Philanthropy*, 102.



the Rockefeller Foundation was followed by the Ford Foundation, which funded more than 100 of 191 research centers on foreign cultures in the United States, becoming the biggest benefactor of area studies in the United States.<sup>36</sup> The Ford Foundation gave 26 million dollars to the universities of California, Chicago, Columbia, Cornell, Harvard, Boston, Indiana, Michigan, Northwestern, Pennsylvania, Princeton, Stanford, Washington, Wisconsin and Yale in the training of area experts and language.<sup>37</sup> Similar grants and scholarships were offered to the scholars and students from Western Europe, Latin America, China and the Near East.

Despite these investments, until 1950 the study of the Near East had been almost absent in the humanities curriculum in the American universities. Stevens urged young humanists to pay attention to the Near Eastern cultures, which was a neglected area of study in American universities and would offer a promising future for young researchers.<sup>38</sup> One of the few substantial works the Division of Humanities supported, in collaboration with the ACLS, was the revision of English-Turkish lexicon in 1945. A crucial step was taken in 1946 when the Division of the Humanities in the foundation provided a substantial aid to Princeton University's Department of Near Eastern Studies, which had been founded in 1926.<sup>39</sup>

Similar to area studies, the humanities caught a new momentum in the post-war period. The leadership of the Rockefeller Foundation sought to devise a strategy to rejuvenate the study of the humanities in the United States and abroad. They held that humanities education would facilitate "intercultural understanding" among different cultures and help deal with the advancement in technological knowledge; otherwise, the destruction of "civilization" was a potential threat.<sup>40</sup> Raymond Fosdick, who was the president of the Rockefeller Foundation between 1936 and 1948, wrote a letter to Chester Barnard, his successor at the foundation, asked "is the ultimate gift of the natural sciences to man universal destruction?" and added "we cannot save ourselves without aesthetic

---

36 Inderjeet Parmar, "American Foundations," 17.

37 In 1953 the Ford Foundation announced that they would give ninety-seven scholarships for American citizens in the study of Asia, Near East and Middle East. Berman, *The Idea of Philanthropy*, 102-103.

38 Stevens, "A Review of the Period," 5.

39 Stevens, "A Review of the Period," 5.

40 Stevens, "A Review of the Period," 5.

and moral standards...at last the Rockefeller Foundation is beginning to realize what the humanities can do for men.”<sup>41</sup> Accordingly, language teaching gained a far more central role, the idea being that learning a language held the key for a proper understanding of a particular culture.<sup>42</sup> In his report, Stevens refers to Francis Bacon’s *New Atlantis*, where the delegations had to stay at least twelve years abroad for the acquisition of necessary knowledge to communicate and invent.<sup>43</sup> Bacon’s program was ideal, Steven judged, but now there were better means available for transportation and greater need to know about the rest of the world; humanists would only need to spend twelve months away to be able to conduct a field study even in a country that is “terra incognita.”<sup>44</sup>

These formative years gave a definitive shape to the Rockefeller Foundation’s approach towards humanities in the following decades. The study of humanities was crucial for the betterment of mankind, according to Stevens, who argued:

...the reach of the humanities should be as great as the sciences in discovery or in application of knowledge...thanks to those expelled scholars brought to the United States mankind could stand against “war” and “barbarism.”<sup>45</sup>

That was why, Stevens stated, the Rockefeller Foundation would contribute to the study of the humanities in many institutions in the rest of the world.<sup>46</sup> It can therefore be argued that the foundation leadership were aware of the urgency of exercising control over the means of knowledge production so as to ensure America’s global dominance. Almost eleven years after the end of the Second World War, in a speech at Baylor University, President Eisenhower expressed the need for education initiatives; he called on private foundations to undertake education initiatives across the world:

The whole free world would be stronger if there existed adequate institutions of modern techniques and sciences in areas of the world where

---

41 RFA, RG 3 Series 900, Box 23, Folder 176.

42 Stevens, “A Review of the Period,” 6-8.

43 Stevens, “Humanities Program Review,” 73-74.

44 Stevens, “Humanities Program Review,” 72-74; “A Review of the Period,” 1-3.

45 Stevens, “Time in the Humanities,” 10-11.

46 Stevens, “Time in the Humanities,” 20.

the hunger for knowledge and the ability to use knowledge are unsatisfied because educational facilities are not equal to the need.<sup>47</sup>

### Turkey during the Cold War and the Rockefeller Foundation

The American interest in the Middle East partly sprang from its rich energy resources. However, as the representatives of the new superpower, Americans felt the need to pay attention to the fact that the Middle East was the center of the world's second biggest religion in terms of population, namely Islam. The kind of relations the Muslim world had experienced with the West during the colonial period could best be described as conflict, tension and discontent, a grim legacy for the Americans to tackle on ideological and strategic terms. Americans were still relatively less experienced in the region than the British and French were.<sup>48</sup> On the other hand, the activities of American missionaries in the fields of health and education helped build a more positive American image in the region.

The representatives of the Rockefeller Foundation started visiting Turkey in the early 1920s and received warm welcome from the elite of the new Turkish Republic. The activities of the foundation in Turkey could be divided into two phases according to its strategic priorities. In line with its general policies, the foundation was first involved in medicine and health at large, and aimed to inculcate scientific rationality among a wider segment of society during a time of profound transformation in Turkey.<sup>49</sup> The commitment to the triumph of “scientific and progressive” paradigm required investment in education so as to train a new group of “enlightened”

---

47 Dwight Eisenhower, “Address and Remarks at the Baylor University Commencement Ceremonies, Waco, Texas.” For this, see <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=10499> (accessed on 1.1.2016).

48 Indeed, the American presence in the region was predominantly in religious character before the First World War with the opening of missionary schools in the lands of the Ottoman Empire. See Mehmet Ali Doğan and Heather J., eds., *American Missionaries and the Middle East. Foundational Encounters* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2011).

