

The French-American Foundation

Founding History, Institutional Network, German Marshall Fund, Guido Goldman, and Related Affiliations Including DSA

A Historical Research Document

<https://www.french-american.org/>

I. Introduction

The French-American Foundation (FAF) was established in the 1970s as a nongovernmental organization intended to strengthen relations between France and the United States. The Foundation's own current history describes its purpose as strengthening Franco-American relations "outside of official diplomatic circles." It was organized through sister foundations in New York and Paris that shared a common name, parallel legal structures, and a common mission while operating independently. ([French-American Foundation](#))

The Foundation's early history becomes particularly significant because its founders did not come exclusively from cultural organizations or private social circles. The organizing process involved diplomats, State Department officials, academics, journalists, financial institutions, corporations, French government officials, American foreign-policy institutions, and people connected with other international organizations.

The primary document examined here is "**The French-American Foundation — Early Years,**" written by **James G. Lowenstein**, one of the American founders. Lowenstein's account records the people involved, the meetings through which the Foundation was organized, its original objectives, government contacts, funding, early projects, and the composition of its American and French boards.

The document therefore provides a valuable primary-source account of the Foundation's origins.

The investigation also leads outward from FAF to several other institutions, particularly the **Council on Foreign Relations, German Marshall Fund, Trilateral Commission, U.S. State Department, French government, New York Times Company Foundation, and Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee.**

One of the most important individuals in this network is **Guido Goldman**, founder of the German Marshall Fund.

A separate biographical connection surrounds Goldman. His father, **Nahum Goldmann**, was a major figure in the World Jewish Congress and World Zionist Organization. That family

history is historically documented, although it should be kept distinct from the institutional identity of the German Marshall Fund or French-American Foundation.

The purpose of this document is to examine these relationships carefully, distinguishing documented facts from interpretations that would require additional evidence.

II. The Beginning: Council on Foreign Relations

According to James G. Lowenstein's early history, the idea for the French-American Foundation began at the **Council on Foreign Relations in New York**.

In late 1973, **James Chace**, then Managing Editor of *Foreign Affairs*, and **James G. Lowenstein**, who had worked on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and in the State Department, discussed the condition of French-American relations.

Lowenstein described having encountered what he regarded as strong anti-French attitudes among some people in the Senate and State Department and in portions of the American press.

He and Chace considered whether something could be done outside normal government channels to create a more rational and productive relationship between France and the United States.

They subsequently brought **Nicholas Wahl**, a scholar of modern France, into the discussions.

The three developed the concept of a serious nongovernmental organization devoted to the French-American relationship.

The organization was intended to extend beyond conventional cultural exchange and academic study.

III. The Three American Founders

The early American organizing group centered on:

James G. Lowenstein

Lowenstein was a U.S. diplomat and foreign-policy official. He later became U.S. Ambassador to Luxembourg. The French-American Foundation identifies him as a co-founder of the Foundation. ([French-American Foundation](#))

James Chace

Chace was a historian, writer, and editor who served as Managing Editor of *Foreign Affairs*. His position placed him directly within the Council on Foreign Relations' foreign-policy intellectual environment.

Nicholas Wahl

Wahl was a political scientist and historian specializing in France and European affairs. He became the first president of the American French-American Foundation.

Together, these three formed the central American organizing group.

IV. Why Two Foundations?

The organizers decided that the project should have **two foundations**, one in the United States and one in France.

The reasoning was practical as well as institutional.

A French organization would allow French participants to develop their own priorities and perspectives.

An American organization would allow American participants to do the same.

The two organizations would share:

- a common name
- parallel legal structures
- common objectives
- a common general mission

while remaining legally independent.

This basic structure continues in the Foundation's present description of its history. ([French-American Foundation](#))

V. French Government Contacts

The organizing group began communicating with French officials.

On October 25, 1974, Lowenstein and Nicholas Wahl met **Emmanuel de Margerie**, then Director of Western European Affairs in the French Foreign Ministry and later ambassador to the United States.

De Margerie encouraged the project.

Lowenstein was subsequently back in the State Department as Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs. He wanted to ensure that the project proceeded with the knowledge of his superior, **Arthur Hartman**, who later became ambassador to France and the Soviet Union.

Hartman approved continuing the discussions.

French diplomatic officials then helped connect the American organizers with officials around President **Valéry Giscard d'Estaing**.

One important contact was **Claude Pierre-Brossolette**, Secretary General of the Élysée and effectively Giscard's chief of staff.

The early-years account describes Pierre-Brossolette as enthusiastic about the project and indicates that he believed the President would approve.

VI. Jean-Pierre Soisson and the French Political Establishment

Another important figure was **Jean-Pierre Soisson**.

Soisson was Secretary of State for Universities and was also involved in Giscard d'Estaing's political campaign.

He organized a dinner at which the idea of the French-American Foundation was presented to French government officials, academics, business representatives, and other participants.

