

ARTICLE

Not only scholarships

The Ford Foundation, its material support, and the rise of social research in Poland

Jarosław Kilias

kilias@chello.pl

Abstract

This paper deals with the Ford Foundation's support for sociology in Poland, especially with its influence on the development of the social research in this country. It is based on materials from both American and local archives—sources which have never before been combined. The role of the Ford scholarships for Polish scholars is relatively well known, but this paper covers two less known aspects of the Foundation's activity—funding American sociologists' visits to Poland and the material support for local libraries and statistical laboratories. The American visitors were neither numerous, nor was their role particularly significant, except one: Herbert Menzel, who spent almost a year in Poland, helping to spread the know-how of quantitative social research. The Ford Foundation also supported libraries and helped to equip the statistical research lab of the Institute of Sociology of the Polish Academy of Science, tripling the technical base of quantitative social research in this country. Although Polish empirical sociology was successful and Poland became the center of empirical research in Eastern Europe for a while, Poles were hardly able to spread it all over the region on their own, as they were dependent on Western support.

Keywords

Ford Foundation, Cold War, Polish sociology, academic exchange

INTRODUCTION

This paper deals with the Ford Foundation's support for sociology in Poland, especially its influence on the development of quantitative social research in this country. It is based on materials from both the Ford Foundation Archive, available at the Rockefeller Archive Center, as well as local archives—sources which have never been combined or confronted before. The role of the Ford Foundation as an institution, which offered Polish scholars a chance to visit the USA, has already been discussed in a few papers and a book (Sulek 2011; Czernecki 2013; Kilias 2017: 70-94). Here I would like to deal with a lesser known aspect of the Foundation's activity: visits of American sociologists in Poland and the material support that played quite a substantial role in the development of Polish social research.

The Ford Foundation started its Polish activity shortly after the anti-Stalinist political thaw of the 1956 in the country became visible. Besides humanitarian motives, political reasons of this act were rather obvious. An independent foundation (at least nominally) was an excellent instrument to add some carrot to the stick—up to that day a sole instrument of American politics towards Communist countries. Academic exchange could also help the new style of propaganda, which relied more on exhibiting the quality of everyday American life, rather than on ideological principles (Reid 2010). In the interwar period, the *idée fixe* of the Rockefeller Foundation was spreading (American) empirical social science in Europe (Fleck 2011: 39-110). After the Second World War that goal remained important, although it lost some of its prominence and became a new ideological shade, with empirical research serving as a supposed antidote to dogmatic Marxism.

Although the scale of the Ford Foundation's Polish program was limited, compared even to its relatively modest European activities (cf. Sutton 1998), it was one of the two largest Polish-American academic exchange schemes of the period. The second one, the scholarships offered by the Rockefeller Foundation, focused primarily on medicine and agriculture and had no impact on social science and humanities.¹ The Ford Foundation program, which started in 1957, consisted of four grants used mostly to finance the academic travels of Polish scholars who wished to visit Western academic institutions. It dealt not only with the United States, but also with Great Britain, France, Germany, and a few other countries. Sociologists participated only in the first three, although a few political scientists went to Germany. Overall, the Polish-American exchange was the largest and the most important one.

The Foundation chose eligible candidates by sending selection teams to Poland. Candidates were nominated by the Ford Foundation's experts and informants (including emigrated and local-based Polish scholars and intellectuals, particularly alumni) and the Polish Ministry of Higher Education. The final selection was made by the Ford Foundation. The New York-based Institute of International Education (IIE) handled the logistics of the exchange program by managing the visas and making travel arrangements. Most importantly, the IIE arranged the academic programs of the visits, suggesting (or selecting) host institutions for the incoming fellows.

The relationship between Polish government officials and the Ford Foundation officers was by no means an easy one. Already in 1959 the Polish authorities started to express their dissatisfaction with the selection procedure and demanded more influence on the selection of candidates. Furthermore, they insisted that the program have a strictly academic orientation, which also included people from fields such as literature or journalism. In addition, Polish officials insisted on more travel opportunities for natural scientists and engineers, whom they considered more important than the social scientists. That disagreement was declared as an official reason for the Ford Foundation freezing the scholarships and ceasing to send selection missions starting in 1962. Still, this was probably not the only (or the real) reason for this decision. At the same time, much to the Poles' surprise, the Rockefeller Foundation also stopped offering its scholarships, even though its cooperation with Polish officials was free of tension, at least in the perspective of their Polish counterparts.² The fact that the end of the project correlated with the deterioration of American-Polish political relations, including the introduction of limited economic sanctions (Jasiński 2003: 172), along with certain statements of the Ford Foundation staff members, suggest that it was

¹ Summary of the State Department's List of Exchanges with Poland, November 10, 1960, RAC: FF, Log File 57-477, L-33.