49 Selskar Gunn, “Diary of Visit to Turkey: May 5–May 13, 1925.” For this, see RFA, RG 6.1, Series 1.1, Box 37, Folder 458; Ralph Collins, “Public Health in Turkey: September 1926,” RFA, RG 1.1, Series 805, Box 1, Folder 1.

bureaucrats, scholars and professionals sharing similar values. The early Turkish Republican elite were quick to realize the lack of both locally trained human capital and technical knowledge to achieve their objectives of westernization. The Turkish leadership enthusiastically welcomed the involvement of the foundation, asking for greater assistance with various projects and fellowships.<sup>50</sup>

This ideological convergence worked well until the end of the Second World War when both parties found themselves in a changing political and ideological atmosphere with the rise of communism under the leadership of the Soviet Union. Communism as a rival ideology posed a serious challenge to the Western liberal systems, led by the United States, which was just recovering from the experience of the previous fifteen years.<sup>51</sup> During this period of deepening ideological polarization in world politics, the government of the Republican People's Party (Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi-CHP) in Turkey made its decision to remaining in the Western bloc. This was an expected consequence of the longstanding rivalry with the Russian Empire and the growing Soviet pressure on Turkey's Eastern borders and the Turkish Straits.<sup>52</sup>

The Truman Doctrine in 1947 came as a relief for the Turkish leadership on military terms, and the announcement of the Marshall Plan in the following year offered at least some financial assistance to the faltering Turkish economy.<sup>53</sup> The foundation of the Democrat Party in Turkey in 1946 and the end of the CHP rule in 1950 were the signs of a changing political culture in domestic politics.<sup>54</sup> The pro-American orientation gained strength during the Democrat Party rule, 1950–1960, when the amount of military and financial assistance Turkey received from the United States sig-

50 RFA, RG 6.1, Series 1.1, Box 37, Folder 458.

51 Henry Kissinger, *Diplomacy* (New York: Easton, 1994), 423-445.

52 Mehmet Gönlübol, *Olaylarla Türk Dış Politikası: 1919–1965* (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi ve Basım-Yayın Yüksekokulu Basımevi, 1987), 194, 200-201; Cemil Koçak, *Türkiye'de Milli Şef Dönemi: 1938–1945* (İstanbul: İletişim, 1996), 560.

53 Henry Truman, "Special Message to the Congress on Greece and Turkey." For this, see <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=10499> (accessed on 14.02.2015); Oral Sander, *Türk-Amerikan İlişkileri* (Ankara: Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi, 1979), 20-30.

54 See. Kemal Karpat, *Turkey's Politics: The Transition To A Multi-Party, The Transition To A Multi-Party* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1959).

nificantly increased.<sup>55</sup> Turkey's admittance into the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in 1952, partly in reward for the deployment of Turkish soldiers in the Korean War, was another step in this military rapprochement.<sup>56</sup> A more profound integration with the Western institutions and lifestyle was encouraged so that Turkey would be a "small America" as expressed in the words of the Democrat leadership of Turkey.<sup>57</sup> Democrat Party ministers and bureaucrats, many of whom were former CHP members, raised no objection to the representatives of the Rockefeller Foundation pursuing their programs and projects in the country.

The foundation administration appears to have been concerned with building a line of ideological defense, focused on the role of the humanities in winning the minds of the people against challenging ideologies and having trained intelligence in the production of pro-Western values in a foreign environment. It involved a cautious examination of scholarship schemes and programs, linked to the process of institution building, within a framework of partnership the foundation officials and local elites built together.<sup>58</sup>

### John Marshall and Near East's Creative Minority

John Marshall (1903–1980) was the first employee of the Division of the Humanities of the Rockefeller Foundation to visit the Near East. Marshall worked in the Division of the Humanities as assistant and associate director from 1933 to 1958. He studied English literature at Harvard University and taught at the same institution until 1930.<sup>59</sup> Marshall was less known than the other employees

---

55 Nasuh Uslu, *Turkish-American Relationship Between 1947 and 2003: The History of a Distinctive Alliance* (New York: Nova Publishers, 2003), 69-72.

56 William Hale, *Turkish Foreign Policy: 1774–200* (London: MPG, 2002), 117-119.

57 Feroz Ahmad, *The Making of Modern Turkey* (London: Routledge, 1993), 109.

58 Parmar, "American Foundations," 13-14; also see Magat's discussion "pro-US modernizing elites" in Richard Magat, *The Ford Foundation at Work: Philanthropic Choices, Methods, and Styles* (New York: Plenum Press, 1979).

59 The director of the Division of the Humanities, David Stevens, picked John Marshall for his previous experience with the ACLS. For this, see ⇨

of the foundation, who had their own publications and research experiences. He maintained a low-profile attitude, focusing his attention on the research facilities and individual development of researchers.<sup>60</sup> His early work at the foundation dealt with the development of library, microphotography and radio facilities in the United States and Europe. He paid his first visit to Europe in the early 1930s and prepared a comprehensive report on a project to renovate, and expand, the University of Oxford's Bodleian Library, the British Library, the *Bibliothèque nationale de France* and Prussian State Library.<sup>61</sup> Marshall was occupied with training of young European librarians, seeking to strengthen the partnership between the United States and European libraries.<sup>62</sup> He met several bright librarians in Europe, discussed the possibilities of the transformation of libraries especially in the realm of microphotography as a part of the Rockefeller Foundation's mission to improve popular education.<sup>63</sup>

After his initial trip to the Near East in 1948 and 1951, Marshall prepared a comprehensive report on peoples, cultures and political structures of the region. In the report, he discussed possible strategies for the Rockefeller Foundation to penetrate into the region. It seems that he wanted to stimulate a cultural change in a foreign environment more compatible with the western norms. According to him, this goal could only be achieved through developing a particular way of thinking so as to control Near Eastern people's socio-political behavior.<sup>64</sup>

---

Stevens, *A Time of Humanities*, 55; William Buxton, "John Marshall and the Humanities in Europe: Shifting Patterns of Rockefeller Foundation Support," *Minerva* 41 (2003): 135.

60 Buxton, "John Marshall and the Humanities in Europe," 134-135.

61 Buxton, "John Marshall and the Humanities in Europe," 138.

62 Buxton, "John Marshall and the Humanities in Europe," 139-141; John Marshall, "Diary," 26 January–20 February 1936. For this, see RFA, RG 12.

63 Buxton, "John Marshall and the Humanities in Europe," 139-144; John Marshall, "Diary," 20–25 July 1934, 30–31 October 1934. His second visit to Europe helped him map out latest innovations in media and broadcasting, enlarging his personal acquaintances in the continent with institutional and professional representatives. John Marshall, "Diary," July 21, 1938; December 1, 1938.

64 John Marshall, "The Near East 1951," November 13, 1951. For this, see RFA, RG 3, Series 911, Folder 2, Box 15; also see John Marshall, "Diary," November 10–December 17.