The group concluded that:

- a French organization was needed
- government funding would be necessary
- the Foundation should have no political objectives
- the board should represent a broad professional cross-section
- the formal inauguration should occur during the American bicentennial period

This demonstrates that the French government was aware of and involved in the organization's development from an early stage.

It does not establish that the Foundation was a French government agency.

VII. French Seed Funding

The French side required initial funding.

Jean Laloy, Director of Cultural Affairs at the French Foreign Ministry, agreed to provide necessary seed money.

This is important because the Foundation's early history shows that the organization was being constructed with assistance from governmental and diplomatic circles while simultaneously being designed as a nongovernmental institution.

The organizational model was therefore:

Government awareness and assistance

combined with

independent institutional operation.

VIII. The May 1975 Dinners

Lowenstein and Wahl organized dinners in Washington and New York during May 1975.

The participants included:

- James Chace
- Edward Tuck
- Guido Goldman
- John Irwin
- George Franklin
- Stanley Hoffman
- Alex Vagliano

The early-years document identifies Guido Goldman specifically as:

"the eminence grise behind the German Marshall Fund."

George Franklin was identified as a former president of the Council on Foreign Relations, then North American Secretary of the **Trilateral Commission**, and later a French-American Foundation board member.

Alex Vagliano was identified as a Senior Vice President of Morgan Guaranty and later a Foundation board member.

These meetings therefore brought together people associated with:

- foreign policy
- diplomacy
- academia
- international organizations
- banking
- transatlantic institutions

The early-years document is particularly valuable here because these connections come directly from the account of a FAF co-founder. ([French-American Foundation](#))

IX. The Six Original Areas of Activity

The early organizers identified six areas in which the French-American Foundation could work:

1. Local government and local administration
2. National planning
3. Social services
4. Media
5. Translation, particularly French books into English
6. Regional cultural activities

The French side also became interested in questions concerning:

- images of France and America in mass media
- school textbooks
- citizen participation in local affairs
- attitudes toward work
- childcare
- social security and health insurance

This is important because the Foundation was conceived as something broader than a traditional cultural exchange organization.

Its proposed activities extended into:

- media
- education

- public administration
 - social policy
 - civic participation
 - cultural exchange
-

X. Incorporation and the Initial American Steering Committee

By late August, the American Foundation had been incorporated and had submitted its application for federal tax-exempt status.

A tentative steering committee included:

- Louis Begley
- James Chace
- George Franklin
- Stanley Hoffman
- Edward Tuck
- August Heckscher

The organization was therefore already developing a substantial leadership structure before its formal public inauguration.

XI. The French Organization

By late 1975, the French side had its own tentative steering committee and an executive director, **Philippe Bertin-Mouro**t.

The early history records meetings involving personnel connected with:

- President Giscard d'Estaing
- Prime Minister Jacques Chirac
- the French Foreign Ministry
- the Ministry of Universities

One interesting disagreement concerned the preferred scope of the Foundation.

Chirac favored a single New York organization emphasizing language and culture. He ultimately accepted the two-foundation structure but sought French representation on the New York board and American representation on the French board.

He also wanted particular attention paid to French-language teaching in the United States.

This illustrates that the French political leadership had its own expectations concerning the Foundation.

XII. The Foundation by January 1976

By January 1976, the American Foundation had:

- approximately \$75,000 in the bank
- an IRS tax-exempt certificate
- an office at 684 Park Avenue
- an executive secretary, Constance Jewett
- Nicholas Wahl as president
- Yves-André Istel on the steering committee

The French side committed \$75,000 for operating expenses for its first year.

The two organizations were therefore becoming operational institutions rather than merely planning committees.

XIII. The Formal 1976 Launch

The French organization was formally presented in February 1976.

Its provisional committee included people connected with:

- the French Foreign Ministry
- the Prime Minister's office
- the French educational system
- business
- academia
- media
- the Conseil d'État

- Sciences Po
- French cultural affairs

A committee poll concerning potential programs produced strong interest in subjects including:

- the images of France and America in mass media
- school textbooks
- citizen participation in local affairs
- attitudes toward work
- childcare
- social security and health insurance

The organization eventually became known as the **Fondation Franco-Américaine** on the French side.

XIV. The First Major Project: Journalists

The first major project agreed upon was a **French-American Journalists Conference** at Johns Hopkins University's School of Advanced International Studies.

The conference was scheduled for May 15, 1976.

Participants came from major French and American media organizations.

Among the organizations represented were:

- *The New York Times*
- *The Washington Post*
- *Le Monde*
- *Le Figaro*
- *Los Angeles Times*
- French radio
- French television

The conference was designed to increase contact and understanding between French and American journalists.

Its budget was approximately \$16,000.

This project becomes especially important because of the organizations that helped finance it.

XV. German Marshall Fund Financial Support

The American side of the journalists conference received substantial support from:

- the **German Marshall Fund**
- the **New York Times Company Foundation**

This establishes a direct financial relationship between GMF and the newly created French-American Foundation.