² Notes on the cooperation with the Rockefeller Foundation, August 1, 1963 and September 1961, CAMR: MHE; Note on the international exchange, July, 1960, CAMR: CK PUWR.

closed due to its role as an element of a carrot-and-stick policy—the role it had obviously played from the very beginning.³ This did not stop the visits of already selected scholars, who were not able (or were not allowed by the authorities) to travel to the United States earlier. Moreover, the program was revived, albeit on a more limited scale, in 1967.

ACADEMIC EXCHANGE AND THE RISE OF POLISH SOCIOLOGY

The Ford Foundation's involvement in Poland coincided with an important stage in the development of Polish sociology. This social science branch survived the Stalinist period in a better condition than most of the social sciences in other Socialist countries (Voříšek 2012). Although sociology was officially ousted from academic institutions, most sociologists stayed at universities and were even able to continue their scholarly activities. Still, in the early 1950s the country had been culturally isolated, and most institutional relations with the international social science had been curtailed. After 1956 the reconstruction began almost immediately. Sociology returned to universities, among which Warsaw and Łódź were the most important ones, and an entirely new research institution, the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology at the Polish Academy of Sciences (IFiS PAN), was created. In 1957 a national sociological association was formed, which was immediately allowed to join the International Sociological Association (to which Poland belonged since its founding in 1949). Polish social sciences of the post-Stalinist period were formed on a pluralistic base, including younger Marxists and older non-Marxists as well (in fact, some belonged to the same generation as their Communist counterparts), working together and forced to cooperate rather than compete at the same academic institutions (Kraško 1996: 151–231; Bucholc 2016). Unfortunately, enthusiasm and a widened range of academic freedom coexisted with economic limitations and bureaucratic obstacles, impeding building and maintaining international relations, which resulted from extreme centralization of the academic system (Pleskot 2010; more in: Kilias 2017: 61–69).

The Ford Foundation played an important role in the revival of Polish sociology, enabling most leading scholars to go West, take a look around, and establish international contacts. Although sociology was a core element of the postwar American “empirical social research” package (e.g. Thue 2006), no explicit emphasis seemed to be placed on that social science branch.⁴ It seems that the prominent position of sociology was the result of a few personal contacts, especially those of Stanisław Ossowski, a sociology professor at the Faculty of Philosophy, Warsaw University. Not only did he participate in the establishment of the International Sociological Association and was elected its Executive Committee member in 1949, but he had also been able to maintain at least some contacts with the West.⁵ Later on, Julian Hochfeld, also a sociology professor at Warsaw University and a leading figure of Polish Marxist sociology, became another respected partner and informant of Shepard Stone, the architect of the Ford Foundation's Polish program. Sociologists were so overrepresented among the first echelons of Ford fellows that the selection mission sent to

³ Waldemar A. Nielsen, in his note to Shepard Stone from September 27, 1961, mentioned the Cuban and Berlin crises, suggesting that the Ford Foundation should not give the illusion that the duplicit politics of Gomulka and Tito would go unpunished and that an attempt to join a possible aggression against the West (sic) would go unpunished (RAC: FF, unpublished report 010738, pp. 3-4).

⁴ Shepard Stone, report of the recruitment team visit, June 9, 1957, RAC: FF: Log File 57-477, L-32.

⁵ Letters from Stanisław Ossowski to Erik Rinde and Tom Bottomore, Executive Secretaries of the ISA, 1952, 1955-1956, IISH: ISA, File 392.

Poland in 1960 was suggested to give priority to other branches: “There is an impression that most of the capable sociologists (especially those in the sociology of law) have been selected, and therefore no stress is needed.”⁶

In theory, the Ford Foundation financed academic exchange in both directions, but the interest of Americans in visiting Poland was limited, and the total number of visiting scholars did not exceed 25.⁷ Among them were three sociologists, a ratio that more or less corresponded with the proportion of sociologists in the group of Polish scholars traveling abroad. The first American sociologist who visited Poland on behalf of the Ford Foundation was Paul F. Lazarsfeld, one of the most active proponents of a new survey-based American sociology in Europe (Thue 2006: 251–294). He came there as a research consultant invited by the Polish Academy of Sciences. His stay was a part of a short Central-East European trip, which started in Paris and included Warsaw and Vienna. Lazarsfeld came to Warsaw on January 25, 1958 and left on February 15, spending most of that time on casual conversations with Polish scholars, although he also gave a lecture on American sociological schools at the Polish Sociological Association.⁸ In fact, it was just the first of his countless visits to Poland, and the second was already at a UNESCO seminar in September that year.⁹ Lazarsfeld not only wrote a detailed report on the Polish social science, but also continued to be involved in the Ford Foundation’s Polish program, helping to organize personal and material assistance for empirical social research in Poland.