Marshall starts his report with a general evaluation of westernization and the place of religion in the socio-political life of the Near East. This section involves an overall critique of the way the West has observed the East; he questions how the West knows so little about the functioning of Islam in social life despite long years of expeditions and exchanges. Marshall complains that the West has still so few experts on Islam, who are in touch only with Westernized Muslims, by no means representative of the “great majority” of Muslim population.<sup>65</sup> What the West needs now, he thinks, is to comprehend the “real play” of Islam and how it works in governing the social manners of the Near Eastern people.<sup>66</sup>

He seems to have a very clear opinion of Islam’s “pervasive” influence in the Near Eastern societies and asserts that Islam is not a religion only but a way of life for nearly 300,000,000 people.<sup>67</sup> That Islam still possesses a dominant role in running social and political affairs, unlike Christianity, is something to deal with, Marshall goes on, as the process of Westernization in its essence poses a major challenge to this way of life. He believes that the eventual success of Westernization in the Near East would be determined by this tension.<sup>68</sup>

Marshall seems to have been occupied with steering the direction of the advancement of Westernization in the region, which he thinks inevitable, and constructing a more positive image of this process in the eyes of Near Eastern people. He underscores the force of Friday preachers in shaping people’s minds and attitudes, having had no hope in penetrating or controlling the content of these speeches.<sup>69</sup> Only in Turkey, he appreciates, there was a mechanism of control and training for preachers owing to Turkey’s firm commitment to Westernization and that a new Theology Faculty in a modern fashion was founded at Ankara University.<sup>70</sup> For Marshall, the education of preachers in a Western-style institution was of fundamental importance as otherwise these agents would provoke public opinion against any kind of social change in the form of Westernization. Yet he seems pessimistic for a possible

---

65 Marshall, “The Near East 1951,” 1-2.

66 Marshall, “The Near East, 1951,” 1-2.

67 Marshall, “The Near East, 1951,” 1-2.

68 Marshall, “The Near East, 1951,” 1-2.

69 Marshall, “The Near East, 1951,” 3.

70 Marshall, “The Near East, 1951,” 3.

cooperation with these people, who exercise ultimate control over what he defines “the great majority” of Muslims:

Understandably these Friday preachers have little to gain and virtually everything to lose by change such as westernization implies. Their natural tendency is to interpret Islam, both as a religion and as a way of life, as static and unchangeable, however aware they may be themselves of the forces that make change desirable.<sup>71</sup>

Adopting Arnold Toynbee’s term, Marshall identified another group, the “creative minority,” who were educated in secular Western-style institutions and accustomed to the Western manners. He thought that this group would be able to lead the change in the Muslim world.<sup>72</sup> It can be said that Marshall believed in the possibility of a “constructive” change within Islam. In other words, this would be a change in Islam “from within,” i.e. with the contribution of an educated minority, that had been growing up in the Muslim world, to a more conciliatory paradigm with the Western norms.<sup>73</sup> Members of this minority had access to the available material in their native language and Western languages, and were more open to influence from without, unlike the “impregnable great majority.”<sup>74</sup> According to Marshall, especially in Turkey, such a group did really exist, and in the other Near Eastern countries, it was still in the making. He assumed that this minority in the near future would exercise greater influence on society and take on political leadership in the region:

If the possibility of constructive influence within Islam does exist- and I believe that it does-it exists in what may be called Islam’s educated minority. It is hardly unjust to imply that the great majority of Muslims is uneducated. Actually such education as this great majority possesses is primarily religious in character, derived from the early training every Muslim child receives in the Koranic schools. The educated minority to which I refer is made up of that still restricted but rapidly growing group of Muslims privileged in having a secular and increasingly westernized education.<sup>75</sup>

---

71 Marshall, “The Near East, 1951,” 3.

72 Marshall, “The Near East, 1951,” 6-8.

73 Marshall, “The Near East, 1951,” 6.

74 Marshall, “The Near East, 1951,” 6.

75 Marshall, “The Near East, 1951,” 6.



Marshall admits that with these groups of people, composed of scholars, professionals (of law and medicine) and liberal-minded Muslims, he had the closest contacts.<sup>76</sup> He points out that this minority faces the challenge of Westernization firstly in secular schools where they encounter a life style, different from that of other segments of the society.<sup>77</sup> In such a context, he argues, a new hierarchy is emerging, a hierarchy of knowledge, from the teachers to their teachers, and to those who have the highest level of Western education.<sup>78</sup> Yet, not all these people necessarily receive education in the universities and colleges, founded by western people in the Near East, such as the Robert College or the American University of Beirut. Many of them attended national or traditional institutions.

Marshall is in a quest to redefine Islam's place in an essentially western world. Relying on his personal conversations and works in Western languages, Marshall concludes, the creative minority were more open to change than the Muslim leaders of the great majority, and recognizes their responsibility for guiding such a change that Marshall thinks necessary.<sup>79</sup> Marshall thinks that they are still a minority, compared to political or religious leaders, and not a coherent group, but they represent the "brains" of the Near East and stand against anti-Western forces in the region.<sup>80</sup> There is a growing tendency, as it is understood among this minority, to control this change in their own way, as they become more occupied with connecting traditional scholarship with the issues of contemporary modern life.<sup>81</sup>

The basic obstacle to overcome, according to Marshall, is the fact that members of this creative minority in the Near East do

---

76 Marshall, "The Near East, 1951," 8.

77 Here Marshall quotes the example of Queen Aliya College in Baghdad where girls took off their headscarves for the first time in their lives. Marshall, "The Near East, 1951," 7-8.

78 Marshall, "The Near East, 1951," 7-8.

79 Marshall, "The Near East, 1951," 8-10.

80 Marshall, "The Near East, 1951," 6-9. In this discussion, Marshall refers to the reformist tradition in Islam, which he claims has no fear of change, like the works of al-Afghani and Muhammad Abduh.

