

LA 24, 1948

professor Robert E. Havighurst
University of Chicago
Chicago, Ill.

Dear Dr. Havighurst:

As you can see from the enclosed letter, the Law School of the University of Frankfurt has invited me to join their faculty and teach courses within their regular curriculum for two terms beginning November 1, 1948.

My present position is that of Acting Chief of the German section in the Division of Research for Europe in the Department of State. My immediate superior would consider a request for a nine months leave of absence favorably. Likewise, Professor Franz Neumann at Columbia University has assured me that the Department of Government would be glad to sponsor such an assignment.

However, before taking official steps both within the Department of State and at Columbia University, I should like to inquire whether the Rockefeller Foundation would lend its support to such a more extensive German program. I would have to take leave without pay from the government. It would not be practicable to take my family to Germany. Thus I would have to be able to support my family in the United States and meet Travelling expenses to and from Germany. I do not know whether or to what extent the University of Frankfurt would cover my living expenses during the nine months in Germany.

For these reasons, I am not in a position to act on the invitation from the University of Frankfurt without knowing whether the Rockefeller Foundation would favorably consider a grant supporting such a program.

Sincerely yours

Otto Kirchheimer

Encl.: letter from the Dean of the Law School at the University of Frankfurt.

The Rockefeller Foundation
49 West 49th Street, New York 20

August 31, 1948

Dear Dr. Kirchheimer:

Thanks very much for your letter of August 24th asking whether the Rockefeller Foundation might make a grant toward the expense of your spending a year teaching at the University of Frankfurt.

At the moment the Foundation is not making new grants of this type, but there is a possibility that such proposals might be considered during the winter.

However, I rather doubt that the Foundation would consider further provisions for visiting professors at Frankfurt just now, in view of the fact that the University of Chicago already has a number of faculty members in residence at Frankfurt on a project partially supported by the Foundation.

I am leaving for Germany this week and plan to return sometime in November. If you are still interested in teaching in Germany at that time, I should be glad to let you know then whether there is any possibility of Foundation assistance for you.

Sincerely yours,

Robert J. Havighurst

Dr. Otto Kirchheimer
3740 39 Str. N.W.
Washington, 16, D.C.

The political and historical background of the written constitutions which, in November 1946 was eventually adopted as that of the Fourth Republic, is both complex and vast. It derives not only from conflicts of judgment about the ~~merits~~ merits of its predecessor, and from French fidelity to the tradition of parliamentary government, but also from the interplay of postwar political personalities and parties, but unlike its predecessor it is a compromise between parties with a left wing and not a right wing bias. To understand ~~x~~ it means on the one hand delving into the recent past, and on the other investigating the day to day adjustments and manoeuvres by which the major parliamentary parties have so far made it work.

The little book is therefore not in the nature of things a final picture of judgment of the Fourth Republic constitution. But it is an altogether admirable and ~~xxxxxx~~ immensely valuable survey of the process by which it came into being and the balance of forces which moulded it up to the beginning of 47. Especially useful are its notes and appendices, which include the English text of the constitution and of its rejected precursor of May 46, and statistical and occupational analysis of the constituent and National assemblies. No student of modern France should be without it.

David Thomson.

The Rockefeller Foundation
49 West 49 Str.
New York, 20

COPY

April 6, 1955

Dear Professor Kirchheimer:

I am writing to tell you that it is my belief that our officers are willing to recommend that a grant to the extent of \$ 9,000 for a twelve-month period including the academic year 1955-1956, be made to support your research and writing on political justice. Of the total sum, \$1,800 would be for travel, research help, and typing costs. The remainder would be for partial replacement of your ~~xxxxx~~ academic salary.

In order that a final decision can be reached, I shall need to have a letter from the president of your School. This letter should request the grant, summarize succinctly the work that you will do, state the amount of the grant, state the date on which it is to terminate, and indicate the School's willingness to administer the money for you. I am sure that if you show this letter at your President's office, they will know what we need.

Yours sincerely

John B. Stewart.

OTTO KIRCHHEIMER
2801 BEECHBANK RD.
SILVER SPRING, MD.

OK

External Research Staff
Office of Intelligence Research
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

EXTERNAL RESEARCH MEMORANDUM

February 28, 1957

Rockefeller Research Grants
Fourth Quarter, 1956

Rockefeller Foundation grants totaled \$8,104,849 during the fourth quarter, 1956, of which the major proportion went to the fields of medicine and medical research in the United States and abroad. Social science grants totaled \$703,375 and those in the humanities, \$1,051,310.

The following are the significant grants made in the social sciences and humanities, listed by the area of the world to which they relate. For further information on any of these grants, please call the External Research Staff, Code 191, Extension 2948.

WESTERN EUROPE & BRITISH COMMONWEALTH

Columbia University, New York: Research on Britain as the first industrial society, by Professor J. Bartlett Brebner; \$7,000.

Free University of Berlin, Germany: Professor Walther Killy; to visit the United States and Canada to study recent German literature; \$5,100.

