

**The Worlds of John D. Rockefeller 3rd,
Asia, Aesthetics, and Ambiguity**

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"A journey does not need reasons. Before long, it proves to be reason enough in itself. One thinks that one is going to make a journey, yet soon it is the journey that makes or unmakes you."
-- Nicholas Bouvier, *L'Usage du monde*, 1963

In the late 1980s and early 1990s, John Ensor Harr and Peter J. Johnson wrote the definitive biography, spanning two volumes, of John D. Rockefeller 3rd, the oldest son of John D. Rockefeller, Jr., and Abby Aldrich Rockefeller. Their books, *The Rockefeller Century* (1988) and *The Rockefeller Conscience* (1991), offer the ideal starting point for more focused studies on the life of the self-effacing brother of Abby, David, Laurance, Nelson, and Winthrop Rockefeller. As a historian of tourism and travel I wanted to better understand how JDR 3rd's travel experiences influenced his collection of East and South Asian art, as well as the institutions that he established there and in the United States to foster cross-cultural understanding (including the International House in Tokyo, the India International Centre in New Delhi, and the Asia Society in New York) between East and West and among Asians themselves. As I worked in the Rockefeller Family Archives during the summer of 2010, however, I learned that JDR 3rd's travels not only shaped his interest in Asian art and cross-cultural institutions, but, as the quote from the French travel-writer Nicolas Bouvier above suggests, also changed the man himself. This research report will explore some of JDR 3rd's pivotal experiences abroad and in the process of institution building on both sides of the Pacific. These points, which I will address briefly, will form the main ideas for my biographical article.

I have chosen the title, "The Worlds of John D. Rockefeller," because of the intensely human component of this project. As I noted above, my project is as much about the evolution of JDR 3rd's attitudes towards Asia and its peoples as it is about the institutions he founded. It is also about his personal gravitation from roles associated with family duty to a post-industrial identity manifest in his role as a public diplomat from the early 1950s until his death in 1978. In stressing

the humane, I hope to emphasize that though JDR 3rd enjoyed access to wealth and influence, he went through an extended process of finding his place in the world. His travels, particularly those to Asia, as well as his appreciation and promotion of Asian arts, would play a critical role in helping him to establish his identity. The third component of the subtitle, "ambiguity," diminishes nothing accomplished by JDR 3rd. It does, however, capture the essence of JDR 3rd's role as a public diplomat. As a public diplomat, or private citizen engaged in people-to-people contact abroad on a non-governmental basis, JDR 3rd's access to influential individuals, both in the United States and overseas, often put him in the position of being treated like a diplomat. There is perhaps no better example of this ambiguity than an article run in a Karachi, Pakistan, newspaper upon Rockefeller's arrival there in the early 1950s. Met at the airport by a local reporter, Rockefeller announced that he was there "to 'get acquainted' with conditions in Pakistan." The reporter for the *Karachi Dawn* further elaborated on Rockefeller's visit:

He said that the countries of South East Asia had acquired a growing importance recently and 'we want to get better acquainted with the accomplishments and problems of this area'. . . Asked about his impressions of the various countries he visited during his present tour, Mr. Rockefeller said that it was 'very hurried trip' and he was not in a position to make any elaborate statements on this matter, but one thing that stands out particularly, he pointed out, is the richness of the national resources of various countries in the South-East Asian region.[1]

Rockefeller assured the reporter that he would consult with "government and public men," but also ". . . made it clear that he was on a 'private visit' as 'an individual' who was only interested in studying conditions in this part of the world." To add additional context to this survey of agricultural conditions in Southeast Asia, Rockefeller was asked to provide "aid" on at least one occasion. The fact that a major Pakistani newspaper sent a reporter to cover Rockefeller's arrival, as well as JDR 3rd 's disavowal of the visit's public nature, illustrate how ambiguous many of his international interactions may have appeared. In essence, his intense desire to remain a private citizen juxtaposed itself against the vast network of political and economic contacts he cultivated throughout Asia.

