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Notes

Preface

1. Ernst van der Beugel, head of the Marshall Plan division within the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs, quoted London’s Economist in comments on a speech delivered by Sir Oliver Franks at a Marshall Plan 30th Commemorative Conference held in Paris, June 1977. Text of the speech and commentaries are in Box 1, Folder 9, ERP Commemoratives Collection, George C. Marshall Library, Lexington, Virginia (hereafter cited as GCML).


Chapter I: Conceptualizing the Marshall Plan


4. Oliver Franks, “Lessons of the Marshall Plan Experience,” June 1977, in Box 1, Folder 9, ERP Commemoratives Collection, GCML. France underwent some arm-twisting over her initial postwar policy towards Germany. See Milward, The Reconstruction of Western Europe, Chapter 4.


Accomplishments, and Relevance to the Present,” in Menges, ed., The Marshall Plan from Those Who Made It Succeed, 362, 365; Milward, The Reconstruction of Western Europe, 94–95. Like many students of the Marshall Plan, Tarnoff and Milward disagree about the amount of the nonloan component of American aid. Whether Tarnoff’s $12,840,000,000, or Milward’s $11,900,000,000, assistance did take three forms. Milward’s breakdown is: outright grant ($8.2 billion), conditional grant ($1,540,000,000), and loan ($1,140,000,000). In his calculations Tarnoff lumps the two different grants together. ECA loans, about whose dollar value Tarnoff and Milward agree, were administered through the Export-Import Bank, generally carrying an interest rate of 2.5% on thirty-five-year notes.


13. Lincoln Gordon to Harry B. Price, November 12, 1954; Van Cleveland to Harry B. Price, July 30, 1954, with 4-page attachment, Box 1, Price Papers, GCML.


17. With persistence, James Warren has pointed out to me that the only change occurring on December 31, 1951, was the issuance of new stationery with a new letterhead.

Chapter II: Selling the Marshall Plan


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8. Shaw Livermore Oral History (March 1974), HSTL.


16. Richard Bissell Oral History (July 1971), HSTL.


20. David Ellwood, in Nicholas Pronay and Keith Wilson, eds., The Political Re-education of Germany and Her Allies After World War II (Totowa, N.J., 1985), 225; Judt, Postwar, 96. Twenty years later, in the student uprising of May 1968, children of the 1948 generation were still hostile to market forces and still bent on creating a socialist society in France.

21. Andrew Berding to Harry Price, June 8, 1954, Box 1, Price Papers, GCML.


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24. John N. Hutchinson to Harry Price, June 3, 1954, Box 2; interview with Thomas Flanagan and Lawrence Hall, Price Papers, GCML.

25. Berding to Price, June 8, 1954, Box 1, Price Papers, GCML; Hoffman, Peace Can Be Won, 143–44.


32. Hutchinson to Price, June 3, 1954, Box 2, Price Papers, GCML.


34. Friendly to Price, May 29, 1954, Box 1, Price Papers, GCML.


Chapter III: Analyzing the Marshall Plan


12. Interview with Russell Dorr, Price Papers, GCML.


14. Melbourne Spector Oral History, December 1988, FAOHP, Georgetown University; interview with Sam Board, Price Papers, GCML.

15. Comments by Miriam Camps on Speech by Oliver Franks, Paris, June 1977, Box 1, Folder 9, ERP Commemoratives Collection, GCML.


17. Leland Barrows Oral History (January 1971), HSTL.

operational leadership—Hoffman, Harriman, and Foster—as an “inspiration” and thought that “one reason Marshall Planners were a happy breed was that we admired our bosses.” See his autobiography, When Government Was Good: Memories of a Life in Politics (Madison, Wisc., 1999), 30–31.


24. Leland Barrows Oral History (January 1971); Hubert Havlik Oral History (June 1973), 141, 156–61, HSTL; William Parks Oral History, FAOHP, Georgetown University. While attached to the U.S. Embassy in Paris as a Foreign Service Officer, Philip Bonsal also served as Harriman’s Political Adviser at OSR, 1948–50.