University of Oslo, Norway: Petter Jakob Bjerve, director, Central Bureau of Statistics of Norway; to complete research on the Norwegian National Budget; \$2,500.

Abdul Hamid, Bukittinggi, Sumatra, Indonesia: To study the teaching of English in Great Britain and Europe; \$1,375.

NEAR EAST

American University of Beirut, Lebanon: Arab Studies Program; to develop further research and training on significant phases of recent-mainly twentieth century-Arab life and thought. The program has received support from the Rockefeller Foundation since 1949; \$216,000.

Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Middle East Studies; a major research program on the modern Middle East, designed both to increase understanding of this vital area of the world and to train scholars in Middle Eastern studies, will be inaugurated at Harvard University with aid from a Rockefeller Foundation grant of \$205,000, available during the next six years. Sir Hamilton Gibb will supervise the project.

Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Professor Raphael Demos, Department of Philosophy; to study contemporary thought in Greece; \$2,200.

Stanford University, California: Conference on the utilization of the collections of the Hoover Institute and Library in research on the history of modern Turkey; \$4,000.

University of Hamburg, Germany: Professor Bertold Spuler; to visit the United States and Canada to observe programs in Near Eastern and related studies; \$3,000.

SOUTH AND SOUTHEAST ASIA

University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia: Development of plans for intensive studies of the Maharashtra and Gujarat regions of India, under the direction of Professor W. Norman Brown; \$7,500.

University of Bombay, India: Research on fish market procedures in Southeast Asia; about \$3,500.

FAR EAST AND ASIA GENERAL

University of Chicago, Chicago: Federated Theological Faculty; to develop a new program on inter-religious studies as part of a larger effort to clarify the relevance of religion in contemporary society. One Chicago professor will visit religious centers in South Asia and another will study Buddhism and related aspects of Asian religions in Japan. Two visiting experts on Buddhism will come to Chicago from Asia, and a third Asian scholar will experiment with discussions of different religions among university faculty and graduate students. Two research internships will also be awarded; \$140,000 for three years.

The Far Eastern Association, Inc., Ann Arbor, Michigan: To support studies of Chinese thought, \$57,400 and for the support of the work of the committee on South Asia; \$10,000.

University of California, Los Angeles, California: To study philosophical developments in India, Japan and Israel, Professor Abraham Kaplan; \$9,800.

University of California, Los Angeles, California; Studies of English language teaching problems in the United States and the Philippines, by two staff members; \$6,000.

Stanford University, California: Studies of Japanese poetry, by Dr. Robert H. Brower of Stanford University and Dr. Earl Roy Miner of the University of California, Los Angeles; \$2,985.

Stanford University, California: Professor Nobushige Ukaï, Tokyo University, Japan; continued participation in the Stanford-Tokyo Collaborative Studies Program and continued research for a volume on the modernization of Japanese law; \$2,500.

School of Oriental Studies, University of Durham, England: I. J. C. Foster, Librarian; to visit centers of Oriental studies in the United States and Canada; \$2,500.

International Institute for the Study of Religions in Japan, Tokyo, Japan: Toward support of its general program; \$12,000 for a three-year period.

Tokyo University, Tokyo, Japan: Research on the significance of mountains in Japanese religion under the direction of Dr. Hideo Kishimoto, head, Department of Religion; \$10,000 approximately.

AMERICAN REPUBLICS

Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana: For its program of comparative law in Latin American legal and social studies; \$114,000 for five-year period.

University of Glasgow, Scotland: Support of the program of Latin American Studies of the Department of Hispanic Studies; \$6,500.

INTERNATIONAL AND GENERAL

Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee: For research programs in industrial and agricultural economics, and a series of

grants to individual faculty members for investigations in the social sciences other than economics; \$150,000 for a five-year period.

Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Exploration of the potential uses of high-speed digital computers in the solution of theoretical and applied problems in the social sciences; \$98,400.

Food Research Institute of Stanford University, California: For a post-graduate training program in agricultural economics; \$96,000.

Modern Languages Association, New York, New York: To incorporate the results of recent research in linguistics and cultural fields in foreign language textbooks for use at the college level; \$40,500 for a period of two years.

Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Studies in the field of comparative religion, to be carried out with the cooperation of two visiting Japanese scholars; \$13,500 for a two-year period.

Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Research on creative thinking in work groups, under the direction of Dr. Jerome Bruner, Laboratory of Social Relations; \$4,000.

Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut: Continued study of field organization in the United Nations system, by Professor Walter Sharp; \$9,500.

New School for Social Research, New York: A study of political justice, by Professor Otto Kirchheimer; \$9,000.

London School of Economics and Political Science: Professor David V. Glass, director, Department of Sociological and Demographic Research, to visit graduate centers of sociological and demographic teaching and research in the United States; \$6,000.

The Trustees of Robert College, Istanbul, Turkey: Conferences on the development of courses in the humanities dealing with the interplay of Eastern and Western civilization; \$10,000.