There is also a second sense of "ambiguity" that manifests itself in JDR 3rd's Asian interactions. In this case I define "ambiguity" as an openness to alternatives that contrasts sharply with the various ideological manifestations that assumed a binary form, including the Soviet-US conflict during the Cold War, as well as the commercially contrived version of "modernity" that thrived, as Raymond Williams has observed on innovation and obsolescence.[2] A complex individual, JDR 3rd identified himself as a Cold Warrior (actively concerned with communism as the binary to freedom) who used many of his annual trips to Asia to seek ways to limit the influence of communism abroad. Rockefeller was also the consummate social modernizer (as a proponent of family planning, agricultural reform, and economic transformation in contrast to the persistence of traditional practices that continued during the post-World War II era), and made significant

efforts to promote modern economic development not only in Japan, but even more so in Southeast Asia. In contrast to these fairly rigid ideological positions, JDR 3rd exhibited a more open attitude towards Asian cultural traditions and cultural exchanges throughout Asia. In essence, while he labored to make over Asia for the benefit of its economic development, he accepted Asian art and artists on equal footing with their Western counterparts. This is best manifest in the creation of the JDR 3rd Fund, which will be discussed below.

Shaking the World

Among the most important of JDR 3rd's documents held by the Rockefeller Archive Center are the complete transcripts of his Columbia University oral history, completed in the 1960s and 1970s. These transcripts -- compiled in the twilight of his life -- shed critical light on the most important events of JDR 3rd's life. Prompted by his interviewers, he asserts the supremely *civilian* (or private) nature of his Asian activities. In the process, JDR 3rd also suggests the presence of a subtle generational fault-line developing between the industrial world of his father, JDR, Jr., and the next generations of Rockefellers. As JDR 3rd, the oldest male child of Abby Aldrich and JDR, Jr., approached graduation from Princeton in 1929, he met with his father to discuss his immediate post-graduation plans. He recalled the conversation and his father's reaction as follows:

I gave thought, as I approached graduation in the spring of 1929, to the possibility of taking a trip around the world. I remember discussing it with my father, and somewhat to my surprise found a certain lack of enthusiasm. He indicated that it was his thought that young men when they completed their college careers should start in on some activity of a continuing character and that while a trip would be nice he was not too enthusiastic.[3]

JDR 3rd's proposal and his father's lukewarm response can be explained as less of a particular difference between father and son, and instead as the shifting economic paradigms of the twentieth century. As tourism studies pioneer Dean MacCannell has argued, during the Industrial Age, men principally derived their identity from their industrially related occupation (a point of view that could be ascribed to JDR, Jr.'s frame of mind).[4] Instead, JDR 3rd largely derived his self-identity and life's work as a result of his travels, which at the time might well be considered a leisure, rather than occupational, activity. While JDR 3rd at times played the part of tourist as he traveled, the vast majority of his time traveling consisted of meeting with international leaders and promoting modernization and educational programs in Asia. Thus, it is important to note that Rockefeller's travel was something more than taking leisure; nevertheless, the derivation of his identity from his traveling activities represented a generational break from the mental world of his father.

JDR 3rd's Post War World(s)