81 Marshall warns that there is always a possibility of a counter-movement, an anti-Western resurgence, as happened in Egypt of the 1940s, where the Muslim Brotherhood rallied hundreds of thousands supporters in the country towards building an Islamic socio-political order. Marshall, "The Near East, 1951," 6-9.

not understand Westernization in the same way as the Westerners do.<sup>82</sup> They seek an adaptation that would suit the Near Eastern scene. Marshall urges Westerners that they do not have “a monopoly of wisdom” with respect to the Near East and Near Easterners are able to handle this question in their own terms.<sup>83</sup> He adds that there is no need for “winning of minds” because they are not hostile towards the West, unlike the great majority, but it should be acknowledged that these people have a different experience of Westernization.<sup>84</sup>

### Collaboration With the Creative Minority

In the same report, John Marshall explores the ways in which the works of this minority could be facilitated. He underlines the common conviction among the Near Easterners that there is a price for anything they get from the West, which is one of the reasons for their reluctance to form relationships with Western institutions.<sup>85</sup> He reassures, however, that the United States has a comparative advantage against former colonial empires thanks to its limited, educational and less brutal involvement in the region.<sup>86</sup> A more pervasive problem, nevertheless, is the widespread condescension among Westerners towards the Near Easterners, tangible in every aspect of their mutual relationship. Marshall claims that this product of the twentieth century needs to be addressed seriously if the West wants to repair its relations with the region. Whilst the Near Easterners might not be able to work in the Western terms, the Westerners do not know the right way of approaching the people and institutions in the region.<sup>87</sup>

Marshall admits that as a humanist he is not able to detect several other possible fields of research, giving an example he encountered with a president in one of the Turkish universities. Hearing Marshall’s mention of the Rockefeller Foundation’s activities in

82 Marshall, “The Near East, 1951,” 14.

83 Marshall, “The Near East, 1951,” 15.

84 Marshall, “The Near East, 1951,” 14-15.

85 Marshall, “The Near East, 1951,” 15.

86 Marshall, “The Near East, 1951,” 15.

87 Marshall, “The Near East, 1951,” 13-15.

Mexico, the president proposed that he develop a research program in environment and genetics at his own university, which astounded Marshall. This example strengthens his conviction that the Near Eastern people could come up with their own ideas once they are given the right impetus. He adds that the Rockefeller Foundation has a further mission to bring such people like the mentioned president more recognition at home.<sup>88</sup>

I have detected an increasing reluctance in this group to accept help from the West when that help is governmental...As yet, I think this reluctance does not apply to aid from private agencies in the West, if these agencies are known to be reasonably disinterested...aid for the Near East by private agencies in the West, like the Rockefeller Foundation, should be focused on what the educated minority of the Near East can do for themselves.<sup>89</sup>

Marshall complains that the creative minority receives little encouragement at home or abroad.<sup>90</sup> Here Marshall criticizes the way the West has dealt with scholarships so far, because they have asked scholars or students to stay in the West only for a short period of time. Instead of this, Marshall suggests, the Near Eastern scholars need long-term support at home, which would give him/her a free hand in carrying out their own research. Grants do not need to be high in this model, he recommends, quoting the success of a small Rockefeller Grant in social sciences and humanities at the American University of Beirut.<sup>91</sup>

In brief, Marshall contends that the reluctance of the creative minority to accept any kind of Western help could be overcome through the involvement of private agencies like the Rockefeller Foundation.<sup>92</sup> Making an investment in the Near East is risky but crucial in that it might bring about lasting consequences. Institutional and individual grants should seek to strengthen research on the intellectual and social makeup of the Near East; Marshall proposes the use of “intercultural understanding” as a departmental sub-heading in exploring the habits of authentic cultures in the re-

---

88 Marshall, “The Near East, 1951,” 15-16.

89 Marshall, “The Near East, 1951,” 15.

90 Marshall, “The Near East, 1951,” 16-17.

91 Marshall, “The Near East, 1951,” 16-17.

92 Marshall, “The Near East, 1951,” 15, 18.

gion.<sup>93</sup> He seems almost sure that winning the minds of the great majority of Muslims to the favor of the West lies in the emergence of a new leadership within Islam, and the only source for such a leadership resides in the growing Western educated minority.

He concludes his report about the countries he visited in the Near East, namely Turkey, Iraq, Lebanon, Iran, Syria and Egypt by acknowledging that Turkey has made its choice, knows where it stands at the moment and in various respects it carries the European character rather than the Near Eastern.<sup>94</sup> The range of possible opportunities in Turkey, according to Marshall, is quite promising for the Rockefeller Foundation. The country itself and the creative minority of Turkey therefore deserve their due attention equivalent to the many other European countries.<sup>95</sup> Marshall notes that the rest of the Near East is still making up their mind. Quoting Lenin, Marshall says that there is still a significant reserve for communist revolution. He points to Iraq, instead of Lebanon, as the next possible station that deserves consideration because of its predominantly Arab and Muslim population.<sup>96</sup>

### Exemplary Projects in the Humanities

As indicated, the Rockefeller Foundation projects and scholarships in Turkey in the 1950s proceeded in accordance with what John Marshall envisioned. John Marshall paid his first visit to Turkey in 1948. Thereafter, his visits were more frequent, as he became more acquainted with Turkish scholars, intellectuals, and institutions. Marshall spent hectic weeks in Turkey; in each of these visits he had a tight and busy schedule, and held meeting after meeting with prominent scholars and artists of the time. Marshall's rising popularity among the educated elites in Ankara and Istanbul made the support of Rockefeller Foundation in high demand for a variety of different projects in the field of history, literature, music, and drama.

---

93 Marshall, "The Near East, 1951," 18, 20.

94 Marshall, "The Near East, 1951," 20-21.

95 Marshall, "The Near East, 1951," 20-21.

96 Marshall, "The Near East, 1951," 20-21.

Marshall held the belief that the Rockefeller Foundation can aid “creative activity” by providing training for creative workers or by financing specific projects so as to increase the quality of output.<sup>97</sup> One of the major projects the Rockefeller Foundation was involved was in the field of history with the remit to develop a “bilingual course in the humanities” under the directorship of the humanities department at Robert College. Duncan Ballantine, the president of Robert College between 1955 and 1962, undertook various projects aiming to transform the college into an institution of higher education, compatible with the changing realities of modern Turkey. He contacted the Rockefeller and Ford foundations for these projects, and a total grant of \$350,000 was made to Robert College in December 1956 for training of Turkish personnel for its faculty.<sup>98</sup>

Preparing a new humanities course at the college was the second step in building a stronger humanities tradition; he and David Garwood, a long-time dean of Robert College’s Humanities department, held long talks with John Marshall while devising such a program for the college. Ballantine had previous experience in the development of humanities courses during his tenure as a professor of history at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.<sup>99</sup> Garwood had likewise high expectations from this initiative which, he thought, would offer Robert College a perfect model molded not out of a Protestant missionary college nor an institution shaped under the nationalist Turkish education system but of a joint Turkish-American vision equipped with a new curriculum and teaching staff.<sup>100</sup>