Another American sociologist spent a bit more time in Poland, although his stay was less working task-oriented and he did not collaborate with the Ford Foundation any closer. That visitor was Seymour M. Lipset from the University of California, Berkeley. Arranging his visit took an exceptionally long time. In 1958 he received an invitation from Nina Assorodobraj-Kula, the dean of the Philosophical Faculty at Warsaw University, which included a suggestion that he should turn to the Ford Foundation for financial support. Lipset did so by writing to Francis X. Sutton, whom he knew personally. Sutton, in turn, forwarded his request to respective Ford officials. Lipset’s request was also backed by another influential Warsaw sociologist, Ossowski. In June 1958, Stanley T. Gordon, who was responsible for the Foundation’s Polish program, informed Lipset about their positive decision, suggesting that he contacts the Institute of International Education, which was organizing all American scholarships financed by the Ford Foundation. Lipset corresponded with Jane Addams from the Institute for some time, mostly discussing the compensation of his earnings, which would be lost due to the reduced salary he would receive while being absent during his travels. The message that the Foundation was ready to cover his costs did not seem to reach him in time. As a result, in the fall of 1959 Shepard Stone received disappointed letters from Ossowski and Hochfeld, who had both hoped that the American would visit Poland immediately after the 1959 International Sociological Congress in Milan and Stresa. Lipset finally arrived in Poland in the

⁶ Background and Guidelines for 1961 Team, February 9, 1961, p. 7, RAC: FF: grant 57-322, reel 2518.

⁷ Attractiveness of Poland as a destination among American scholars seemed rather limited, as shown by the reasons of their rejection of travel proposals. Clyde Kluckhohn explained the cancellation of his travel in the fall of 1960 with the need to speak out before the Federal Court on behalf of the Navajo Indians, while Hanan Selvin explained his rejection of a four-month stay proposal by pointing to his plan to undergo psychotherapy. (Memorandum of Anita McGrath, IIE, May 19, 1960 with a copy of the Clyde Kluckhohn’s letter, RAC: FF, grant 57-322, reel 2521; Hanan Selvin’s letter to Stanley T. Gordon, April 19, 1959, RAC: FF, grant 58-103, reel 0536).

⁸ Minutes from the General Board PSA, November 6, 1958; travel record and report *Social Research in Poland* RAC: FF, grant 57-322, reel 2521.

⁹ A few French scholars, including Jean Stoetzel, also took a part in the seminar (Sobczak 1999: 67).

spring of 1961 and spent two months there, giving lectures at the Polish Sociological Association meetings in Warsaw and Łódź, the two main sociological centers of 1960s Poland.¹⁰

The third sociologist and the most consequential Ford Fellow who visited Poland was Herbert Menzel, a former student and an associate of Paul Lazarsfeld from the Bureau of Applied Social Research, Columbia University. The very idea of sending someone to Poland for a long-term visit came from Lazarsfeld, who felt the need to carry on his support for Polish social research and persuaded Gordon to take up this idea. As he wrote: “It might very well be that a younger American resident would be a great moral help to the Polish sociologist. For quite a while, as you know, it was my opinion that such a move might be more important than shorter visits of older dignitaries.”¹¹ Initially the idea of sending Bernard Rosenberg was discussed, but at the turn of 1959 two final candidates emerged: Hanan C. Selvin and Herbert Menzel. Both were former students of Lazarsfeld. The latter was considered the best candidate, as he had a broader international outlook and spoke not only German, but also Czech, a Slavonic language closest to Polish, due to his Bohemian origin. Moreover, he was determined to learn Polish. His former teacher noticed an additional asset: “Incidentally, Menzel’s wife Rose is also a trained research technician. As you know, quite a number of Polish women work in this field and a female advisor might be a social asset.”¹²

For some time both candidates were in play, but in the summer of 1960 the Ford Foundation, the Institute of International Education, and the fellow-to-be started to negotiate. After they settled the terms and conditions of his stay, Menzel was granted the fellowship. Stefan Nowak, a younger generation Polish scholar who was just becoming one of the leading figures of Polish social research and who knew Menzel from the time of his stay in New York, helped him to obtain two formal invitation letters. One came from Ossowski and the second from Anna Pawełczyńska, deputy director of the Center for Public Opinion Research (OBOP), a research institute affiliated at that time with the State Committee for Broadcast and Television. The latter expected him to serve as a consultant to her research teams. Further preparations went smoothly and Menzel arrived in Poland in February 1961. He not only worked at the OBOP, but also held a seminar on the relation between social theory and social research at Warsaw University. His stay turned out to be a great success.

Although it had been planned for only one semester, Menzel asked the Ford Foundation for an extension in April 1961. In May, Stone and Gordon started to receive letters from various Polish scholars and authorities who asked for the continuation of Menzel’s stay. One was written in the name of all sociology professors of the Warsaw University’s Faculty of Philosophy and signed by Hochfeld, another by Pawełczyńska from OBOP, and one even by Bohdan Bednarski of the Society for Conscious Maternity, a non-government organization that promoted birth control and sex education. Andrzej Siciński, deputy director of the OBOP, declared his readiness to pay Menzel a

¹⁰ Correspondence of Seymour M. Lipset, Stanisław Ossowski and Julian Hochfeld, FF and IIE officers on Lipset’s travel to Warsaw, 1958-1961, RAC: FF, grant 57-322, reel 2521; Annual Report of the General Board of the Polish Sociological Association for the year 1961, pp. 4 and 6, PSA. Initially the American scholar had also planned to visit Yugoslavia, but due to his wife’s bad health he had to shorten his trip.