26. Gunther Harkort Oral History (November 1970); Ernst H. van der Beugel Oral History (June 1964), HSTL. The Secretary-General for Administration of the Marshall Plan in Belgium appraised the ECA mission in Brussels as comprised of “first-class people” and “really the top.” Roger Ockrent Oral History (July 1971), 18–19, HSTL.


James C. Warren, experienced a different mechanism. In some European countries less funneled through Washington occurred. In Warren’s version, the sequence of steps for importing ECA commodities omitted a government purchasing mission in Washington and bypassed governmental ownership of American exports right up to their delivery in Europe. Importers deposited local currency in local banks to purchase foreign exchange to pay for dollar-denominated goods, instead of buying them from the local government. Warren to author, February 8, 2006. Warren’s memory is supported by A. F. Freris in The Greek Economy in the Twentieth Century (New York, 1986), 133.


32. Lincoln Gordon Oral History, January 1988, FAOHP, Georgetown University; Lincoln Gordon Oral History (July 22, 1975), 125, HSTL; Clarke to Price, September 21, 1954, Box 1, Price Papers, GCML; White, In Search of History, 278.


35. Theodore Christides Oral History (July 1970), IISTL; Marjolin, Architect of European Unity, 198–99. The key institution for the functioning of “drawing rights” was the Bank for International Settlements (BIS) in Basel, Switzerland, which served as OEEC’s fiscal agent. There a monthly settlement of current balances of member central banks took place. Hubert Havlik Oral History (June 1973), HSTL.


38. Hirschman, Crossing Boundaries, 41–42.


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45. Interview with MacDonald Salter, Price Papers, GCML; Richard Bissell Oral History (July 1971), IISTL; Sulzberger, A Long Row of Candles, 577.

46. On the Grady-Nuveen Feud, see Vetsopoulos, “The Economic Dimensions of the Marshall Plan in Greece, 1947–1952” (Ph.D. diss., University College London, 2002), 358. On the Dunn-Gervasi Tussle, see Milton Katz to William C. Foster, April 24, 1951; Foster to Katz, May 1, 1951 (draft); Foster to Katz, May 2, 1951, Box 4, Folder 15, C. Tyler Wood Papers, GCML.

47. Hoffmann and Maier, eds., The Marshall Plan, 51; Averell Harriman Oral History (1971); Richard Bissell Oral History (July 1971); Lincoln Gordon Oral History (July 22, 1975), 95–98, IISTL; Bissell, Reflections, 64; Hirschman, Crossing Boundaries, 33–44. GATT was later renamed the World Trade Organization, or WTO.

48. Leffler, “The United States and the Strategic Dimensions of the Marshall Plan”; Memorandum by Harriman, November 11, 1948, Box 272, Averell Harriman Papers, LC.

49. Interview with Walter C. McAdoo, Price Papers, GCML; Clarke to Price, September 21, 1954, Box 1, Price Papers, GCML; Menges, ed., The Marshall Plan from Those Who Made It Succeed, 372, 386 n. 27.


52. Armand Clesse and Archie Epps, eds., Present at the Creation (New York, 1990), 111; Pronay and Wilson, eds., The Political Re-education of Germany and Her Allies After World War II, 226; Sulzberger, A Long Row of Candles, 379. Christian Democrats did make inroads into some working-class strongholds. CBS’s Chief European Correspondent covered the April elections in Milan where one industrial suburb, referred to as “Little Stalingrad” because of its “solid pro-Communist vote in the past,” turned dramatically away from the
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Left. In the Turin suburb of Fiat, de Gasperi’s party received a majority of the votes. See Smith, *The State of Europe*, 203.


58. Interviews with Helene Granby and Averell Harriman, Price Papers, GCML.


61. Interviews with John Lindeman, Shaw Livermore, Donald Stone, and Samuel van Hyning, Price Papers, GCML.

62. Marianne De Bouzy Oral History, NSA, GWU.


Chapter IV: Implementing the Marshall Plan


3. Constantinos Doxiadis Oral History (May 1964), HSTL.


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30. Harriman to Hoffman and Lovett, June 14, 1948, Box 270, Harriman Papers, LC.

