

Shepard Stone interview for the Jean Monnet Foundation, 7-23-82.

Leonard Tennyson: This is an interview for the Jean Monnet Foundation with Shepard Stone in South New Fane, Vermont. The date is July 23, 1982. Tell me, Shep, why did you, in your capacity at the Ford Foundation, become involved with Monnet?

Shepard Stone: I was in Europe after World War II with John McCloy, who was High Commissioner for Germany. We had a great deal to do with the beginnings of the European Community and we saw Jean Monnet frequently. Later it seemed obvious that the Ford Foundation should be interested in trying to help restore Europe. We saw that European institutions needed help. Some touched upon political matters and on European-American relations.

LT: It had occurred to me that members of the Board of the Ford Foundation might have said: "Isn't Stone getting in over his head -- becoming involved in political matters?"

SS: Keep in mind that the Board of the Ford Foundation at that time had people on it such as McCloy, Mark Ethridge,¹ and John Cowles.²

LT: They were all internationally-minded?

SS: Not all, but many of them. They understood the dependency of the United States on Europe as well as Europe's on the U.S. Henry Ford, by the way, had a strong international outlook. So it wasn't really a problem whatsoever to convince people. They

¹Mark Ethridge was publisher of the Louisville Courier-Journal.

²John Cowles Sr. was publisher of the Minneapolis Tribune.

were always interested to learn about what was happening not only in Western Europe and to Monnet, but in Eastern Europe where we had started the first programs in Poland. There was no real controversy about doing many things on the academic front such as in the sociological and political science areas. We ourselves, of course, were not political. We took no positions.

LT: I must say that your efforts in Eastern Europe at the time were extraordinary. You and the Board deserved a lot of credit for this. But let's get back to Monnet. There you were with the Ford Foundation, interested in European affairs, having known Monnet in the days when John McCloy was High Commissioner in Germany: what did you feel you were going to do to help Monnet? How were you going to do it?

SS: Keep in mind that McCloy and some of these people were historically-minded. I had done my Ph.D. in European history many years before. Their view was that conflict within Europe, the wars -- particularly the German-French relationship, which had been fatal in the past -- couldn't be allowed to happen again. This, of course, was Monnet's thesis and ours from our reading of history. We thought that anything we could do appropriately within the charter of the Ford Foundation to help German-French understanding, such as helping to rebuild some of the great research institutions of Europe, fitted right into our concept of history.

LT: Was Monnet in those days proposing to you anything specific,

saying, "Now look here, why doesn't the Ford Foundation do this or that?"

SS: No. Monnet, as you know, had his own opinions and ideas, and obviously, the Ford Foundation could not become involved in political matters. But what we could do was help Monnet have a staff of research assistants. They could do the research upon which Jean Monnet could base some of his concepts and policies. As you know, he himself had never been to a university. He was not particularly good at research nor interested in it. But he knew how important it was. Consequently, this is where we entered the picture.

LT: We'll get back to this point again. Now let's go back to the time when you first met Monnet, which must have been when?

SS: 1950.

LT: That was just before or after the Schuman Declaration?

SS: I think it must have been before. He was still in that old office, and this is before he moved to the Avenue Foch. And I recall a visit there one evening. McCloy and I flew down from Frankfurt. I think it was before the Schuman Plan declaration. What was the exact date of it?

LT: May 9, 1950.

SS: It must have been before that.

LT: So you met him that first time. What was your impression?

SS: It was of a crisp man who knew exactly what he wanted. He did not waste words, he was not interested in anything not connected with the European Community idea. He was very friendly

with McCloy whom he had known many years when he lived and worked in the United States in the financial field. McCloy had been a lawyer at the time. They were able to talk to each other very directly. McCloy would be fairly humorous and occasionally flippant with him. As I recall, in those days not many people were that way with Jean Monnet.

LT: That's true. Today McCloy is the oldest living American who was very close to Monnet. He remembers their relationship going right back almost to World War I.

SS: That's right.

LT: So, you came to Paris to see Monnet. Did you come to see Monnet because he wanted to talk to McCloy about the Schuman Plan?