JDR 3rd's interest in Asia did not take a linear path. After his 1929 trip to Russia, Japan, and China, he returned to the United States and worked for the family, served in World War II, and married Blanchette Hooker. Around the time JDR 3rd turned forty, he pondered his life's work and potential legacy. Conversations between JDR 3rd and Philip Noel-Baker, the British politician and diplomat, and Earl Newsom, a public relations specialist close to the Rockefellers, reaffirmed both the centrality of travel and learning to his identity. Recorded in his prodigious and faithfully maintained diary, Rockefeller noted that he had previously asked the well-travelled Noel-Baker, "[If] one were going to visit some of the more backward areas of the world, which would be most interesting [?]." Noel-Baker mentioned Africa, but felt that prospects for change there would take several years to materialize. In contrast, Rockefeller wrote in his journal, "He thought that the Far East should come first as the situation there is moving more rapidly today. He mentioned particularly India, Siam, the Malay Peninsula, the Dutch East Indies and French Indo-China."^[5] Sometime later, Rockefeller met with Earl Newsom to discuss his career objectives and possibilities for service. In a follow-up meeting the two discussed a variety of traditional occupational positions that might provide the foundation for a meaningful career, including business management, filling a post as college president, or entering politics. In reflecting on his activities to date, however, Rockefeller noted, "Most of my time since graduation from college has been on boards and committees where obviously one can be helpful if one is actively interested but where one's responsibility is only that of a member of a group and, hence, if one participates or not it is not too vital to the outcome of the enterprise."^[6]

Eschewing the traditional roles expected of the son and grandson of industrialists, Rockefeller wrote that he felt the greatest satisfaction in working with not-for-profit groups such as the American Youth Hostel organization, of which JDR 3rd had been appointed president in the late 1940s. Perhaps it is also not surprising that this organization focused on helping young people travel around the United States, as well as overseas. Frustrated with the manner in which the organization had been run prior to his coming on board, as well as the inability of board members to facilitate international exchanges, Rockefeller stepped away from the organization in the early 1950s, but gained valuable insight into the operation of not-for-profit organizations focused on cross-cultural exchange.

In addition to AYH, Rockefeller continued to manage the day-to-day operations of the Williamsburg Park complex, the colonial-era town in Virginia restored by his father. JDR 3rd reported directly to his father, but while Junior's primary concern was the profitability and operational success of Williamsburg, JDR 3rd entertained more grandiose programming interests in using the community as a stage for promoting democracy at home and abroad. To this end, he sent two associates, Arthur Goodbody and Kershaw Burbank, on extended trips to Europe and Asia to assess the spread of communism. JDR 3rd hoped to coordinate efforts with the private sector and military to promote freedom at home and abroad.^[7]

What is striking is the degree to which travel served as a springboard to Rockefeller's future activities. Although he was frustrated with the bureaucratic pitfalls of AYH, he had been drawn to the position not only because he would be in charge, but also, he noted in his diary that he was interested "because it dealt with young people and because of the international possibilities."[8] Second, while JDR 3rd's educational plans for Williamsburg, which would have involved major conferences with world leaders, did not materialize, it demonstrated the primacy of eyewitness international information as a tool for understanding the world. Thus, Rockefeller's discussions with Philip Noel-Baker and Earl Newsom helped served as a useful sounding board in channeling his interests to connect travel in the emerging world to development in Asia during the following two decades.

Japan and the Primacy of Public Diplomacy

Hoping to step out from his father's shadow and establish a legacy based on his own interests, JDR 3rd stepped down from his executive position with AYH in the early 1950s and relinquished the reins at Williamsburg. Having traveled throughout most of Asia, Africa, Latin America, and Europe, Rockefeller possessed a sound understanding of many of the developmental problems that plagued the "third world" periphery. Another aspect of his professional life that contributed to this was the unique leadership structure of the Rockefeller Foundation (RF) during the early Cold War. Two future secretaries of state, John Foster Dulles and Dean Rusk, would serve with JDR 3rd as trustees of the Foundation. These relationships played a significant role in catapulting JDR 3rd into the arena of public diplomacy.