University of Madras, India: Continued preparation of the Catalogus Catalogorum of Sanskrit texts, by Professor V. Raghavan; \$10,000.

Art Academy of the Republic of Indonesia, Djogjakarta: Mardio Koesoemaatmadja, director, art education program; to study art education in the United States and other countries; \$5,500.

December 30th, 1962

Mr. Charles Hardin
Rockefeller Foundation
111 West 50 Street
New York 20, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Hardin:

I take the liberty to send you an outline of a project for which I would be grateful to receive the Rockefeller Foundation support under your new program. I have not yet received the announcement - I left for the Christmas recess on December 19th - but Val Lorwin wrote me that there is a deadline of January 1. I shall be able to take a leave from Columbia during the academic year 1964-65, but, due to the fact that two replacements will have to be organized for the two terms, I would appreciate if the project could be taken under consideration now.

I shall give you a ring when I get back to New York in order to hear whether my project meets the formal requirements for submission. At the same time I hope to be able to report to you on the completion of the speakers and discussants list for the APSA Round Table. One acceptance was still outstanding two weeks ago.

Sincerely yours,

January 21, 1958.

Kenneth W. Thompson
The Rockefeller Foundation
49 West 49 Street
New York 20, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Thompson:

This is in reply to your letter of January 16. I have had the opportunity to follow the work of Mr. Gurland for the last two decades. I would consider him especially qualified to undertake a study which involves problems of both labor and political organizations in Germany.

Some of his studies - to speak only of those undertaken in the fifties - e.g. his Handbook on German Labor Affairs, prepared for the U.S. Department of Labor, or, his survey of German Political Science, published under the auspices of the Library of Congress, or, the studies published under his directorship of the Berlin Institut für Politische Wissenschaften have since long been completed. Others, as his work on Social Stratification of German Political Personnel and his studies on the origin of the Christian Democratic Union are still in progress. All of them give ample proof of both his ability to organize research material with the greatest care and of his unusual capacity for interpreting his painstakingly assembled social and political data.

I am fully confident, that Mr. Gurland, if given the opportunity, will bring his work to a successful conclusion, arriving at both meaningful and highly interesting results.

Sincerely yours,

(Otto Kirchheimer)
Professor of Political Science.

September 27, 1958.

Kenneth W. Thompson
The Rockefeller Foundation
49 West 49th Street
New York, 20, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Thompson:

I have known Professor Sharp since the beginning of the 40's when we worked together in the Central European Research Branch of OSS. Since then I have had continued professional and personal contact with him.

His knowledge of political and social trends in Eastern Europe commands respect. He is rarely satisfied with traditional views, but always seeks and often provides new interpretations. I can well imagine that application of his idee maitresse - to develop institutions from the particular circumstances of a situation rather than from theoretical premises - to the legal field might lead to fruitful results. As he is in command of the languages and political situations of a number of eastern countries, he should be able to study the relevant legal material, procedural as well as substantive, on a somewhat broader basis than is usually done.

I should look forward to seeing the result of such a study, especially as there is little doubt, that, once undertaken Prof. Sharp will be well able to carry it to a successful completion.

Sincerely yours,

Nov. 13, 1958

Professor Kenneth Thompson
The Rockefeller Foundation
49 West 49th Street
New York 20, N.Y.

Dear Professor Thompson:

Enclosed please find the application forms and papers for an extension of my grant.

Sincerely yours,

Sept. 20, 1959.

Professor Kenneth Thompson
Rockefeller Foundation
49 West 49th Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Kenneth:

Since I do not think I shall have a chance to come to New York during the next few months, I should like to take up the following problem with you. Just recently I found out that your exchange program also includes full blown Privatdozenten and professors from European universities and that either yourself or someone else talks to potential candidates and, in case you find them suitable, ask them to file a formal application.

I wonder whether it would be possible for you to jot down the name of a professor of Public Law of the University of Bonn, Helmuth Ridder and take a look at him. Of all the professors in the field I know, and I know quite a number, I think he would be likely to profit most from a year in this country. He is still a relatively young man, probably below forty; he just transferred from Frankfurt University to the job at Bonn University. During the last two years he has become more widely known in Germany because he handled two cases before the Constitutional Court (being a somewhat rare species of being a left of center Catholic) he has shown a sustained and continued interest in what you would call in this country public opinion issues, including the presently much agitated question of possible transformation of the broadcasting system.

He has a first rate mind and his English - he spent a term at Georgetown Law School in Washington ~~xxxxxx~~ four or five years ago - is, if not faultless though fluent. I think ~~we~~ if he could spend a year with a first rate law school it would be most beneficial to all concerned.

He has not moved to Bonn yet and can still be reached at Kelkheim-Taunus, Egenolfstrasse 3, or else at the Juristische Fakultät, University of Bonn.

My work is coming along slowly, as you might see from the items I sent you

September 21, 1959.

Professor Kenneth Thompson
Rockefeller Foundation
49 West 49th Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Kenneth:

Since I do not know whether I shall have a chance to see you during the next few months, I should like to take up the following problem with you: Just recently I heard that your exchange program has some slots for professors from European universities.