SS: Well, yes. Monnet recognized that taking an action such as involved in the Schuman Plan would certainly have some influence on the United States. Therefore, shortly after the War, it would hardly have been wise to try to go forward with a project of that kind without at least a friendly attitude shown by the United States.

LT: Wasn't he also interested in influencing McCloy so that he, in turn, could influence Adenauer favorably?

SS: He was interested in having McCloy, insofar as McCloy agreed with him, transmit his views not only to Adenauer but also to Dean Acheson, to Harry Truman, to everybody important. As you know, Monnet kept his eye on the ball and knew where the power was. Where he recognized power, he tried to influence it and

have it on his side. Considering his affection and friendship for McCloy, he was the perfect person with whom Monnet could discuss these matters. Though they did not always agree, there's no doubt that McCloy believed something had to be done to overcome Franco-German enmity. Keep in mind that McCloy himself had been in the artillery in the American Army in World War I and had seen the horror of that rivalry.

LT: Did you, when you went to Paris in those days, ever come into contact with William Tomlinson?

SS: I believe that I met him once or twice, but I must say that it is rather vague. Later I heard from Monnet of his great affection and admiration for him.

LT: He was certainly one of the few authentic protégés Monnet had.

SS: Keep in mind that when we used to go to Paris from the High Commission in Germany this had nothing to do with the Ford Foundation. I hardly knew there was a Ford Foundation at that time.

LT: I realize that⁽¹⁾ Was there a Ford Foundation then?

SS: Yes, there was. It started just about then. But, this was when we were working for the U.S. Government.

LT: Did McCloy and Monnet subsequently come together often?

SS: Yes, they did see each other frequently. Sylvia Monnet and Mrs. McCloy were great friends from Monnet's Washington days.

LT: It has been said by a few people who knew Monnet that Monnet had a methodology that he used effectively. They found it

rather difficult to describe or analyze but nonetheless felt he did have a unique way of approaching problems and of dealing with them. Did you ever have any feeling about that?

SS: Well, I probably wasn't as profound in my analysis of it. But I must say that early on, I came to admire his negotiating technique and approach. After one of those famous morning walks of his, he'd analyze the men he was going to try to influence, discuss the best approach to them, never abandoning his central thesis. He was always meticulous and practical. He was to the point though not without subtlety. He was as subtle as a good farmer can be -- and that's what Monnet was, psychologically.

LT: Yes, I suppose he was.

SS: Every time he met with anybody on his trips to Germany to see Adenauer or various others he would always have a long talk with me because he thought I knew something about Germany. "Now what about him?" and "How do you think I should approach him?" and so on and so on. He gave a great deal of thought to these human relations. He was to the point. And he was very shrewd in his analyses of human beings.

LT: I presume there were times when he would say to you, "Sorry, but you're wrong."

SS: Yes, but not too frequently. I think he, at that time, disagreed with me somewhat in my admiration in those early days and close friendship with Willy Brandt. I don't think Jean Monnet was ever a great admirer of Brandt's. Of course he admired

Adenauer greatly. And he used to talk about Franz Etzel, the first German really to be closely involved in the Coal and Steel Community.

LT: There was an outstanding German socialist who died whist you were ...

SS: Fritz Erler.

LT: Yes, it was Erler.

SS: Fritz Erler, had he lived, would in my opinion have probably become the first Social Democratic Chancellor of Germany. He was certainly a step ahead of Brandt. Fritz Erler was a great man, a towering fellow with towering strength. Monnet did admire him greatly, as we all did. Unfortunately, Erler died of cancer. Ehler

LT: He was the political strategist for the Social Democrats, too, was he not?

SS: He was, along with Kurt Schumacker^h, in the very early days. Schumacker was an extraordinary man, difficult and courageous, a man, I think to whom we owe a great deal for seeing to it that Germany really didn't in the first days after the war head in the Communist direction. And Erler was, I think, as intellectually able. And he was a great loss to the Social Democratic party. It's a tragedy that he died so early.

LT: Monnet and the Germans: did he have any affinity for Germans, as far as you can see? I'm not talking about the intellectual necessity he saw, but did you ever see him with any emotional affinity?