¹¹ Letter to Stanley T. Gordon from January 19, 1960, RAC: FF, grant 57-322, reel 2521.

¹² Ibidem; Roslyn Menzel had to leave her part-time job and was not receiving any salary in Poland. It is worth noting that the Warsaw stay ended with the Menzels’ divorce, due to his romantic affair with a Polish sociologist, Janina Markiewicz-Lagneau.

regular salary, which was unusual for Polish academic and research institutions of the period.¹³ On May 11, Gordon sent Menzel a positive answer, and after the summer holidays the scholar came back to work at OBOP and Warsaw University, staying in Warsaw until January. To do so, he supposedly had to reject a profitable proposal from the National Science Foundation. As usual, he had a lecture at the Polish Sociological Association's meeting, this time only at its Łódź regional branch. Or maybe he had lived in Warsaw so long that his presence was perceived as routine and did not even need to be documented.¹⁴

The one-year stay of Herbert Menzel was an exceptional episode in the history of Polish sociology, as he was the only Western scholar who stayed there that long and was involved in routine University teaching and consulting for Polish researchers. Although he was a less prominent figure than other academic travelers who visited Poland, he actually offered practical know-how in social research, so that his influence was probably greater than expected. Information on Menzel even reached the highest Party authorities. In his July 1963 speech before the XIII Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the ruling Polish United Workers' Party Meeting, First Secretary Władysław Gomułka considered Menzel's employment an (additional) reason for criticizing the OBOP and Party scholars for their lack of attentiveness (Sobczak 1999: 67). Menzel himself hoped that his familiarity with Polish affairs could be useful to the Ford Foundation's Polish scholarship program. Unfortunately, factors beyond his control prevented the use of his expertise to advance American-Polish relations in sociology. Still, the scholar resorted to the Foundation's financial support once again in 1970, when they covered the cost of his travel from Oslo, where he was serving as a visiting professor, to Warsaw, where he arrived at the invitation of the Polish Sociological Association.¹⁵

Other forms of financial and material support

The Ford Foundation's Polish program consisted not only of the academic exchange. The Foundation's grants were also used to sponsor, usually with relatively small amounts, various cultural and academic projects (and to cover the costs of individuals visiting from the participating countries). The most important one was the Polish-American Round Table Conference on international politics in Jabłonna, a Polish Academy of Sciences resort, in 1962. The event organized exclusively by the Ford Foundation cost slightly less than 16,000 USD.¹⁶

¹³ The main obstacles to maintaining the Polish institutions' international relations with Western partners were administrative and economic ones. Apart from the fact that the Polish currency was not convertible, there was a chronic lack of financial means, especially of convertible currency, which was always in short supply. The official answer for this problem was a thorough bureaucratic centralization and an official "free rider" policy, which relied on the financial support of Western partners. As it was officially forbidden to cover any foreign visitors' expenses, one needed a special exception granted by the Deputy Prime Minister to even pay for a foreign scholar invited to a conference in Poland (see: Kilias 2017: 61-69)!

¹⁴ Correspondence regarding Herbert Menzel 1960-1962, RAC: FF, grant 57-322, reel 2521; Annual Report of the General Board of the Polish Sociological Association for the year 1961, p. 6, PSA.

¹⁵ They did so not without hesitation. On the one hand, the cost – plane tickets only – was negligible. On the other hand, Stanley T. Gordon, who was obviously not familiar enough with Polish conditions despite his previous experience, believed that the Poles would be ready to cover it. Furthermore, Menzel would go to Poland even at his own expense (memorandum for Howard Swearer from October 24, 1969, RAC: FF, grant 57-322, reel 2521).

¹⁶ IIE report from June 1962 brings up the cost of 22,000 dollars, but later documents declare the amount mentioned in the text above (RAC: FF, grant 57-322, reel 2517).

Apart from scholarships and additional projects, a special grant was provided for material assistance. It first covered the support for Polish academic libraries. As an operator, Ford officers selected a humanitarian organization CARE (the meaning of the acronym changed over time, and at the turn of 1950s, it was Cooperative for American Relief Everywhere) as an experienced and flexible organizer of such international missions. CARE was to purchase scholarly books, mainly from the humanities (especially English studies) and social sciences, and possibly also research equipment. The support for libraries started in the spring of 1958 and lasted until the end of 1960. Polish libraries received books worth 48,900 dollars. A substantial part, about 15–17%, was delivered to academic institutions involved in social research and teaching sociology. Among those who received the most substantial support were the Chair of General Ethnography and Sociology at Jagiellonian University in Cracow (for publications that totaled 2,300 dollars) and sociology chairs of the Łódź University (for books and journals with a total cost of nearly 1,700 dollars). Other beneficiaries were sociological libraries of the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań, as well as the Universities of Wrocław and Warsaw and the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology, Polish Academy of Sciences (IFiS PAN).¹⁷ The eventual number of publications received is hard to assess. The first shipment of books for Polish universities, which arrived in March 1958, supposedly contained about 1,200 books.¹⁸ Only 37 items are mentioned in a list describing the publications received by the Philosophical Faculty at Warsaw University in March 1958, which had an estimated value of 510 USD. Another undated, and probably incomplete, list of publications received by the IFiS PAN includes 97 book and journal items.¹⁹