I wonder whether it would be possible for you to give some consideration to Hellmuth Ridder, Professor of Public Law at the University of Bonn and establish some contact with him with a view of possible consideration under your program. He is still a relatively young man, probably below forty. He transferred this year from Frankfurt University to a professorship of public law at Bonn. During the last two years he has become more widely known in Germany because he handled two cases before the ~~German~~ ^{German} Court. He is also editor of the public law section of Herder's *Staatslexikon*, the well-known Catholic Encyclopedia. He has shown a sustained interest in what we would call civil liberties issues, especially in the opinion/forming field.

He has a first rate mind. As he spent a term at Georgetown University Law School four or five years ago he speaks English almost fluently. I am convinced that, given the opportunity to spend a year with a first rate law school, he would benefit greatly. He has not yet moved his family to Bonn and may still be reached at Kelkheim/Taunus (15 km from Frankfurt), Egenolfstrasse 3. (Tel.: Kelkheim 452) or else at the Juristische Fakultät, University of Bonn.

My own work is coming along slowly as you might see from the two or three items I sent you during the last half year.
With best regards

H. S.

Dec. 22, 1959.

Mr. Kenneth W. Thompson
Rockefeller Foundation
49 West 49th Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Thompson:

This is in answer to your query in regard to Mr. Val Lorwin. I have known Mr. Lorwin since the middle forties when we both worked in O.S.S. and the State Dept. Since then I have had numerous professional and personal contacts with Mr. Lorwin. His integrity and forthrightness are a matter of public record; his modesty and intelligence are the pride of his numerous friends.

I am familiar with his project as I had opportunity to discuss it with him both in Brussels, summer 1958 and at the last Political Science meeting; I am also familiar with the part of his work which is so far available in mss. It shows Mr. Lorwin's understanding of complex social situations, well known already from his previous study on France, applied to a new and hitherto scarcely treated subject matter. Behind the official outline, composed with Mr. Lorwin's usual modesty lies the plan of an all embracing study of the Belgian political and social trends, a project eminently worthy of the support of the Foundation.

Sincerely yours,

(Otto Kirchheimer)

October 28, 1960

The Rockefeller Foundation
50 West Street
New York, 20, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Thompson:

I received your inquiry in regard to Professor Guenter Lewy of Smith College. I have known Mr. Lewy for about five years, during which time I had both personal and professional contact with him. I have studied both Mr. Lewy's PhD dissertation on Juan de Mariana and I am also familiar with some of his more recent works. Mr. Lewy's study on Mariana shows him to be a man well able to handle source material and to interpret it in a lucid, conscientious and interesting fashion. The area which he selected as his special field of interest - history of church-state relations and the principles governing those relations - is not a well travelled one. The particular competence the author has shown in the field leads me to expect many new vistas to be opened via the research project he has now submitted. While a number of ~~accounts~~ ^{accounts} ~~details~~ ^{sketched} ~~have been available~~ and ~~while many~~ ~~partisans~~ ^{by} ~~have described~~ the records of the relations between the Catholic Church and the ^{on the border of the world the journal} ~~N.Y.~~ ^{express} ~~state, there is not only room,~~ but there is an actual need for an analysis by a dispassionate outsider who ~~describes~~ ^{seeks} ~~questions~~ ^{but not} ~~of principle~~ ^{rather than} ~~rather than~~ ^{in the process} ~~obvious interpretations.~~

llh

THE Rockefeller Foundation

111 WEST 50th STREET, NEW YORK 20

THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

CABLE: ROCKFOUND, NEW YORK
TELEPHONE: COLUMBUS 5-8100

November 21, 1960

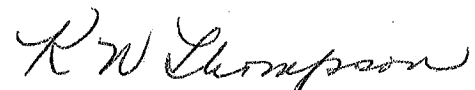
Dear Dr. Kirchheimer:

The Rockefeller Foundation, as you may know, has for the past several years provided assistance to a number of scholars doing research on problems of fundamental importance in the field of legal and political philosophy. Mr. Helmut Ridder has applied to the Foundation for assistance under this program--a brief description of which is enclosed--to enable him to carry out the research set forth in the attached statement.

I wonder if you would be willing to give us your frank judgment of this research proposal and of Mr. Ridder's capacity for imaginative and original scholarship. Since our program is quite limited, we are especially anxious to know whether the scholar in question has given evidence of genuine research ability in the past and is likely to carry the present study to successful completion.

I look forward to hearing from you at your convenience.

Sincerely yours,



Kenneth W. Thompson
Director

Dr. Otto Kirchheimer
2801 Beechbank Road
Silver Spring, Maryland

Encs. (2)

I am fully confident that if given the opportunity to carry out his project, Mr. Lewy will bring it to a successful completion.