31. ECA, Italy: A Country Study, 1–2, 4–5, 42–43; Memorandum of Conversation, December 19, 1949, Box 271, Harriman Papers, LC; Giovanni Malagodi Oral History (July 1970), HSTL.


38. Harriman to Forrestal, January 4, 1949, Box 271, Harriman Papers, LC; “Italian Mission,” Box 9, Folder 7, William C. Foster Papers, GCML; Ronald L. Filippelli, American Labor and Postwar Italy, 1943–1953 (Stanford, Calif., 1989), 110.


40. Carew, Labour Under the Marshall Plan, 104; interview with James Toughill, Price Papers, GCML.


42. Harriman to Hoffman and Lovett, June 14, 1948, Box 270, Harriman Papers, LC; Killick, The United States and European Reconstruction, 1945–1960, 102; Esposito, America’s Feeble Weapon, 125, 170.
43. Memorandum of Conversation, Harriman, Walters, Tasca, and Senator Restagno, February 8, 1950, Box 271, Harriman Papers, LC.


50. Harris, *Troubled Alliance*, 33; *FRUS: 1950*, 5: 1318; Orren McJunkins to American Embassy, Paris, August 16, 1950, Economic Cooperation Administration, Office of Chief of Mission to Turkey, Subject Files–Central Files, Box 11, Record Group 469, National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, Maryland (hereafter, cited as ECA, RG, and NARA). Also consult “Statement of Mr. Russell H. Dorr . . . on 1949/50 Marshall Plan Program,” n.d., and “Speech by Russell Dorr at Robert College, Istanbul,” November 19, 1949, RG 469, NARA. Examples of government criticism are Zorlu Press Conference, May 25, 1950, and Menderes interview, December 24, 1951, Box 40, RG 469, NARA. A representative sample of unfavorable press treatment is *Hürriyat*, December 26, 1951. Other negative editorial coverage of the Marshall Plan is in Box 37, RG 469, NARA. Among Marshall Plan recipients, only Ireland’s and Portugal’s loan-to-grant ratios surpassed Turkey’s. Ireland received $164,000,000 in aid, of which 89% were loans, according to Bernadette Whelan, “Marshall Plan Publicity and Propaganda in Italy and Ireland, 1947–1951,” *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television* 23 (October 2003): 315. I have calculated the figure at 87%. See Appendix D. That wartime neutrals were disqualified from grants during the first year of the Marshall Plan is disclosed in Lincoln Gordon Oral History (July 22, 1975), 83, HSTL.

51. Russell Dorr to Foreign Minister Zorlu, December 19, 1951, ECA, Office of Chief of Mission to Turkey, Subject Files–Central Files, Box 37, RG 469, NARA. Dorr repeated his
charge of “belittlement” by prominent Turks in a letter to George McGhee, January 17, 1952, Box 9, RG 469; Vatan (Istanbul), June 16, 1951, clipping in Box 37, RG 469, NARA.


54. Russell Dorr Press Conference, April 29, 1950, ECA, Office of Chief of Mission to Turkey, Box 40, RG 469, NARA.


56. ECA, Turkey, A Country Study, 24; Thornburg, Turkey: An Economic Appraisal, 80, 222; Memorandum of Conversation, Harriman and Sadak, December 28, 1948, Box 271, Harriman Papers, LC.


58. Interview with George McGhee, Price Papers, GCML.

59. Mace to Price, September 15, 1954, Box 2, Price Papers, GCML; Memorandum, Hugh Richwine to R. H. Allen, n.d; F. M. Coray to R. H. Allen, June 9, 1952, ECA, Office of Chief of Mission to Turkey, Box 2, RG 469, NARA; Thornburg, Turkey, 222; International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, The Economy of Turkey: An Analysis and Recommendations for a Development Program (Baltimore, Md., 1951), 18, 73 (hereafter cited as World Bank, Report on Turkey [1951]).

60. Interviews with Dewain Delp, Russell Dorr, and Ahmet Yalman, Price Papers, GCML; Thornburg, Turkey, 82; World Bank, Report on Turkey (1951), 125.