SS: I don't think so. He, I think, basically had some of the French fear of the Germans and an admiration, mixed with fear, for their organizational ability, their devotion to work and, at that time, for their discipline. Still, I don't think he ever had the same kind of affection that I believe he had for Americans and his American friends. He had a close personal feeling for a number of Americans but I doubt that he ever had that for any Germans though he admired and respected them. He thought that Adenauer, Erler and others after the war represented a great hope for Germany. And he believed that Germany would go in a democratic direction if it were tied into Europe.

LT: Did you ever get any feedback from Germans about Monnet? From Adenauer, Etzel, and others?

SS: Everybody I knew had the highest respect for Monnet and his word. When you mentioned his name, it immediately won attention. I would say that the only American I know who commanded that same degree of respect in Germany was McCloy.

LT: Conant did not have it?

SS: Oh, no. He was a great man in academic and other fields, but certainly not a political man. There was great respect on the part of the Germans toward Monnet whenever he called and wanted to see someone. Occasionally, Monnet's single-mindedness kept him from seeing all the problems the Germans faced in connection with the European Community, particularly vis-a-vis Eastern Europe. After all, a good part of Germany borders on the

East, and they have very real Eastern interests. But yet they held him in great admiration. In helping build the Franco-German friendship that has developed, he was the first architect.

LT: Let's move forward to more recent years when you were with the Foundation. You would go to Europe quite frequently for the Foundation. You would drop by to see Monnet. Give me, if you can, some anecdotes illustrating how you perceived Monnet in those days when he was busy. He had left the Coal and Steel Community to set up the Committee for a United States of Europe. Look back on those days and see whether you can single out some characteristic anecdotes about him.

SS: Well, I'm not sure of the anecdotes, though I've probably lived through hundreds. Oh, yes, I made very frequent trips to Europe, and would see Monnet every time I was in Paris. He would always be interested in knowing what was happening in the United States. He was asking the same questions of many other Americans. That was his way of testing, of coming to some common conclusions of his own. He always asked for my observations on Germany. Interestingly enough, though I made trips to Poland and elsewhere in Eastern Europe, he'd express some interest but he'd soon say, "Let's get back to the main point," which, of course, was Western Europe and the United States.

There came a time when he wanted very much to have a grant from the Ford Foundation. But you know Monnet well enough; he would never ask directly for such a grant. But if you proposed

that this might be a possibility, he immediately showed interest. I would tell him to write something in the way of a request. Monnet thought even a paragraph or two was too long. Usually, I dictated them for him. He wanted the Ford Foundation funds for his staff for the sake of independence. He didn't want to be beholden to the industrial side, to the political side, or to the labor unions.

LT: He received support from these sectors for his Action Committee.

SS: He did, but it gave him a certain amount of independence to have this -- funds with no strings attached whatsoever.

LT: For the record let me say he always told me, as he did his colleagues, that funds from the Ford Foundation were not used politically in any sense, but were clearly earmarked for ..

SS: ...staff research ...

LT: ... and had nothing to do directly with the Committee's actions.

SS: Well, that's true, of course. I had to make that clear. He understood and respected that. You asked about anecdotes. I had sat in his Paris office hundreds of times. His peculiarities with his staff you know better than I know, and I don't think I need to go into that. He seemed to me intimate yet cold-blooded. I used to say: "Jean, it's marvelous working with you and having the feeling that one is a small footnote to history here. But let me tell you, I'd never in my life want to work for you. You're a slave driver and you don't recognize really how much people are

doing." He would reply, "It isn't for me, it's for an idea." That was Jean, of course. As you know, the telephone played an enormous role in his effort to put Europe together. I've often wondered, if all this had taken place before the advent of the telephone in Europe whether it could have happened. He could never resist taking a call. I often tried to tell him not to pay attention to telephones but he never took my advice.

Occasionally, we'd be together in Germany. He felt that I was on home ground there. Although he made many trips to Germany I don't think he ever felt really at home himself. First of all, he didn't understand the language. That always made him a bit uneasy. But he never felt really at home, whereas in the United States, I think he did.

LT: Yes, I think so. I would like to talk to someone sometime about whether he ever really felt at home in Britain as compared to the States.