Sincerely yours,
Dear Mr. Thompson:

I received your inquiry in regard to Professor Genter
Lewy of Smith College. I have known Mr. Lewy for about five
years, during which time I had both personal and professional
contact with him. I have studied both Mr. Lewy's PhD dissertation
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~~specious interpretations.~~

November 23, 1960

Dr. Kenneth W. Thompson
The Rockefeller Foundation
111 West 50 Street
New York, 20, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Thompson:

I have received your inquiry concerning Professor Hellmuth Ridder. I have known Professor Ridder since the beginning of the 50ies. Since then I have been in frequent professional and personal contact with him. I have seen him both in the U.S. and a number of times in Germany.

Professor Ridder is one of the ablest if not the ablest among the post-war generation of German constitutional lawyers. Unlike the great majority of his German colleagues he is never satisfied with the legal exegesis of constitutional and administrative texts, or with providing the arguments for whatever interest group hires his services to write their briefs. Almost from the first day, when he was appointed, as a comparatively young graduate student, to fill a chair of public law at the University of Frankfurt, he has been in the forefront of the very small band of lawyers who realized the dire need to close the gap between constitutional theory and social science. His constitutional and social analysis of communication processes (he is now arguing the reorganization of the German television system before the Constitutional Court), his attempt to push popular participation in the political process and his recent studies of the unions' role in the political process bear witness to this endeavor.

The project which he now submits, even though likely to be further refined as his studies progress, is full of promise. Professor Ridder would greatly profit if he were given the time and opportunity by ~~the~~ ~~association~~ association with the work of one of the major law schools.

Given both the personality of the applicant and his unusual brilliance this is one of the applications which I most heartily support.

Sincerely yours,

December 6 1960

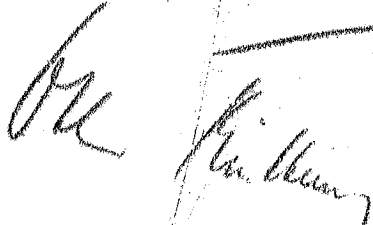
Dr. Kenneth W. Thompson
The Rockefeller Foundation
11 West 50th Street
New York, 20, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Thompson:

I have received your inquiry regarding Mr. Gerhard Loewenberg. I have known Professor Loewenberg for a number of years both professionally and socially. I am familiar with his recent publications and manuscripts. He has a thorough knowledge of the German political and parliamentary scene. His interpretations show knowledge of relevant factors, insight, and subtlety.

The project which he now proposes is a logical extension of his earlier work. It promises to enlarge our knowledge of important areas of political behavior and contribute substantially to our understanding of them. Specifically, it will form a ~~new~~ basis for the better understanding of the interrelations between political parties, office holders and interest groups in the political process. In view of my knowledge of his past performance I have little doubt, that, given the opportunity, Mr. Loewenberg will make a substantial contribution to our knowledge of German political processes.

Sincerely yours,



The Rockefeller Foundation

111 WEST 50th STREET, NEW YORK 20

THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

CABLE: ROCKFOUND, NEW YORK
TELEPHONE: COLUMBUS 5-8100

December 28, 1960

Dear Dr. Kirchheimer:

In view of your research interests, you might like to know of a limited program of research grants the Foundation is starting in the field of international relations. I therefore enclose a statement concerning this program. It is principally intended to enable young scholars at the postdoctoral level to devote an academic year to full-time research. However, senior scholars who are in the course of completing a major work for which they require additional support are also invited to apply.

We would also welcome any general comments you might care to make and your suggestions regarding scholars whom we might consider as eligible under this program. Should you have a project you would like to bring to our attention, I would be happy to send you an application form.

Sincerely yours,

Ken

Kenneth W. Thompson
Director

Dr. Otto Kirchheimer
New School for Social Research
66 West 12th Street
New York 11, New York

Enclosure

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

The Rockefeller Foundation has for many years supported work at existing research institutes specializing in international relations and has also particularly in recent years made a few grants annually to younger scholars working independently in this field. While relationships with some specialized institutes are likely to continue, the Foundation now proposes to expand its program of support to individuals with a primary research interest in important aspects of international relations.

Two reasons chiefly account for this decision. One of these is the widely recognized need for deeper explorations of the political problems that face nations in our rapidly changing international society. Although many scholars are engaged in research on certain aspects of international affairs, scholars and practitioners generally agree that there are other emergent political and economic problems which need to be investigated by the best minds. Secondly, there are numbers of outstanding younger scholars in international relations who require further encouragement and support in making their contributions to the understanding of the historical context and contemporary significance of the most urgent international problems. These younger scholars are undoubtedly to be found at smaller liberal arts colleges as well as at major universities and research institutes.

The new program will focus on three areas of the international relations field. First the Foundation will entertain inquiries regarding studies of emergent problems of foreign policy. These might include important issues which alert and sensitive minds can detect in the mid-distance, some years before they become urgent to those who bear the awesome responsibility of national decisions. To cite a few examples of the many problems falling into this category one could mention: the challenge of increasing membership for international institutions like the United Nations; the adjustments of former colonial territories to independence; legal and political problems arising from the discovery of new natural resources; and the manifold questions of changing relationships among newly independent states in the United Nations and their regional relations in important world areas. The evolution of institutions and organization of government for foreign policy might also be included under this heading.