Just as the Columbia Oral History Project underscored the private nature of JDR 3rd's trip with Dr. McDonald in 1929, the transcripts also clarify JDR 3rd's relationship to John Foster Dulles and the diplomatic team tasked with ending the military occupation of Japan in 1951. In reference to his appointment by Dulles as a "cultural consultant," Rockefeller noted: "I was asked to go with the group, not as a full-fledged member, as the other were all officials, but as an advisor on the cultural side."[9] In essence, Rockefeller's role as a public diplomat versus an official diplomat makes his successive accomplishments in Japan even more stunning. Despite his civilian status, he benefitted significantly from his ambiguously "official" status as a member of the team. This gave him greater access to people around Japan. Nevertheless, he also learned the advantages of private diplomacy in finding answers to questions that may not have been possible had he been a full-blown diplomat. Recounting his remarkable trip and work in Japan in 1951, Rockefeller observed: "during the weeks I was in Japan . . . I attempted to understand what the feeling was towards our country and to try and think out ways and means through which understanding between our peoples could be fostered and developed . . . I interviewed many people, traveled around the country, and obviously tried to talk just as much with the Japanese and with people at various levels in the Occupation."[10]

Despite this remarkable pattern of interviewing people and attempting to create cultural institutions, such as the International House of Tokyo, later in life Rockefeller chose not to embellish his relationship with Dulles during the mission. The following exchange from the Columbia Oral History Project clarifies the nature of his service there:

Challenger: You say you were not terribly close to Mr. Dulles?

JDR 3rd: I knew him over a period of quite a few years. First, primarily, in relation to the Rockefeller Foundation, and then, more particularly, in relation to the Peace Treaty Mission to Japan . . . I imagine it was because of our relationship there [at the Rockefeller Foundation] that he invited me to serve with him on the Japanese Treaty Mission . . .

To answer your question specifically, as far as I know, no one else was attempting the type of assignment I was given . . . But actually I worked quite independently. I felt, in a way, with a subject like this, if I was operating outside of occupation machinery and occupation organization that it might have facilitated a freedom of discussion, because I came in, so to speak as a new face, with a clean slate, rather than being part of [the] occupation program. So I did my interviews and my work almost entirely on my own, relying on Japanese sources. . . . I made a number of recommendations to him, as a result of my conversations, and he asked me to pursue certain of them on a private basis, and the principal result of that was the establishment of the International House in Tokyo, which has worked out, I believe it's fair to say, very usefully and constructively.^[11]

Rockefeller's personal insistence on placing distance between himself and Dulles as part of the mission suggests a palpable difference in the type of work Rockefeller was doing in Japan, as well as in the way he carried it out. This actually underscores the case for Rockefeller's work as a private concern carried out by an individual ambiguously attached to the diplomatic mission.

The creation of the International House of Tokyo following the 1951 mission represented JDR 3rd's initial attempt at creating a cultural institution, but could have been anticipated by the nature of his educational activities at Williamsburg, as well as his interest in international exchange through the American Youth Hostel organization. What lends authenticity to its private nature, despite being created in the wake of the 1951 Mission with Dulles, was not JDR 3rd's passion for the project, but his reluctance to allow U.S. interests to create an institution that lacked local support. While I will elaborate to a greater degree on the uniqueness of the International House of Tokyo, it did not represent the culmination of JDR 3rd's cultural efforts with Asia, precisely because it began, to a certain degree, as a reflection of his modernizing techniques. Insisting on a "two-way street" in relations between the United States and Japan, JDR 3rd used the institution initially as a forum for "experts" to travel to Japan and impart their wisdom with elite Japanese audiences. The International House took on a new level of importance in the late 1950s as it assisted a team in Delhi, India, with the task of creating an

International Centre in the capital city that was linked to the leading universities of the country. The second international house project in Asia demonstrated that each would conform to the operational preferences of the host country, as well as cultivate exchanges with each other during the 1960s.

Embracing Asia

John D. Rockefeller 3rd's legacy in Asia is complex. As a modernizer, for example, JDR 3rd was among the most vocal supporters of family planning, particularly in South Asia, where he felt the standard of living across Asia could not be improved without population control. In connection with those efforts, he also sought out scientists who might improve local farm management in South Asia in order to improve crop production to enhance food supplies. Similarly, as an influential citizen concerned about the Cold War, JDR 3rd actively sought ways to promote freedom around the globe and went farther than just about any other American to understand the root causes of conflict in Indo-China, traveling there on several occasions. As his understanding of the crisis grew, so did his willingness to search for solutions that were acceptable to Asia in general, and not just the United States.