Apart from books, the material support grant provided main academic libraries with microfilm cameras, microfilm viewers, and a laminator. Two pieces of research equipment were considered: a psychometric test set for the Psychometric Laboratory of the Polish Academy of Sciences, led by Mieczysław Choynacki, and equipment for statistical analysis for the IFiS PAN. It seems that only the second one was actually purchased. The staff of the IFiS PAN's Sociological Research Section most likely came up with the idea to ask the Ford Foundation for material support in the spring of 1957. Their request to buy the equipment for statistical analysis obviously did not reach the American addressees or did not stir their interest.²⁰ Meanwhile, IFiS PAN acquired a keypunch and a sorter, thanks to financial aid from UNESCO, which by no means satisfied their needs. In November 1958 Jan Szczepański, deputy director of the Institute, once again turned to the Ford Foundation, writing a letter to Shepard Stone and asking him to fund a second keypunch and punched card

¹⁷ Data are from CARE reports from January and December 1960, which do not relate to the publications expedited to libraries, but only to the CARE costs, including administrative fees of the 9% value of the books (RAC: FF, grant 58-103, reel 0536). On this basis I have estimated the value of the literature provided. The problematical aspects of these estimates is the terminology used and numerous mistakes in the names of Polish academic institutions. The reports used such terms as "Institute" or "Department of Sociology," although no such units existed in the university structures of the period. The January report mentioned "Warsaw University, Philosophical Faculty," "Warsaw University, Department of Sociology," and "Warsaw University" twice, without any further specification. The first of the abovementioned institutions is without a doubt the Faculty of Philosophy, Warsaw University (List 206, WUA: BIR 54), but the second, and probably the others, refers to IFiS PAN, which also received the books purchased by CARE with the means provided by the Ford Foundation (lists 206J, 206L i 206M, which were not specified in the list of donations available at the Warsaw University archive).

¹⁸ Alfons Klafkowski, rector of the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań, letter to Stanisław Turski, rector of the Warsaw University from March 18, 1958 (WUA: BIR 54).

¹⁹ WUA: BIR 54; PANA: IFiS PAN 100.

²⁰ Adam Sarapata, letter to Witold Leszczyński from May 25, 1957 (PANA: IFiS PAN 100).

checker, which would ease the work of the Łódź-based scholars.²¹ In the spring of 1959, the issue was taken up by Paul Lazarsfeld, who suggested that Stefan Nowak, at that time a Ford Foundation fellow at Columbia University, prepare a financially feasible request for processing and analyzing statistical data equipment. Nowak presented a memorandum, which became a starting point for the next steps of the Foundation. He proposed to establish a computing center for the Sociology Chair, Faculty of Philosophy, Warsaw University, which would also serve all other researchers. Equipping the center with the IBM 101 computer would be ideal, but considering its 24,000 dollar price tag, the bare minimum would be two numerical keypunches, two fast counting sorters, and two desk calculators. The set should also include a copier to enable printing smaller questionnaires.

The Ford Foundation officers provisionally accepted Nowak's minimum proposal, and the task to purchase, deliver, and install was once again assigned to CARE. At that time Stanley T. Gordon had two concerns. The first one was the selection, arrangement of the purchase, and installation of the equipment set, which would be the least expensive, but could satisfy the Polish needs. The second one was overcoming the particularisms of its future users. Not only were there two sociology chairs at the Warsaw University's Faculty of Philosophy, one held by Marxist Julian Hochfeld and the second one by non-Marxist Ossowski, but there was also the IFiS PAN with its Vice Director Jan Szczepański, a non-Marxist yet an influential public figure and a personal friend of a few high-ranking Party functionaries (cf. his personal diary: Szczepański 2013). Szczepański not only acted on behalf of his own institute, which ran large research programs, but also insisted on additional material support for Łódź University, at that time the second most important sociological center in the country. Yet the Americans were not willing to support all individual research units. Consequently, Gordon tried to cope with the institutional particularisms (and possibly personal dislike) of the Poles by writing two identical letters, in which he informed Szczepański and Ossowski about the issue and his decision. Both accepted the proposal, and the former repeated his request for an additional set for the Łódź center.