The project secured the backing of Kadri Yörükoğlu,<sup>101</sup> long-time head of the department responsible for textbook and curriculum development (*Talim Terbiye*) in the Ministry of Education.<sup>102</sup> An initial grant was awarded for conferences on the development of courses in the humanities dealing with the interplay of Eastern and

---

97 John Marshall, “General Comments of Humanities Program,” RFA, RG 911, Box 1, Folder 2.

98 RFA, RG.1.2, Series 805R, Box 9, Folder 87-92.

99 John Marshall, “Diary,” March 30, 1956.

100 David Garwood, “An Experiment in Bilingual, Bicultural Education,” *Liberal Education* (1962): 1-11.

101 Kadri Yörükoğlu was a Rockefeller Foundation Fellow in the early 1950s.

102 John Marshall, “Diary,” April 3, 1956.

Western civilizations beginning January 1, 1957.<sup>103</sup> Finally a grant in aid of \$115,000 was approved and assigned for the development of general education in the humanities at Robert College for five years beginning July 1, 1958.<sup>104</sup>

David Garwood complained about the superficiality of the modernization reforms in Turkey; most of the Turkish elite, he argued, neither knew their tradition nor had adequate background in Western civilization.<sup>105</sup> Likewise in his inauguration speech to the students, Geoffrey Lewis criticizes those Easterners pretending to be Western without understanding Western intellectual history and ignoring the achievements of Eastern civilization. This state of mind would lead to an identity crisis, intellectually and culturally, as individuals distance themselves from their ancestors, or even with the society he or she lives in.<sup>106</sup> This course, Garwood concluded, was an attempt to resolve this crisis.<sup>107</sup>

The ultimate goal in this “bilingual course in the humanities” was to develop a course comparable to the general education courses offered in the American colleges.<sup>108</sup> As suggested, two conferences before the course started were organized in Istanbul. With the aid of the Rockefeller Foundation, prominent scholars of the history of Byzantine and Ottoman Empires were invited to discuss the course schedule and curriculum.<sup>109</sup> The course was planned to last three years in which students were expected to learn the histories of Western and Eastern civilizations, offering a synthesis that would include historical interplays and comparisons between them.<sup>110</sup>

103 RFA, RG 1.2, Series 805R, Box 9, Folder 87-92.

104 RFA, RG 1.2, Series 805R, Box 9, Folder 87-92.

105 Garwood, “An Experiment,” 1-2.

106 Geoffrey L. Lewis, *The Bilingual, Bicultural Humanities Program at Robert College: An Address to Students, September 1959* (Istanbul: Robert College Research Center, 1960), 6-7.

107 Lewis stated that their major goal in the study of the humanities was to equip student with a sound understanding of past experiences in making accurate value judgments. This was, to him, more important than dealing with factual judgments, which was more to do with sciences. Garwood, “An Experiment,” 2-4.

108 RFA, RG.1.2, Series 805R, Box 9, Folder 87-92.

109 Garwood, “An Experiment,” 4. Among the participants were Michael Grand, Arnaldo Momigliano, Joan Hussey, Gustave E. Von Grunebaum, Bernard Lewis, J.N. Wright and J.A. Lauwerys.

110 For such a course to operate in a productive manner, it seemed, there was a need for qualified scholars who could give these lectures in Turkish. ♦

This scheme would in the end to enable students to follow the connections, if any, between similar developments taking place in the Eastern and Western contexts such as the Reform Movement in the United Kingdom and the Tanzimat reforms in the Ottoman Empire.<sup>111</sup> Ballantine wanted that a Westerner lead the program. Howard Reed appeared as the best candidate for director, but efforts to persuade him to accept the position failed.<sup>112</sup> Geoffrey Lewis, professor of Turkish at the University of Oxford, was appointed as the director of the program in the first year, to be replaced by David Garwood upon Lewis' returning to Oxford after his sabbatical term finished.<sup>113</sup>

Again there was the question of curriculum and course material; they cooperated with the American and British colleges and UNESCO officials in preparing a proper, up-to-date syllabus along with a bibliography of publications discussing the relationships between the Eastern and Western cultures.<sup>114</sup> This was complemented by efforts to build a sourcebook for the classics of the Eastern tradition, which included the translation of Arabic and Persian sources into English and sources in Ottoman Turkish into modern Turkish. Along with articles and excerpts from various texts, three major books were used as primary texts: William McNeill's *History*

---

John Marshall, "Diary," March 30, 1956; John Marshall, "Diary," March 30, 1956; Garwood, "An Experiment," 2-3.

111 RFA, RG 1.2, Series 805R, Box 9, Folder 87-92. In his speech at the Conference Professor Michael Grant stated: "All history inevitably practices selection, the writers of textbooks at present in use naturally and sometimes even unconsciously selected what would be most valuable for the people going to read them. These readers were not Turks. Our intention should be to see the history of these periods through the eyes of Turks..." Garwood, "An Experiment," 5.

112 John Marshall, "Diary," December 30, 1957.

113 Garwood, "An Experiment," 6-7.

114 Garwood, "An Experiment," 4. In the first year of the course, pre-classical civilizations in Anatolia, Greek and Roman civilization were covered. This year's curriculum also included the history of Christianity and the rise of Islam, to be followed by cultural histories of pre-Islamic, Seljuk and Ottoman Empires. The second year dealt with cultural developments in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, selections from the ancient world of the Mediterranean and Western civilizations as well as the fall of ancient regimes and the emergence of the modern world. Garwood, "An Experiment," 8-10.

of *World Civilization*, William Dampier's *A Shorter History of Science* and Crane Brinton's *The Shaping of the Modern Mind*.<sup>115</sup>

Overall this project was an attempt to prepare a curriculum offering a better understanding of two cultures. This was a good starting point and scholars involved in the program were the leading experts of the time, yet the question of cultural bias seemed to linger especially on the selection of texts and sources for the curriculum. Selected readings would help students acquire a solid grasp of Western Civilization and modern minds, but by no means offer a similar perspective on Islamic history or Ottoman Culture. In the end, its promise to bring Turkish students better acquaintance with their own culture remained only partially fulfilled.