Yet as an advocate of educational and artistic exchange, he shed any dogmatic tendencies and embraced Asian cultures wholeheartedly. The JDR 3rd Fund represented the highest expression of this artistic equality of East and West. This tendency was evident, however, early on in Rockefeller's Asian enterprises. One such undertaking, Designs of Asia Incorporated, was calculated to expose American consumers to Asian designs in clothing and accessories. In addition to generating revenue, it appears that JDR 3rd had cross-cultural goals in mind as well. He noted:

As a result of my several trips to Asia . . . I came to appreciate the quality of Asia's best craftsmanship and the beauty of Asian design and color. With an underlying interest in strengthening and increasing understanding between East and West, I . . . felt that one of the ways to foster understanding was to increase respect, to increase mutual appreciation for the other's accomplishments. And it seemed to me that if more of the Asian craftsmanship and design could be brought to America, it would be desirable in these terms.^[12]

JDR 3rd's focus on exchange between equals also extended to the educational sphere. In a speech entitled "Student Exchange as a Means to International Understanding," delivered at the Institute of International Education, in Houston, Texas, on December 14, 1955, Rockefeller emphasized that Americans, despite however much knowledge they possessed that might benefit others, needed to "be as willing to learn from other people as we are to assist them." Furthermore, Rockefeller stated that any ideas shared with other nations or their citizens, should be shared freely as "[we] cannot impose our ideas or our way of life on other peoples." The danger, he concluded, amounted to an unhealthy case of hubris; he noted that "we sometimes give the

impression to others that we think their problems would be solved if they would adopt our system in its entirety." In contrast, he emphasized, "As we work with others we must recognize that no people or nation should be expected to conform to a pattern of life other than that of their own choosing."[13]

Despite his role as a champion of social and economic modernization throughout Asia, Rockefeller insisted on mutual respect as the basis for people-to-people relations throughout East and South Asia. Author Christy West captured the ambiguity between JDR 3rd's roles as modernizer and cultural preservationist in an interview with Rockefeller while writing a history of the JDR 3rd Fund in the mid-1970s. He noted:

One of the most important challenges to Asian leadership -- and to Americans and other Westerners working with them -- is to learn how to modernize Asia without westernizing it; to learn what tools and techniques to borrow and adapt from the West, in order to manage material progress, without sacrificing the values that have made the East culturally rich. In a sense, the American working in Asia needs to understand the difference between the good salesman who delivers to his customer a new and fully equipped car, and the master mechanic who takes on the far more difficult job of helping the customer modernize his [existing] vehicle, one part at a time, which the two of them keep the engine tuned up and running through the rebuilding process.[14]

Ultimately, as this quote illustrates, Rockefeller felt a great deal of respect for the culture and potential of Asians -- even as the continent underwent modernization. This mutual respect would be evident in the programming of the two International Houses, but was abundantly clear in the creation of the JDR 3rd Fund in the mid-1960s. What is striking about this fund, which provided exchange opportunities for students and scholars on both sides of the Pacific, was its equitable management. During the years from 1963 to 1975, the Fund dispensed \$2.7 million for fellowships, research and travel grants, as well as \$2.7 million for individual projects. Approximately twenty percent of the grants went for music projects, with sixteen percent of the awards allocated to museological projects, and the balance of the grants given to "general culture," exhibitions, art history, publications, theater, painting and sculpture, cinematography and photography, dance, literature, archeology, architecture, design, and crafts projects.[15]