As both Polish scholars informed Gordon, they were not able to meet and set up an agreement, first due to Szczepański's travel to Yugoslavia and later due to another, unknown reason. Consequently, Gordon had to ask Nowak, who was soon to leave for Poland, to organize their meeting. The Polish sociologist hoped to arrange it at the coming International Sociological Congress in Milan and Stresa.²² Having consulted IBM employees, Nowak also specified the required equipment, once again presenting two variants, with and without the IBM 101. According to his estimates, the equipment would respectively cost 39,800 dollars or less than 22,800 dollars.²³

When informed about the possibility of receiving new equipment, the Secretary Office of the Polish Academy of Sciences obliged itself to provide locum and trained personnel in January 1959.²⁴ On

²¹ RAC: FF, grant 58-103, reel 0536. Computing equipment at the time used mechanical data recording in the form of holes in punched cards, which were sorted according the data values recorded and counted in electromechanical counters. The question of UNESCO's role in the purchase of statistical data processing equipment remains somewhat unclear: In 1959 (i.e. *after* the letter Szczepański wrote to the Ford Foundation), the organization provided IFiS PAN a four thousand dollar loan (which would not have been enough to procure a keypunch and a sorter) to buy equipment (PANA: IFiS PAN 100).

²² In January, Gordon was still asking Ossowski in his letters whether all three had indeed met (memoranda and correspondence of Stanley T. Gordon with Jan Szczepański, Stanisław Ossowski, Stefan Nowak, Paul Lazarsfeld, Howard Powell from CARE and with Jane Addams, November 1958 – January 1959, RAC: FF, grant 58-103, reel 0536).

²³ Stefan Nowak, memorandum from August 15, 1959, RAC: FF, grant 58-103, reel 0536.

²⁴ Adam Schaff, letter to Stanley T. Gordon from January 29, 1960, RAC: FF, grant 58-103, reel 0536.

the other side of the Atlantic, a discussion continued regarding the equipment to be purchased. At Hanan Selvin's suggestion, some equipment that were, in his opinion, useless were left out while the keypunch selected by Nowak was replaced with a more advanced, albeit more expensive, one. The consultant also pointed out the need to have a card reproducer, without which the research work would have been highly complicated. In his opinion, the proposed set that did not include the IBM 101, without which Polish scholars "could get along for some time" and which in the future could eventually replace one of the sorters, was "close to the workable minimum." It would enable all statistical calculations, although the more complicated calculations would be slower.²⁵ The final combination included two fast sorters IBM 83, two counters (the total catalogue price of sorters with counters was 13,100 dollars), printing keypunch IBM 26 (3,200 dollars), reproducing punch IBM 514 (which could be also used as a collator—a machine that compares two card decks—at 6,000 dollars) and two electromechanical Friden desk calculators (of an unspecified model, with a total cost of 1,700 dollars). Furthermore, spare parts delivery and funding for personnel training were provided. On behalf of the IFiS PAN, Nowak and Szczepański were responsible for the installation of the equipment in Warsaw.

From that moment on, CARE personnel was responsible for arranging the purchase and installing the equipment, though their work was not without further complications and delays. For the entire month of August 1960, Frank Thomas, the Warsaw representative of the organization, tried in vain to meet with Nowak and Szczepański, even though he was able to meet with the IFiS PAN director Adam Schaff and to inspect the site in which the equipment was to be installed. CARE authorities turned to the American IBM representatives, who suggested that purchasing and transporting the equipment from Europe, where it was produced by IBM's European branches or other companies on contract, would be more practical than the delivery from the United States. The main reason for this change was technical: The European apparatus worked on 220 Volt voltage, while the American one worked on 110 Volt and would therefore require modification or special power suppliers. Another reason was IBM's reluctance to deal with a contractor from behind the Iron Curtain. Although it was not prohibited to export the equipment to Eastern Europe, the company was unwilling to send it there, as it had already lost large amounts of equipment that were confiscated there. Furthermore, the company's official policy forbade sending its employees to Communist countries. Therefore, the German IBM branch was selected to be responsible for the training of Polish personnel; the nearest service center was located there as well. In April the equipment was finally ready, but it turned out that the Poles could not find competent operators. Despite Thomas's proposal to postpone the delivery until Polish personnel were trained, Shepard Stone and Robert J. Cowan, section manager of the purchase department at the New York CARE center, decided on April 20, 1961 to deliver it immediately and store it under the supervision of the Warsaw CARE representative until Polish personnel were trained.²⁶

From its installation in 1961 until March 1962, the apparatus purchased by the Ford Foundation was used to analyze data from 45 research projects, often working on two shifts and processing information from approximately 116,000 punched cards. Its computing power was used by the IFiS PAN, sociology chairs at the Warsaw and Łódź Universities, the OBOP, and a few other academic and research institutes. Unfortunately, it turned out that in a given configuration the machinery

²⁵ Hanan Selvin, letter to Stanley T. Gordon from April 19, 1959, p. 2 (RAC: FF, grant 58-103, reel 0536).