61. Turkey, Quarterly Report: Jan./March 1950, 9; ECA, Turkey, A Country Study, 29–30; Thornburg, Turkey, 96, 108, 111; World Bank, Report on Turkey (1951), 102; Dorr to Robert Huse, December 2, 1949, ECA, Office of Chief of Mission to Turkey, Box 27, RG 469, NARA; Memorandum of Conversation, Harriman and Sadak, December 29, 1948; Harriman, Hoffman, and Sadak, February 1, 1950, Box 271, Harriman Papers, LC.

62. Russell Dorr to C. W. Jeffers, August 7, 1950, Box 27; Russell Dorr, “Turkish Viability after 1954,” May 2, 1952, Box 12, both in ECA, Office of Chief of Mission to Turkey, RG 469, NARA; Turkey, Quarterly Report: Jan./March 1950, 25; Winks, The Marshall Plan and the American Economy, 42–43; Donovan, The Second Victory, 97; Thornburg, Turkey, 136; World Bank, Report on Turkey (1951), 111, 143. For more technical details on Zonguldak Project, see Box 29, RG 469, NARA.


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66. Interview with Russell Dorr, Price Papers, GCML. Owner/editor of Vatan agreed with Dorr. The 1950 election was “probably the first instance,” Ahmet Yalman wrote, “when absolute power yielded, without violence, to the will of the people freely expressed by secret ballots.” Ahmet Yalman, Turkey in My Time (Norman, Okla., 1956), 239.


68. Interviews with Russell Dorr and Bulent Yazici, Price Papers, GCML; Russell Dorr, “Turkish Viability after 1954,” May 2, 1952, Box 12, RG 469, NARA.

69. Interview with Irene Walker, Price Papers, GCML.

70. Interview with Sefik Bilkur, Price Papers, GCML; Sulzberger, A Long Row of Candles, 512.


74. Milton Katz Oral History (July 1975); Lincoln Gordon Oral History (July 22, 1975), 164–65, HSTL.


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82. Lucius Clay Oral History (July 1974), HSTL; Shirer, Midcentury Journey, 22.


84. Hans-Georg Sachs Oral History (May 1964), HSTL.

85. Milton Katz Oral History (July 1975), HSTL; interview with Martin Tank, Price Papers, GCML; Everett Bellows Oral History, FAOHP, Georgetown University; Mayer, German Recovery and the Marshall Plan, 24; Memorandum of Discussion, Royall and Foster, December 31, 1948, Box 271, Harriman Papers, LC; Thomas Schwartz, “European Integration and the ‘Special Relationship’: Implementing the Marshall Plan in the Federal Republic,” in Maier and Bischof, eds., The Marshall Plan and Germany, 177.


87. Harriman to Clay, January 11, 1949; Clay to Harriman, January 12, 1949, Box 271, Harriman Papers, LC; Schwartz, “European Integration and the ’Special Relationship,’” 174.

88. Interview with Martin Tank, Price Papers, GCML; Memorandum of Discussion, Royall and Foster, December 31, 1948; Harriman to SecState, December 22, 1948, Box 271, Harriman Papers, LC.


90. Economic Cooperation Administration (ECA), Western Germany, Country Study (Washington, D.C., 1949), 1.


93. Memorandum for Harriman from Walters, January 31, 1950, Box 271, Harriman Papers, LC.

Chapter V: An Unusable Marshall Plan?


5. Baron Jean-Charles Snoy Oral History (May 1964) and Erik Von Sydow Oral History (July 1970), HSTL. The head of ECA’s Payments Section and Trade and Payments Division in Paris graded as “first rate” his European counterparts: “The Europeans we had to deal with were, generally speaking, I must say, of a very high quality. I was amazed at the expertise the Europeans had,” particularly an “imaginative, competent, broad-minded” Robert Marjolin. See Hubert F. Havlik Oral History (June 1973), 161, 163–64, HSTL. Marjolin was also “highly regarded” by Norwegian officials. See Knut Getz Wold Oral History (May 1964), 39, HSTL.


7. Ernst van der Beugel Oral History (June 1964), HSTL.

Chapter VI. A Usable Marshall Plan