Another area in which events have rapidly outdistanced scholarly efforts is that of diplomatic analysis and history. There are opportunities for doing meaningful studies of the new techniques and methods of diplomacy which are continually being evolved, especially in the growing number of international organizations. In view of the increasingly important role played by the Secretary General of the United Nations, the evolution of techniques employed by that Office would seem to merit study and analysis. Serious study of the blending of public and private diplomacy might also

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of the meaning of the text
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with the same open mind as
and concern for marginal cases as
it will with its policy in regard
to legal and social it will allow for
the consideration of the many marginal
cases, before national and political

be helpful. Similarly, inquiries in recent diplomatic history might contribute substantially to our understanding of the diplomatic process. These might shed light on, among other issues, the evolution of regional groups of nations or defensive alliances, on the role of "third forces" in bipolar situations, and on the range of problems associated with control of armaments.

The third program area is international relations theory, or the study of the variety of approaches and attitudes to the conduct of international affairs. Practitioners who have called for serious work in this field also emphasize the complexities and problems it presents. Some observers point to the danger inherent in encouraging work in this field, but this danger notwithstanding, until a more solid base in theory is worked out international relations scholars and practitioners continue to operate in a kind of terra incognita. Perhaps only a small number of the best qualified specialists can usefully investigate the weaknesses of theory in international relations. Experienced diplomats and distinguished scholars who have made important contributions to our understanding of the operation of the foreign policy process may be best equipped to ponder these problems.

The Foundation has sought to respond to the needs in international relations study by encouraging scholars, especially younger scholars at the postdoctoral level, on these three fronts. It is organizing the new program along these lines with the conviction that the work of individual scholars has always been important in marking out new directions of thought and in achieving new levels of understanding. The Foundation expects to appoint an advisory committee of distinguished international relations scholars to assist it in deciding on awards.

December, 1960

January 29, 1961

Dr. Kenneth Thompson
Director, Social Science Division
Rockefeller Foundation
New York, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Thompson:

I acknowledge receipt of your circular letter announcing the initiation of a new international relations program. Needless to say, I am in wholehearted agreement with you both in regard to the general tenet of the program and the specific areas which you have mapped out for special attention.

As you have invited comment, I take the liberty of adding the following: It is one of the characteristics of our time and society that the erosion of national self-determination runs parallel to the opening of new problem areas, situated at the confines of national and international policies. To illustrate: the impact of discrepancies between national social structure and the framework in which the international policy of a given country is moving; the homogeneity prerequisites of international alliances; the degree of dependency of national groups on supra national sponsors, the impact of national intelligence activities and official political formulas, whether evolved by parliamentary, executive or judicial authorities, and the political style of both home and foreign governments; or, to put the whole in more abstract terms, the interpenetration of official, semi-official and private institutions as between various countries and its reciprocal effects on the national political structure.

These fields are currently scrutinized to the extent as they pertain to the Soviet zone of influence; yet, they seem to be of as vital concern when shedding light on the transformation of political processes in the western world. I am confident that your international relations program will show the same degree of open mindedness and active interest in dealing with these marginal areas of national and international policies as it has shown in its generous interpretation of what to include in its sponsorship of studies in the field of legal and political philosophy.

Sincerely yours,

(Otto Kirchheimer)

June 19, 1962

RF.:RF 61038

Mr. John H. Greenfieldt
Assistant Comptroller
The Rockefeller Foundation
111 West 50 Street
New York 20, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Greenfieldt:

Pursuant to your correspondence with Professor Dahl, I submit herewith the travel estimate given me by Pan American Airways for the Washington-Milano round trip: the amount for a tourist class trip is \$ 654.07. I shall send you a receipted bill after I have bought the ticket.

I would appreciate if you would send your check to my home address:

Otto Kirchheimer
2801 Beechbank Road
Silver Spring, Md.

Sincerely yours,

VILLA SERBELLONI BELLAGIO (COMO)
THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION
Advance Information for Conference Guests

ARRIVALS

Bellagio is situated at the point where the Lake of Como divides to form its Lecco and its Como arms. It is at a distance of about 32 kms from Como, 75 kms from Milano, and 35 kms from Lugano (via ferryboat from Cadenabbia). Villa guests who arrive at Milano by air will land either at Malpensa airport (transatlantic and a few continental flights) or at the new Linate airport (most continental flights). From either of these airports the trip to Bellagio by car takes about two hours. Visitors coming by train from East, South or West should go on to the Central Station in Milan, but for those travelling from the north via Zurich it is better to get off at Como.