### Early Rockefeller Fellows in the Humanities

The interest of the Rockefeller Foundation in the development of the humanities in Turkey was not confined to the study of history only. In each of his visits John Marshall held meetings with promising young artists from various sub-fields as well as the directors of the State Conservatory and Theatre. Marshall held the belief that the audience for artistic expressions would be much greater than any other humanistic study could reach.<sup>116</sup> His observation held true as the educated elites in Turkey favored stronger integration with Western lifestyles and he considered art a crucial tool in bringing wider adaptation of Western values among the greater public in Turkey.<sup>117</sup> The Rockefeller Foundation grants, which were provided to these individual artists and to the people in charge of institutions, enabled them to train the future's artists and writers.

115 Garwood, "An Experiment," 7. In discussion sections students were expected to evaluate and criticise, in English and Turkish, prominent works of the time such as *Garplulaşmanın Neresindeyiz?* (Istanbul: Yağmur Yaynevi, 1980) a book by Mümtaz Turhan on the Turkish Westernization. Lewis, *The Bilingual, Bicultural Humanities Program*, 4. Also see William McNeill's *History of World Civilization* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969); William Dampier, *A Shorter History of Science* (New York : Meridian Books, 1957); Crane Brinton, *The Shaping of the Modern Mind* (New York: New American Library, 1953).

116 John Marshall, "Art in Humanities," January 30, 1950. RFA, RG 3, Series 911 Box 2 Folder 15.

117 John Marshall, "Diary," May 22, 1957.



In his report, Marshall explained possible instruments to bring this “creative minority” a wider public recognition. In fact, available data would not be sufficient to reveal possible patronage relations the Rockefeller Foundation had. Yet, a clear strategic planning to this end was easily tangible. Marshall himself was a man of great expertise in mass communication and the foundation sought to improve every possible channel to this end.

Theatres and Conservatories in Turkey during the 1950s were in poor condition in terms of technical equipment and infrastructure, thus hampering the quality of works performed in these platforms.<sup>118</sup> Young performers of theatre, opera, ballet, and painting had extremely limited opportunity to meet and learn from the experienced artists and reputable institutions of the West. In fact, the Republican elites and bureaucracy had attributed a lot of importance to the advancement of modern arts in Turkey since the early years, yet struggled with the lack of experience and qualified personnel in these fields. There were still a considerable number of Western artists working in Turkish theatres and conservatories in different capacities.<sup>119</sup> The Rockefeller Foundation grants, which were allocated for the training of young Turkish artists and for the purchase of new equipment, met a great need, and enabled the country to build an artistic tradition on its own sources for the long term.

John Marshall seems to have been quite successful in picking talented individuals eager to make progress in the Western artistic tradition and committed to the development of theatre and conservatory in Turkey. An obvious example of this was Tunç Yalman, a playwright and son of prominent journalist of the time, Ahmet Emin Yalman. Marshall had a high opinion of him and believed that he was one of the best-trained individuals in the field and would be a leading figure, perhaps a future Director of State Theatre, in the development of Turkish theatre.<sup>120</sup> In 1956 Marshall offered Yalman a Rockefeller scholarship to visit American theatres for a year in order to study play writing and operation of the profes-

---

118 Conservatory was used as a school in mornings: John Marshall, “Diary,” March 30, 1956.

119 John Marshall, “Diary,” March 9, 1955; see footnote 121.

120 RFA, RG 1.2, 805 R, Box 2, Folder 119; John Marshall, “Diary,” February 26, 1956.

sional theatres.<sup>121</sup> With this scholarship, Yalman spent a year in the United States, working at the MacDonald Company and studied under the supervision of Jean Rosenthal, a leading theatrical lighting expert of the time.<sup>122</sup>

Another promising young talent John Marshall afforded his interest was Yıldız Akçan (Kenter), an actress born to Anglophone parents and one of the rare female artists who was able to perform in English.<sup>123</sup> Marshall discussed Akçan's future with the directors of the time and decided to encourage her to go to spend a year in New York Theatre and follow some courses at Columbia University.<sup>124</sup> John Marshall met Akçan and her family several times during his visits to Turkey to convince them that staying in the United States would elevate her to a distinguished standing in the Turkish theatre.<sup>125</sup> Upon Akçan's return Dorothy Sands, director and teacher at the American Theatre Wing, was asked to come to Turkey to help Yıldız Akçan teach acting at the Department of Drama.<sup>126</sup>

Marshall was keen that the directors of Turkish theatre and conservatories should become more acquainted with the latest developments in the West, particularly the United States.<sup>127</sup> He offered Fuat Türkay, director of State Conservatory, the opportunity to spend some time in the United Kingdom and the United States so as to become familiar with the latest developments in the American music industry.<sup>128</sup> Eşref Antikacı, the director of Istanbul Conservatory, was urged by Marshall to spend two months to visit schools in the United States.<sup>129</sup> Likewise Nurettin Sevin, director of the Drama

121 RFA, RG 1.2, Series 805 R, Box 2, Folder 119; John Marshall, "Diary," May 3, 1956.

122 John Marshall, "Diary," May 3, 1956.

123 John Marshall watched her play at Twelfth Night, John Marshall "Diary," May 3, 1956.

124 John Marshall, "Diary," March 9, 1955.

125 John Marshall, "Diary," March 10, 1955; May 3, 1956.

126 John Marshall "Diary," March 8, 1956; April 19, 1956: another young talent Marshall followed was İlhan Usmanbaş, a promising singer in the State Opera, who had limited means to continue his studies. John Marshall, "Diary," October 4, 1956.

127 In fact, this was one of the fields he was not unfamiliar with, thanks to his previous visits to Europe in the 1930s where he had established networks with people from musical and theatrical field.

128 John Marshall, "Diary," March 7, 1957.

129 John Marshall, "Diary," March 30, 1956.

Department, expressed his wish to visit the United States so as to give the American theatrical tradition a more central place in the Turkish theatres, an excellent “investment” on Marshall’s terms.<sup>130</sup> Marshall held several meetings with Muhsin Ertuğral a pioneering figure of the modern Turkish Theatre and the General Director of the Theatre and Opera of the time.<sup>131</sup> He encouraged Ertuğral to take a one-month research trip to the United States to see the latest technologies, an offer which was warmly received by Ertuğral.<sup>132</sup>

In terms of institutional reinforcement, Marshall specifically focused on Istanbul and Ankara conservatories, centers of artistic training and performance in Turkey in the 1950s. Marshall spent nights in Istanbul and Ankara attending musical and theatrical plays and was quick to figure out what kind of logistical aid should be provided to raise the quality of performances.<sup>133</sup> He arranged meetings with the directors of these institutions,<sup>134</sup> along with some of the Western artists and directors working in Turkey such as Argus Tresidder, a teacher and officer at Cultural Affairs Bureau of the United States Information Service, in Turkey, and Trevis Camp, the head of the Ballet Department at Istanbul Conservatory.<sup>135</sup> He was confident that a modest aid in this field would be of great help for the development of theatre and orchestra in Turkey.<sup>136</sup> In his following visit to Turkey in 1956 Marshall proposed

---

130 John Marshall, “Diary,” April 3, 1956.

131 John Marshall, “Diary,” March 10, 1955.

132 John Marshall, “Diary,” April 3, 1956; John Marshall, “Diary,” March 10, 1955, Marshall thought that Ertuğral would continue to control the theatre and choose his successors.