SS: We used to talk a great deal about Britain. I was in London a number of times with him. He'd stay at his Hyde Park Hotel, making his meticulous demands on the staff there. I had a feeling that he had, depending on the time, either a very pro or a very critical attitude toward the British. He had great hopes at first that if they came into the Common Market, that they with their political wisdom of the centuries would help Europe become a more powerful force. Also, that it would be useful to have Britain in, so that Germany wouldn't be the great

weight. And then, after certain British actions, he would be cold and condemn them and feel that they couldn't see beyond their noses and that they were hopeless. I felt that it went back and forth.

LT: I think that's astute. He went over to London on the tenth of May, 1950, after the Schuman Plan Declaration. It happened to be the same time when there was a Four-Power meeting being held in London. He went over quite independently with Etienne Hirsch to see people in top government and ask, "Have you made up your mind about coming in?" Of course, he was disappointed to get all those reasons from the British as to why they couldn't become part of it.

SS: I think it varied with the prime minister or the foreign minister he talked with. If they sounded positive and showed leanings he wanted, then England assumed a positive role in his mind. But it went the other way. In the end, he was disappointed with the English, no doubt about it. I think he was capable of great admiration for them. That's the way it was.

LT: Did you have much to do with him when he came over to the States?

SS: Yes. I even arranged that Dartmouth College, which was my alma mater, give him an honorary degree. I was there on the day he received it. I think he enjoyed the honor, though he was hardly effervescent about it.

LT: You did something extraordinary in persuading him to accept.

You probably know he was asked to receive an honorary degree at Harvard, and then at the last minute, decided he couldn't come. Harvard will not award an honorary degree in absentia. They renewed the offer a second time. The second year, he was poised to go. But a family problem intervened. And so the third time Harvard dropped the whole idea. So you really were quite fortunate in getting him.

SS: Then, we also gave him what's called an Aspen prize. Somebody gave Aspen some money to make a yearly award to an outstanding world humanitarian.

LT: Yes, Albert Schweitzer got the first one.

SS: Did he? At any rate, Monnet received it too, with a \$25,000 or \$10,000 award. Occasionally when Monnet came to New York, Jack McCloy would invite him and me -- just the three of us -- for dinner. There would be serious talk and yet McCloy who really knew him was able to pull him down to a human level with humor and repartee.

LT: Yes, by that time most of his other old-time Wall Street colleagues had passed on -- the ones who could have played the same role.

SS: And of course McCloy had not only known him in the financial community when he was a Wall Street lawyer, but in Washington in wartime when McCloy was Assistant Secretary of War in the Roosevelt Administration. Monnet was over there and they built up a tremendous friendship during World War II, and then McCloy was High Commissioner for Germany.

LT: Yes, I had a talk some months ago with Bob Nathan. He dwelt on those war years quite a bit. He and McCloy were the two people around who were able to talk about that era at length.

What about people you encountered who were close to Monnet -- for instance those who worked with him in the Committee? Do you have any observations about them and the role they played with Monnet?

SS: Now, when you say the Committee, you mean the staff?

LT: I'm talking about staff, I'm talking about Max Kohnstamm, François Duchêne, Jacques van Helmont, and so on. Did any of these people strike you in any particular way?

SS: All, and François Duchêne on a different level, struck me as the most devoted staff members, devoted to Monnet and particularly of course to the great idea. I thought that Jean was a little distant sometimes with his staff. I didn't think he appreciated them enough. But again, I come back to his view that it was a privilege for them to work with him on the great idea of Europe. Therefore, he owed no thanks to anyone. I was often amazed at how coolly he treated them. I'd be sitting there with him and they'd come in with a paper or something. Sometimes he would ask one of them to stay, but generally not. He hardly ever asked them to have lunch with me; I had lunch with him frequently. Then Max Kohnstamm would lunch with us more and more. By that time, François had gone. Van Helmont almost never joined us. I thought that he underestimated Van Helmont who did a lot of

the digging and some of the work that really had to be done. Van Belmont was a very shrewd analyst of French politicians and of others.

LT: I think that's also very true of Duchêne^A. Monnet badly undervalued François.