Arrivals and departures for conference groups are the responsibility of the American Express Company in Milan (Via Monte di Pieta 11). Guests are requested to inform the Manager, American Express, Milan, of their travel plans as far in advance of their arrival as possible. This information must be quite specific and detailed and should always cover the following points: arrival by train - at what station, at what hour, from what city; arrival by plane - from what city, what airline, what flight number, expected hour of arrival at airport. Any change of plan should be immediately reported to American Express by telegraph (AMEXCO MILANO) or by telephone (MILAN 861.395, or 861.398). Office hours are 9:00 AM to 12:30 PM; 3:00 PM to 7:00 PM on weekdays.

Guests will be met at the station or airport by an American Express representative who will have a car at his disposal for transportation to the Villa. Guests may occasionally be asked to wait a short time for other arrivals. If some slip in this procedure should occur, guests should call the American Express offices in Milan. If they are closed then call the Villa. American Express is responsible for keeping the Villa informed of arrivals in Milan.

DEPARTURES

The same procedure applies to departures. Guests arriving for a short stay at the Villa are urged to confirm their return reservations before leaving the airport of arrival. This is particularly important since, in Italy, plane tickets are invalid unless thus reconfirmed.

TELEPHONE SERVICE

The Villa telephone number is BELLAGIO 95.105.

Long distance calls to this number, even from nearby points, require as long as an hour to get through. The telephone is ordinarily answered by the butler, who speaks French and Italian. In case of difficulty, callers should ask to be connected with the Villa's Director.

CURRENCY CONVERSION

Travelers' checks are readily cashed in any currency by two local banks. Personal checks, however, are usually cashed only after collection from the bank on which they are drawn.

RECREATIONAL FACILITIES

For its guests, the Villa has a tennis court, with racquets and balls available; tennis shoes can be purchased at modest cost in Bellagio. There are also courts for croquet and bocce (Italian form of bowls).

The lake is excellent for swimming. There is a fine golf course at Menaggio, across the lake, but guests will find it troublesome to get to, except by car, because of the necessity of crossing the lake by ferry to Cadenabbia, and of getting from Cadenabbia to the course, well back in the hills behind Menaggio.

LIBRARY FACILITIES

The Villa has a library such as one might expect to find in a country house: fiction, nonfiction, books relating to the Villa and the region, and some standard reference works. Periodicals and a number of daily newspapers are also available.

CLOTHING

At the Villa, country clothes are appropriate during the day, and city clothes for dinner. Lighter clothes are desirable from June through September, when the days may be hot (though the nights are almost always cool). From October through May, warm clothes are called for. For those who enjoy mountain walking, a pair of sturdy shoes would be most appropriate.

MAIL SERVICE

Mail for Villa guests should be addressed:

c/o The Rockefeller Foundation
Villa Serbelloni
Bellagio (Como)

to avoid possible confusion with the Grand Hotel Villa Serbelloni in Bellagio. There are two incoming and two outgoing mails each day. Airmail letters require an average of five days for arrival from the United States. Mail delivery from European cities to Bellagio is slower than comparable service to a larger metropolitan area.

TELEGRAPH SERVICE

Telegrams for guests may be addressed

ROCKFOUND BELLAGIO

Telegraph service, both incoming and outgoing, is available only during the hours when the Bellagio post office is open: ordinarily 9:00 AM to 12 noon, and 3:00 PM to 7:00 PM. There is no local service from 7:00 PM Saturday until 9:00 AM on Monday.

December 21, 1962

June 13, 1963.

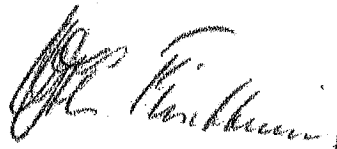
Mr. John Marshall
Villa Serbelloni (Rockefeller Foundation)
Bellagio, Como
Italy.

Dear Mr. Marshall:

As you probably know I shall have the pleasure to participate again this year in the Dahl conference. I have arranged with Professor Lorwin to meet in Milano. We agreed that he would contact you with the view of soliciting your kind support for our transportation arrangements to the villa.

I am looking forward with great pleasure to enjoying again the hospitality of Mrs. Marshall and yourself.

I remain, sincerely yours,



September 2, 1964

Mr. John Marshall
Villa Serbelloni
Bellagio (Como)
Italy.

Dear Mr. Marshall:

As Stein probably wrote you I shall be participating in the Small Democracies Conference. I am planning to arrive at Milano Airport coming from Paris on Air France Flight 684 at 4.30 pm on Monday September 14. My return ticket is booked with Swiss Airline 305 (13.10) on Sept. 18. I hope you won't find my arrival date too inconvenient. I shall be staying at the Hotel de L'Angleterre, Rue Jacob, Paris VI through the weekend before the conference.

With best regards for Mrs. Marshall and yourself, I remain,

sincerely yours,

BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF THE PROPOSAL

Recent diplomatic and political history might essentially contribute to our understanding of the diplomatic process and to the great issues of war and peace. Some of the problems arising from an imbalance of power and by the emergence of aggressive and expansionist powers are with us today as well as they were in the 1930's and early 1940's so that their investigation could shed light on many of the problems which plague Western policy-makers at the present world crisis. It is in this spirit that the applicant undertakes to study and investigate the various aspects of political and foreign policy ideas and practices of the National Socialists in Germany.