Rockefeller's flexibility played a critical role in promoting and preserving Asian arts by practitioners throughout the world. In 1975, in connection with the creation of a history of the JDR 3rd Fund, grant recipients were asked to fill out a survey to reflect on how the individual grants had helped further their careers. For some the benefits were practical in nature. Mary H. Fond noted, "Since my research program carried me to both Europe and Asia, and across the U.S, my experience in having been able . . . to make a survey study of the major Oriental art collections in the various museums as well as to visit art sites in India and Japan are most helpful to both my teaching and research today."[16] Similarly, Kuo-Sung Liu observed, "It gave me a great deal of experiences and exposure to the art scene around the world, including meeting

artists, seeing museums and studios, and studying at various places."[17]

Other recipients focused on the benefits they received as practitioners. Dr. Laxmi P. Sihare, then director of the National Gallery of Modern Art in New Delhi, noted that in addition to helping him finish his graduate work, the grant allowed him to "pursue . . . intensive research in the field of Ancient Chinese Bronzes and to observe the working of major museums and cultural institutions in New York and other parts of the United States." Subsequently, Sihare wrote, the information and techniques acquired as a result of the grant "helped me to gain a better professional insight and broadened my vision in the field of art, museums, and culture [which] . . . helped me to improve the Birla Academy of Art and Culture, to transform the National Gallery of Modern Art, New Delhi and to set up the Hall of National Builders, National Gallery of Portraits, New Delhi."[18]

In other cases, cultural traditions were on the verge of extinction. Clark Benedict Worswick, associate editor of *Aperture* magazine expressed gratitude for his grant, which, he noted, "allowed me to spend considerable time in the vicinity of the faded ruling families of India." More specifically, he stated that "As an artist it gave me invaluable insight into the process of cultural decline: as a historian and film maker the experience gave me an opportunity to study one of the most dynamic cultures -- the Rajputs -- ever evolved in Asia."[19] Similarly, Virginia Green, head of the Conservation Laboratory at the University Museum at the University of Pennsylvania, wrote, "My work with the Thai Bronze Treatment Project has given me first-hand experience with conservation problems in a part of the world with which I had no contact; and absolutely invaluable experience in the problems of setting up a conservation program requiring international cooperation."[20]

Grant recipients also found that their grant-funded experiences helped them learn how to solve problems within a cross-cultural context. Perhaps the experience of Cecile R. Guidote, program director for the Third World Institute of Theatre Arts Studies and the director of the International League of Folk Arts for Communication and Education illustrates this best:

Returning to my country [after studying theatre in the United States, Mexico, and Europe] being equipped with credentials and expertise drawn from my grant studies, generated confidence, lessened resistance to my youth and [minimized] doubts about my efforts to initiate the founding of a movement of broad cultural character centered on the theatre and its essential education. . . . The exciting possibilities of Asian artistic collaboration initially utilizing indigenous Filipino/Korean/Chinese cultural materials became more evident with a successful training-production scheme with the Korean Drama Center. The Bombay encounter did not only provide the opportunity for more contracts with artists and the gathering of materials for the expansion of Asian training . . . but the meeting brought me [closer] to the problems among developing countries.[21]

Similarly, Anuvit Charernsupkul, a Thai architect and lecturer at Silpakorn University in Bangkok, noted that the grant not only provided him with an education at Rice University, but also helped him to learn a "systematic approach to solve problems, and the new dimension of architecture in [relation to the] urban environment with various aspects."^[22] Solving problems could often be achieved with broader networks of scholars. Thubten Samoup, a music teacher of Tibetan music at the Dance and Drama Society in India, praised the grant program for "[providing] me with needed experience as well as contacts with many people who may be of help to me in the future."