SS: I think Duchêne^A, in a way, exercised a little more independence. I once said to Max, "We're beneficiaries, working together with great men. You are particularly close to Monnet, and I to Jack McCloy. But there comes a time when you have to become somewhat independent of the great man because he is so concentrated, and must be, and rightly, on what he's trying to do that he can't look out, as nobody can, for your life or my life, therefore you ..." And I used to encourage Max, I really encouraged him to leave Monnet's office earlier than he did, but of course remain very close to Monnet and help him, but do it from another position. I said, "If you go to another position you'll do it from a position of strength, more than if you're just working here in this office." I had done that after the High Commission days, and I told Max to do it. I think he "used" his staff, everything else was impersonal.

LT: Yes, I think that it's been remarked by other people that he wasn't always sensitive to the human needs of the people who worked for him in such a dedicated way. Then again, I suppose that it can be argued that if he did, he might have had less energy for his single-minded pursuit.

SS: Yes, he could be ruthless with himself.

LT: Well, Shep, I think that you have offered some very valuable insights. Do you have anything else to say in closing?

SS: Only that I consider it an extraordinary opportunity in my life to have been associated with him. I look around today and see how poor we are for lack of people such as Monnet, McCloy, and Dean Acheson. Nobody quite compares with these men who had ideas, who were sure of themselves, dedicated and unafraid to take certain steps. I look around at the world's capitals today for such men. I don't find them. We need only a handful. I don't even see the handful.

LT: I tend to agree. Maybe it's because we're of a certain age and that we've shared certain experiences, that we feel this way. Or maybe there is some objectivity to the observation.

SS: Well, we know from world history that there are ups and downs, there are the periods when certain people emerge, and there are other periods when they don't.

LT: Thank you, Shep.

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SHEPARD STONE

Shepard Stone has had a career in journalism, government, philanthropy and international organizations.

He was born in Nashua, New Hampshire, USA, and was graduated from Dartmouth College in 1929. From 1929-1933 he travelled and studied in Europe, primarily in Heidelberg and at the University of Berlin where in 1933 he received his Dr. phil in history. He was a student of Professor Hermann Oncken.

Between 1933-1949, with the exception of the war years, he was a writer on foreign affairs for The New York Times, a reporter and later the Assistant Sunday Editor of that newspaper. In 1939 he wrote a short book, Shadow Over Europe - The Challenge of Nazi Germany and he co-edited a book, We Saw It Happen.

Stone served in the US Army, 1942-1946 in England, France, Belgium, and Germany. He participated in the Normandy landing in June 1944. In the last six months of 1945, while still in army service, he had responsibilities related to the press and cultural institutions in the US Zone of Germany. At the end of his wartime service he was a lieutenant Colonel.

Stone left The New York Times in 1949 to become Director of Public Affairs in the US High Commission for Germany where, until mid-1952, he served under John J. McCloy. In this capacity he was close to many developments in the Federal Republic and Berlin. He also served with Mr. McCloy when the latter helped to set up the US Arms Control and Disarmament Agency in the Kennedy Administration.

From 1953 until 1965 Stone was the Director of the Ford Foundation's International Affairs Program and Special Assistant to the President from 1965-1967. His work, involving academic institutions, international organizations and the mass media took him to many parts of the world.

At the Ford Foundation Dr. Stone was largely responsible for the development of programs in Western Europe and also in Eastern Europe and for projects bringing together scholars and experts from the USA, Europe, and the USSR. He directed the Foundation's programs in the scholarly and intellectual area related to European unity and Atlantic cooperation. He was responsible for the development of the Foundation's program in Japan and for projects involving, internationally, the mass media.

From the end of 1967 until mid-1974 Stone was the President of the International Association for Cultural Freedom, based in Paris, an organization with associated groups and publications in Europe, Africa, Asia, and the United States. The organization is supported by US, German, and Italian foundations.

In early 1974, Dr. Stone assumed the responsibilities of ~~Acting~~ Director of Aspen Berlin, a major extension of the Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies. This ~~new~~ organization, located in Berlin, will organize and host Aspen Institute activities across-the-board.

Shepard Stone - 2

Dr. Stone has received the Dr. phil h. c. from the Free University of Berlin and Dr. rer. pol. h. c. from the University of Basel.

He is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations in New York; the Century, New York, and the Athenaeum, London. He is a Trustee *Executive* of the Aspen Institute and Aspen Berlin.