133 John Marshall, “Diary,” March 11, 1955; April 4, 1956.

134 Marshall met Cevat Altan, General Director of Fine Arts and Eşref Antikacı, Director of Istanbul Conservatory, who expressed similar concerns about the poor quality of equipment in state conservatories. John Marshall, “Diary,” March 9, 1955; March 20, 1955.

135 John Marshall, “Diary,” March 9–11, 1955; April 3–4, 1956. Even while he stayed in the United States Marshall sought every possible means to ensure the best available equipment would be purchased; for tape recorders he put Eşref Antikacı in contact with Harold Spivacke, then the Head of Music Division in the Library of Congress and introduced him to George Judd from the New York Philharmonic Orchestra to show him latest catalogues in the United States. Yet these instruments were primarily intended for the use of professional presentations in front of public. John Marshall, “Diary,” January 22–27, 1958; April 24, 1958.

136 John Marshall, “Diary,” March 12, 1955.

a Rockefeller grant of \$20,000 for each conservatory.<sup>137</sup> Through these aid programs, Marshall succeeded in raising the standard of cultural works in Turkey that he believed crucial in bringing higher awareness among the Turkish elites of Western values.

### Conclusion

The Rockefeller Foundation since its establishment was dedicated to the development of the tools of sciences and humanities. Witnessing the political and financial crisis of the late 1920s and 1930s, however, led to the concerns about its purely scientific outlook. The focus attributed to the study of humanities at the Rockefeller Foundation gradually intensified from the early 1930s onwards. The Rockefeller Foundation took a leading role in strengthening facilities for the study of humanities in the United States and abroad, working together with the leading humanists in the field. The foundation's efforts received further attention after the American political-intellectual elites realized the centrality of trained intelligence in the struggle against communist ideology during the Cold War.

The Near East and its cultural output had been unfamiliar to the American humanists until the end of the Second World War. Establishing connections between American institutions with their counterparts in the region on cultural terms had been envisioned before John Marshall paid his first visit to Turkey in 1948. Upon returning from his visit Marshall seems to be astounded with the range of possibilities for the Rockefeller Foundation to operate in the field of the humanities in the region. He found Turkey's desire to be Westernized an encouraging impetus for the United States to cooperate more actively with the Westernized and secular elites of the country, as he described them as the "creative minority."

It goes beyond the confines of this paper to question whether the Rockefeller grants could stimulate a kind of cultural and political change in Turkey during the following decades as Marshall envisioned in the early 1950s. What seems obvious was the fact that the institutions and individuals benefiting from these contributions favored ever closer cultural rapprochement with the United

---

137 John Marshall, "Diary," March 30, 1956; March 13–17, 1957.

States. This partnership helped to secure Turkey's position within the Western bloc during the Cold War and contributed a great deal to the course of Westernization in Turkey.

## Bibliography

Ahmad, Feroz. *The Making of Modern Turkey*. London: Routledge, 1993.

Amove, Robert F., ed. *Philanthropy and Cultural Imperialism*. Boston: G.K Hall, 1980.

Berman, Edward. *The Influence of the Carnegie, Ford and Rockefeller Foundations on American Foreign Policy: The Idea of Philanthropy*. Albany, NY: State University of New York, 1983.

Brison, Jeffrey D. *Rockefeller, Carnegie, and Canada: American Philanthropy and the Arts and Letters in Canada*. Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005.

Brogan, Hugh. *History of the United States*. London: Penguin, 2001.

Buxton, William, ed., *Patronizing the Public: American Philanthropy's Transformation of Culture, Communication and the Humanities*. Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books, 2009.

Buxton, William. "John Marshall and the Humanities in Europe: Shifting Patterns of Rockefeller Foundation Support." *Minerva* 41 (2003): 133-153.

Collins, Ralph. "Public Health in Turkey." RFA, RG 1.1, Series 805, Box 1, Folder 1

Cullather, Nick. *The Hungry World: America's Cold War Battle against Poverty in Asia*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010.

Eisenhower, Dwight. "Address and Remarks at the Baylor University Commencement Ceremonies, Waco, Texas." *The American Presidency Project*. <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=10499> (accessed 13 February 2015).

Fosdick, Raymond. *The Story of the Rockefeller Foundation*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction, 1989.

Hale, William. *Turkish Foreign Policy: 1774–2000*. London: MPG, 2002.

Garwood, David. "An Experiment in Bilingual, Bicultural Education." *Liberal Education* (1962): 1-11.

Gönlübol, Mehmet. *Olaylarla Türk Dış Politikası: 1919–1965*. Ankara: Siyasal, 2006.

Gunn, Selskar. "Diary of Visit to Turkey: May 5– May 13, 1925." RFA, RG 6.1, Series. 1.1, Box: 37, Folder: 458.

Karpat, Kemal. *Turkey's Politics: The Transition To A Multi-Party System*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. 1959.

Kay, Lily E. *The Molecular Vision of Life: the Rockefeller Foundation, and the Rise of the New Biology and Caltech*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1993.

Kissinger, Henry. *Diplomacy*. New York: Easton. 1994.

Krige, John. *American Hegemony and the Postwar Reconstruction of Science in Europe*. Cambridge: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 2006.

Koçak, Cemil. *Türkiye'de Milli Şef Dönemi: 1938–1945*. İstanbul: İletişim. 1996.

Kohler, Robert E. *Partners in Science: Foundations and Natural Scientists, 1900–1945*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991.

Lewis, Geoffrey. *The Bilingual, Bicultural Humanities Program at Robert College: An Address to Students*, September 1959. İstanbul: Robert College Research Center, 1960.