His project envisages a diplomatic, ideological and political study of the Third Reich, with particular emphasis on the thinking and actions of Hitler and his Foreign Office during the twelve years of Nazi rule in Germany. It will therefore include a study of the Neurath and the Ribbentrop period as well.

The applicant believes that an understanding of the methods and goals of National Socialist foreign policy cannot neglect the ideological bases of this policy reaching back before the Machtergreifung and proposes to deal with the foreign policy, and to a certain extent, also with the domestic policy ideas of the emerging Nazi party between 1920 and 1933. He maintains that an understanding of Nazi goals and methods in the international field is impossible without an understanding of the issues facing any German foreign office or chancellor as a result of the Versailles and Locarno settlements and the reparations question. He will devote some space to describing their effect upon German national interests and upon the alternatives offered to German policy-makers in the Weimar period.

The methods used in the projects would be mainly a topical analysis of the planning and implementation by the Foreign Office and other agencies concerned with foreign policy under the influence of the National Socialist program and Hitler's interpretation of German national interests toward the major powers and other neighboring countries. Considerable emphasis will be laid on the discussion of the ideological element introduced by the Nazis into German policy concepts to the detriment of both German and European interests, as the role of the ideological in foreign policy is by no means restricted to Hitler's Germany but remains an integral part of all totalitarian policy-making including the Soviet Russian.

The topical approach will also be used to show the receding but still surviving influence of the old-time professional diplomats between 1933 and 1945 upon the formulation and implementation of German policies.

Another facet of the study will include an investigation of German diplomacy in the preparation of the Second World War and an attempted determination how far the diplomats and how far National Socialist leaders determined the policies between 1937-1939.

The study will be divided into four parts: I. The Ideological and National Interest Bases of National Socialist Germany. This includes an analysis of the intellectual and ideological bases of National Socialist thought in general and

Hitler's attitudes toward other nations and the international community. It also will include a confrontation of the concept of German national interests held by the various statesmen of the Weimar era and the concepts of Hitler on the hand of practical issues between 1920 and 1933. II. German Foreign Policy, 1933-1937. This will include a general analysis of the Nazi order in Germany and a topical investigation of German policies toward Poland, France, England and Italy, and the problem of German abrogation of the Versailles Treaty. In this investigation the differing approaches toward the problem by the German Foreign Office and Hitler's agents will be brought out. III. The Preparation for War, 1937-1939. This period contained the climax of the success of German foreign policy, but also the seeds of its final defeat. It coincides with the period of greatest personnel and motivational change of German foreign policy-makers. Special attention will be paid to German relations with the Danubian countries (Austria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania) and the Soviet Union and Britain. The absolutely felt need to accomplish a major change in the European political order in order to ensure German hegemony on the Continent at any price will also be analyzed. IV. The War Phase, 1939-1945. This will contain an analysis of the eclipse of German diplomacy and the causes for its decline. Ribbentrop's detrimental policies in Central Europe and France, his loss of prestige after June 1941 and the effects of the Tripartite Alliance upon German policies toward the United States and global war will be investigated. The role of the Foreign Office and other now co-equal Nazi agencies in the last desperate German measures in Italy, Rumania and Hungary will be analyzed as will be the German-neutral relationships.

Justification for the project consists of two arguments:

(1) The methodical approach which will deal with the diplomatic history of the Third Reich not from a historical viewpoint but from the standpoint of a political problem of totalitarian policy-making process the importance of which supersedes its applicability to the Third Reich alone. What is common to totalitarian regimes will receive added emphasis without neglecting the specifically German and specifically National Socialist in the approaches and motivations.

(2) To the best knowledge of the author, besides William Shirer's rather journalistic work no authoritative book has been published on the subject except excellent small monographies on certain of its aspects. By 1962 most of the documents of the period will be in circulation including the microfilm collections of the National Archives and the Library of Congress which have been indexed to a great extent. Memoir literature and articles based on research into small aspects of the problems are abundantly available. The author would not satisfy himself to use these sources alone but plans to use the files of the Institut fuer Zeitgeschichte in Muenchen/West Germany during the summer of 1961. He plans to spend a large part of the summer both in Washington and in Munich for this purpose and will do his research with the aid of a dictaphone machine so as to facilitate taking down as much material as possible within the short time available.

The author has already started work on the project, and has about 60 pages of manuscript finished on the ideological precursors of National Socialist thought and on problems confronting the Weimar policy-makers. However, in order to guarantee the completion of the study by the end of 1962 (the result will be at

✓ do not know personally w/

has never written any article or book yet.

The project is described in the reference

you should be working over the summer

~~should be over & write a paper last~~

the way in of the many problems the solution

points to the ~~importance~~ of international security

of international law, but it seems that a number

of countries, such as France, Britain, etc.

in R. project in which

perhaps the importance of the paper of which

speaks ~~is~~ ^{is} relevant when the author finally

has his view. It is clear from the

project that even before the author's