²⁶ Adam Schaff, letter to Frank Thomas, March 19, 1962; Memoranda and correspondence of Robert J. Cowan, Stanley T. Gordon, Stanisław Ossowski, Adam Schaff and Shepard Stone, May 1960 - March 1963, RAC: FF: grant 58-103, reel 0536.

did not work effectively enough. Due to their imprecise technical specifications, the counters were too slow. For that reason, Adam Schaff asked the CARE representative to purchase new ones, costing 2,000 dollars each, which would work better with fast IBM 83 sorters. The Americans did so, despite the barely concealed irritation of Stanley T. Gordon, who told the IFiS PAN director that he “hoped perhaps the Polish Government might be able to make a small investment rather than request an additional grant from The Ford Foundation.” Nonetheless, Schaff’s wish came true, and at the beginning of 1963, new counters arrived in Warsaw.²⁷

VISITING SCHOLARS, MATERIAL SUPPORT, AND SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH IN POLAND: A PROVISIONAL ASSESSMENT

The overall influence of the Ford Foundation’s activities on Polish science, art, and humanities is hard to assess, but its considerable effect on the development of sociology seems evident. As for their best-known program, scholarships for local sociologists, the Ford Foundation sent 19 scholars to the United States and six scholars to Western Europe at the turn of the 1950s to the early 1960s. The numbers do not seem impressive, but one should remember the small scale of Polish sociology at the time and the concentration of sociologists’ travels in the first two years of the program. According to the ministerial data, among the 15 sociologists employed at universities (i.e., except those who worked at the Academy of Sciences) who benefited from long-term scholarships abroad, 11 were Ford Foundation fellows, two received stipends from the French government, and only one scholar’s trip was financed by the Ministry.²⁸ In such circumstances, the impact of scholarships must have been significant. This was also a critical moment in the development of this social science branch in Poland, when international contacts were most needed and their impact most noticeable. The elite (and elite-to-be) of Polish sociology had a chance to catch up with modern, mostly American social science. Especially in the case of the generation educated during the 1950s in the isolated country, the knowledge of Western social science could only be indirect and superficial. Thanks to unlimited access to literature in well-equipped academic libraries and direct contacts with leading American scholars, the Ford stipends gave at least some of them access to firsthand, up-to-date knowledge. Their visits also enabled them to build networks of international connections, mostly with American scholars who were interested in Polish social science. The existence of such networks turned out to be extremely useful after the cancellation of the exchange program, giving Polish scholars access to information about other scholarships, conferences, and congresses, which they were able to use themselves or pass on to their students. Some had a chance to teach at Western universities, which was highly attractive not only due to the purely scholarly value of working abroad, but also due to high black-market value of exchangeable currencies and access to goods that were unavailable in Communist Poland.

To illustrate the impact of the Ford scholarships, one may look at the members of the Polish sociological elite of the 1960s. Among seven authors who published at least 10 papers in Polish sociological flagship journals, *Studia Socjologiczne* and *Kultura i Społeczeństwo*, during the 1959–1970 period, there were four Ford fellows. Among 26 members of the General Board of the Polish

²⁷ Stanley T. Gordon, a note from March 22, 1962 and letter to Frank Thomas from March 1, 1963 (both in: RAC: FF, grant 58-103, reel 0536).

²⁸ List of persons who attended long-term scholarships abroad in 1958-1960, CAMR, MHE 2738 and 2739 and WUA, BIC 17.

Sociological Association between 1959 and 1970, there were 14 scholars who had travelled abroad thanks to the Ford scholarships.²⁹ It is irrelevant whether the Americans selected the most talented scholars whose excellence was enhanced by the visits abroad, or whether the Ford scholarships simply helped the fellows gain recognition from the local scholarly community. Whatever the reason, the data confirm that the Ford program had a noticeable influence on the Polish sociological elite.

As I noted previously, the variety of reasons that motivated the Ford Foundation officials to start the academic exchange with Poland included the idea of spreading truly empirical social research, which had already inspired the American support of European social science in the interwar period. This idea possibly played a less important role than before, but after the Second World War the Americans had an empirical research technique, methodology, and theoretical background of their own: survey research coupled with neopositivist methodology and social psychology as the main explanatory device. The survey research was neither an exclusive nor even a dominant interest of the Polish scholars visiting the United States, but most of them were impressed by the enormous progress of American social research. Possibly the greatest enthusiast and promoter of empirical social research was a scholar from the older generation, Jan Szczepański, who was to become a leader of several large research programs in the 1960s and 1970s. A few influential individuals indeed focused on the methodology of survey research. One of them was Stefan Nowak, the godfather of the Warsaw school of survey research, who spent eight months working at the Columbia University, partly together with his wife, Irena Nowak. Another expert in survey methodology was Jan Lutyński from Łódź University, who spent six months in the United States, although in his case the host institution was not Lazarsfeld's Columbia University, but rather the University of Chicago.