Collateral benefits also enriched the cultural exchange of grant recipients. For example, Shinichi Yuize, composer and concert artist from Tokyo, had the opportunity to work as a lecturer at Columbia University, during which time, she recalled, "I had the opportunity to meet and talk with many people, both in and out of the field of music, which has helped me to grow as a person as well as a musician." The experience in the United States also benefitted her Japanese students upon her return to Tokyo. "Relating to them the enthusiasm with which American students studied the Japanese instruments," Yuize noted, "made them more aware of the importance of studying their own native music as well as western music."^[23] Yuize was not alone in noting the paradoxical reinforcement of native identity as a result of cross-cultural exchange. Similarly, Duk Hyung Yoo, dean and artistic director at the Seoul College of Performing Arts, observed, "As a result of my experience as a JDR 3rd Fund grantee I was able to solidify and strengthen my own identity as a Korean." As a result, Yoo focused his career on preserving "Korean heritage and indigenous culture."^[24]

Worlds Transformed

As Nicholas Bouvier noted in the epigraph to this research report, it is ultimately, "the journey that makes or unmakes you." John D. Rockefeller 3rd's prodigious record of travel throughout Asia over the course of fifty years offers a unique case study as to how life-long travel can transform an individual. While his impressive record of institution building in Asia (and in the United States with the Asia Society) lends itself to an organizational accounting of his many thousand miles logged, it is through the evolution of his own attitudes towards Asians and their profound cultural traditions that we capture the best of his contributions towards humanity.

In the immediate aftermath of World War II, the International House of Tokyo, and later, the India International Centre were created to sustain strong relations between the respective nations and the United States. However, by the close of the 1950s, the inter-Asian programs of the two centers signaled a step away from the United States playing a central role in the relationships forged by the two centers. Their private nature and the insistence of their benefactor that they be supported locally have sustained them for more than a half-century.

This multi-lateral approach to intellectual exchange and problem solving represented a shift towards Asians taking initiative for their growth and development. In 1963, when Rockefeller created the JDR 3rd Fund, John D. Rockefeller 3rd and Porter McCray, director of the Fund, heavily emphasized the preservation and protection of traditional Asian arts throughout the continent. The international constituency of grant-recipients further reinforced JDR 3rd's high estimation of the ability of Asians, European, and Americans to carry on cultural enterprises in Asia well into the twenty-first century. In the end, Rockefeller remained a complex individual. As a Cold Warrior and modernizer, he participated in many of the binary ideological struggles that characterized twentieth century society. Yet, it was his unwillingness to define Asians in contrast to Europeans and Americans, and instead esteem their cultures and ways of life as valuable as those of the West -- a truly post-modern phenomenon -- that remains his brightest cross-cultural legacy.

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ENDNOTES

1. RFA, RG 5, Series 1-OMR Files, Trips, Asia (1953), Box 91, Folder 771.
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4. Dean MacCannell. *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class*. Berkeley: University of

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5. RFA, RG 5, I-OMR, Box 7, Folder 59, Diaries, Jan-Sept. 1948, January 27, 1948.

6. RFA, RG 5, I-OMR, Folder 61, Box 7, Personal Papers, Diaries, 1949, October 17, 1949.

7. RFA, RG 3rd 2E, Box 172, Office of the Messrs. Rockefeller: Cultural Interests.

8. RFA, RG 5, I-OMR, Box 6, Folder 56, Personal Papers, Diaries, Aug-Dec 1946, October 14, 1946.

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15. JDR 3rd Fund, Series 7: The JDR 3rd Fund and Asia, Box 58, Folder 503, "Fellowships, Research and Travel Grants, 1963-1975"; JDR 3rd Fund, Series 7: the JDR 3rd Fund and Asia, Box 58, Folder 504, "Project Grants, 1963-1975"; JDR 3rd Fund, Series 7: the JDR 3rd Fund and Asia, Box 58, Folder 484, "Total Project Grants Allocated, 1963-1974."

16. JDR 3rd Fund, Series 7: The JDR 3rd Fund and Asia, Box 59, Folder 494, JDR 3rd Fund, Questionnaire Responses: Asia, "Mary H. Fong."

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