Magat, Richard. *The Ford Foundation at Work: Philanthropic Choices, Methods, and Styles*. New York: Plenum Press, 1979.

Marshall, John. "The Near East 1951." RFA, RG 3, Series 911, Box 2, Folder 15.

Marshall, John. "Art in Humanities." RFA, RG 3, Series 911, Box 2, Folder 15.

Marshall, John. "General Comments of Humanities Program." RFA, RG 3, Series 911, Box 1, Folder 2.

Marshall, John. "Diary." RFA, RG 12.

Ninkovich, Frank. "The Rockefeller Foundation, China, and Cultural Change." *The Journal of American History* 70 (1984): 799-820.

Örnek, Cangül. *Türkiye'nin Soğuk Savaş Düşünce Hayatı: Antikomünizm ve Amerikan Etkisi*. İstanbul: Can, 2015.

Parmar, Inderjeet. *Foundations of the American Century: The Ford, Carnegie, and Rockefeller Foundations in the Rise of American Power*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2012.

Parmar, Inderjeet. "To Relate Knowledge and Action: The Impact of the Rockefeller Foundation On Foreign Policy Thinking During America's Rise to Globalism: 1939-1945." *Minerva* 40 (2002): 235-63.

Parmar, Inderjeet. "United States' Rise to Globalism, 1939-1945." *Minerva* 37 (1999): 355-378.

Parmar, Inderjeet. "American Foundations and the Development of International Knowledge Networks." *Global Networks* 2, 1 (2002): 13-30.

RFA, RG 1.2, Series 805R, Box 9, Folders 87-92.

RFA RG 3, Series 900, Box 23, Folder 176.

Rose, Kenneth. "The Rockefeller Foundation Fellowship Program in Turkey: 1925-1983." (2008). <http://www.rockarch.org/publications/resrep/pdf/roseturkey.pdf> (accessed on 1.1.2016).

Rose, Kenneth. "American Philanthropy in Republican Turkey: The Case of Rockefeller and Ford Foundations." *The Turkish Yearbook of International Relations, Research Center for International Political and Economic Relations* (Ankara: Ankara University, Faculty of Political Science Publications, 2002):131-159.

Rustow, Dankwart. *American's Forgotten Ally*. New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 1989.

Sharkey, Heather, and Mehmet Ali Doğan, eds. *American Missionaries and the Middle East*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2011.

Stevens, David. *A Time of Humanities: An Oral History: Recollections of David H. Stevens as Director in the Division of the Humanities, Rockefeller Foundation*. Madison: Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts and Letters, 1976.

Stevens, David. "The Humanities Program of the Rockefeller Foundation: A Review of the Period Between 1942 and 1947." RFA, RG 3, Series 911, Box 2, Folder 14.

Steven, David. "Time in the Humanities." RFA, RG 3, Series 911, Box 2.

Truman, Henry. "Special Message to the Congress on Greece and Turkey." The American Presidency Project. <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=10499> (accessed February 14, 2015).

Sander, Oral. *Türk-Amerikan İlişkileri*. Ankara: Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi, 1979.

Uslu, Nasuh. *Turkish-American Relationship Between 1947 and 2003: The History of a Distinctive Alliance*. New York: Nova Publishers, 2003.

Zunz, Olivier. *Philanthropy in America: A History*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton, University Press, 2012.



## Rockefeller Vakfı, John Marshall ve Modern Türkiye’de Beşerî Bilimlerin Gelişimi:1950–1965

### Öz

Bu makale Rockefeller Vakfı’nın 1950 ile 1965 yılları arasında Türkiye’deki beşerî bilim faaliyetlerine katkısını analiz etmektedir. John D. Rockefeller’ın 1913’te kurduğu vakıf sağlık ve sosyal bilim faaliyetlerine yoğunlaşp rasyonel bilgi dağarcığını zenginleştirip “bilimsel” kültürü güçlendirmeyi amaç edinmişti. Ancak bilim ve teknolojideki ilerlemenin insanlığın mutlak faydasına olmadığı İkinci Dünya Savaşı’ndaki yıkım ile anlaşılmiş, sosyal bilimlerin de insan davranışlarını kontrol etmede yetersiz kaldığı görülmüştü. 1945 sonrası kendine yeni yol haritası arayan vakıf yönetimi bu sorunların çözümü için beşerî bilimlerin geliştirilmesi ve desteklenmesi gerektiği sonucuna vardı. Soğuk Savaş dönemi Amerikan çıkarları için önemli bir ülke olan Türkiye giderek vakfın ilgi alanına girdi. Aslında Türkiye 1945 öncesinde Rockefeller Vakfı tarafından sağlık hizmetleri alanında destek alan bir ülkeydi, ancak 1950–1965 yılları arasında beşerî bilimler alanındaki destekler önem kazandı. Rockefeller Vakfı’nın Türkiye’deki faaliyetleri için anahtar şahsiyet vakfın beşerî bilimler biriminin direktör yardımcısı John Marshall’dır. 1948–1960 yılları arasında Türkiye’yi sık sık ziyaret eden Marshall edebiyat ve sanat erbabı ile sık sık görüştü; bürokrasi ve okul yöneticileri ile dostluk geliştirdi. Marshall’a göre İslam Yakın Doğu’da şaşkıncu bir şekilde gücünü korumaktaydı ve bu bölgede yaşanacak sosyal değişim yabancı değil yerli aktörler tarafından gerçekleştirilecekti. Marshall Türk toplumunu kabaca “nüfuz edilemeyen çoğunluk” ve “yaratıcı azınlık” olarak ikiye ayırıyor, Türkiye’nin batıya yaklaşmasının ancak kendileriyle aynı vizyonu paylaşan “yaratıcı azınlık” eliyle sağlanabileceğini iddia ediyordu. Ona göre, Rockefeller Vakfı gibi Batılı kurumlara düşen görev bu değişime liderlik edecek isimleri tespit edip kendi ülkelerinde önlere açmaktır. Vakfın Türkiye’deki faaliyetleri Marshall’ın çizdiği bu çerçeveye göre şekillendi. Zamanın aydın çevreleri nezdinde ilgi uyandıran ve revaç bulan Rockefeller destekleri Türk batılılaşmasının yönünü tayinde kayda değer bir rol oynamıştır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Rockefeller Vakfı, John Marshall, Beşerî Bilimler, Entelektüel Bağlantılar, Siyasi Tarih, Filantropi, Türk-Amerikan İlişkileri, Modern Türkiye Tarihi.