The role of the American visitors is harder to assess. The number of Ford fellows among sociological visitors of the period was less impressive, not to say marginal.³⁰ Furthermore, the guests from abroad were academic tourists rather than full-fledged visiting professors. Of course, their visits helped to establish an international network of scholars interested in Polish affairs and local social science and might have helped to boost the self-confidence of Poles as members of the international academic community. Yet their influence on the level of local research or teaching was marginal, compared to the role played by numerous Polish intermediaries who had visited the West, met Western scholars, and read Western literature—and who transmitted the knowledge they had gathered to less internationalized Polish scholars and sociology students. A few of the visitors did influence local social science one way or another, as Paul Lazarsfeld obviously did. He became a frequent visitor who helped to organize research networks from which Polish sociology would profit in later years. There was only one, but highly important, exception to this rule: Herbert Menzel. He was the only visiting professor involved in routine university teaching and the transfer of practical know-how of survey research at an important research institute, the OBOP, working together with and coaching the Polish personnel. His influence was possibly connected to the fact that the Menzels made many friends in Warsaw, and their home became a center of social life within the

²⁹ Those authors were Jerzy J. Wiatr, Jan Szczepański, Zygmunt Bauman, Aleksander Matejko, Andrzej Siciński, Adam Podgórecki, and Anna Pawełczyńska. The following Ford fellows belonged to the General Board of the Polish Sociological Association: Zygmunt Bauman, Józef Chałasiński, Julian Hochfeld, Antonina Kłoskowska, Jan Lutyński, Stefan Nowak, Stefan Nowakowski, Maria Ossowska, Stanisław Ossowski, Adam Podgórecki, Jan Strzelecki, Jan Szczepański, Włodzimierz Wesołowski, and Janusz Ziółkowski. Jan Turowski was awarded a scholarship, but was not allowed to travel, while Michał Pohoski received his scholarship after 1968.

³⁰ The influential Polish Sociological Association organized only 16 lectures with Western scholars who visited Poland during the 1957–1961 period, Annual reports of the General Board to the General Assembly 1959–1961, PSA.

local academic community. His involvement in their research training was possibly as important as the transfer of strictly academic knowledge gathered by Polish sociological Ford fellows.

The argument that the Ford Foundation supported a critical stage of development in Polish sociology applies not only to the scholarships, but also to the material support it provided. At first sight, the value of sociological books and journals delivered to Poland does not seem impressive, even when considering the change in purchasing power of the American dollar. In fact, they came shortly after a nearly 20-year period when procurement of Western books had been stopped (or almost stopped)—first because of the war, then because of postwar poverty, and finally due to Stalinist isolationism. Furthermore, science and liberal arts were never a priority of local political elites, which continues to be reflected in the rather pathetic condition of local libraries. Therefore, access to literature has never been an asset of Polish scholars. Although the situation slightly improved in the 1960s and 1970s, it has never been satisfactory, and limited library resources still remain a problem for scholars in this country. No wonder Stefan Nowak declared book donations possibly the most important element of American aid to local social science in Poland.

In terms of quantity, the endowment of the statistical analysis equipment appears to be the Foundation's most fundamental contribution to the development of empirical social research in Poland. Before the American apparatus arrived, Polish researchers had only one sorter (and probably some paraphernalia) in their possession. The instruments provided by CARE and the Ford Foundation enabled them to triple the material base of Polish social research, which was useful for the OBOP, IFiS PAN, and Warsaw and Łódź Universities. The challenge of finding a qualified operator suggests that the American support was the first step toward providing qualified personnel for the equipment (and possibly also with spare parts and technical support). The very fact that all the inventory was purchased with Western aid—a relatively modest help of UNESCO and a more substantial one of the Ford Foundation—suggests that Polish authorities were by no means ready to provide the social scientists with any equipment.

All in all, at the beginning of the 1960s, the Ford Foundation officials believed that Poland was becoming a center from which modern, Western (i.e., American) social research could spread out to the entire region: "It is clear from a number of outside contacts that Poland is becoming a center of objective sociological research for the Eastern Bloc and is now 'exporting' sociological research. Schaff and Szczepański are both pleased about this development, as you might expect."³¹ But would it have been possible for a social science so dependent on Western support to actually exert any substantial influence? The supposed center of the nominally Marxist, Eastern European sociology was, of course, the Soviet Union, but it was in fact dispersed and lacked instruments of international coordination comparable to the International Sociological Association (or American foundations). Even though the Soviet center lagged behind the Polish periphery, the vast amount of material resources available to their great rival annoyed social scientists in Poland.³² Even a cursory look at the material base of Polish social research shows that its leadership did not rest on actual potential, not to mention a political will, which would have been necessary to actually spread the know-how (not to say: hardware) of modern empirical sociology to other Eastern European regions. No wonder that Polish social scientists never developed any systematic activity aiming at that goal, and that Czechoslovakia remained their most important, if not their sole, follower (Kilias 2018, more on: Kilias 2017).

³¹ Stanley T. Gordon, note from March 22, 1962, RAC: FF, grant 58-103, reel 0536.

³² E.g. (Szczepański 2013: 141); Minutes from the General Board PSA, November 11, 1966, p. 5.

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