The connection is significant because Guido Goldman had already participated in FAF's organizing meetings.

The sequence is therefore:

Guido Goldman

↓

FAF founding discussions

↓

German Marshall Fund

↓

financial support for FAF's first major journalism project

This is one of the clearest institutional connections in the entire investigation.

XVI. What Was the German Marshall Fund?

The **German Marshall Fund of the United States** was established in 1972.

On June 5, 1972, West German Chancellor **Willy Brandt** announced its creation at Harvard University on the 25th anniversary of the Marshall Plan. GMF describes itself as a nonpartisan organization devoted to transatlantic relations. ([GMFUS](#))

The organization was created through a major gift from the government of West Germany.

The West German Bundestag approved **150 million Deutschmarks** for the institution. GMF's history states that the legislation passed unanimously among the four parliamentary parties represented in the Bundestag at that time. ([GMFUS](#))

The purpose was to strengthen the relationship between the United States and Europe.

XVII. Why Did West Germany Fund GMF?

The creation of GMF belonged to the postwar history of:

- the Marshall Plan
- German-American reconciliation
- Western European reconstruction
- Cold War alliances
- American involvement in Europe

Willy Brandt viewed the organization as a means of maintaining American engagement with Europe.

GMF's own history describes Brandt's goal as strengthening transatlantic relations and keeping the United States engaged with Europe amid changing international conditions. ([GMFUS](#))

The organization was therefore created with a clear transatlantic purpose.

XVIII. Guido Goldman and the Creation of GMF

Guido Goldman was the principal individual who developed the concept that became GMF.

In 1970, Goldman was executive director of West European studies at Harvard.

He approached the West German government about making a contribution to Harvard in recognition of the 25th anniversary of the Marshall Plan.

Goldman originally envisioned an approximately \$50,000 endowment for West European studies.

Instead, West German Finance Minister **Alex Möller** indicated that Germany was prepared to make a much larger contribution if it were used to create an entirely new institution.

The resulting German contribution became the foundation of GMF.

GMF identifies Goldman as its founder and lists him as its acting president from 1972 to 1973. ([GMFUS](#))

XIX. GMF Was Designed as a Transatlantic Institution

GMF was never intended to focus exclusively on Germany.

Its founding purpose encompassed the broader American-European relationship.

GMF's current historical account describes its mission in terms of strengthening transatlantic relations, while its own account of Goldman emphasizes his belief in a strong and productive German-American relationship as part of a stable relationship between the United States and Europe. ([GMFUS](#))

Goldman subsequently became a major institution builder.

GMF describes him as having helped establish several transatlantic organizations and fellowships in addition to his work at Harvard. ([GMFUS](#))

XX. Guido Goldman and the French-American Foundation

The relationship between Goldman and FAF is therefore historically significant.

The FAF early-years document places Goldman at the organizing dinners where the Foundation was being developed.

It specifically describes him as:

"the eminence grise behind the German Marshall Fund."

This establishes a personal connection between the founder of GMF and the founding group of FAF.

The subsequent GMF financing of the French-American Journalists Conference establishes an institutional connection.

Together, the evidence shows:

Personal connection

Guido Goldman participated in FAF's early organization.

Institutional connection

GMF subsequently supported a FAF project.

Mission connection

Both organizations were concerned with strengthening transatlantic relations.

XXI. Why Would GMF Support FAF?

The available documentation provides a straightforward institutional explanation.

GMF was created to strengthen U.S.–European relations.

FAF was created to strengthen U.S.–French relations.

The journalists conference was explicitly designed to bring French and American journalists together.

Journalism, exchange, European affairs, and transatlantic understanding were all compatible with GMF's early work.

Therefore, GMF's support of the journalists conference fits the organization's documented historical mission.

The financial relationship does not by itself demonstrate that GMF controlled FAF.

XXII. The New York Times Company Foundation

The journalists conference also received support from the **New York Times Company Foundation**.

This creates another important institutional relationship:

German Marshall Fund

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New York Times Company Foundation

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French-American Journalists Conference

↓

French-American Foundation

The project brought together a transatlantic policy institution, a major American media institution, and a French-American leadership organization.

This is important for understanding the network around FAF's first programs.

XXIII. The German-Jewish Background of Guido Goldman

The question of whether GMF was "Jewish" requires careful separation between **an individual's family background** and **an organization's institutional identity**.

GMF's own account of Guido Goldman states that he grew up in a **German-Jewish family in New York**. It also identifies his father, Nahum Goldmann, as a major figure in the German-Jewish and German-Israeli relationship. ([GMFUS](#))

Therefore:

Guido Goldman had a documented German-Jewish family background.

That is a factual biographical statement.

It does not establish:

The German Marshall Fund was a Jewish organization.

GMF was established through a German government gift as a U.S. institution devoted to transatlantic relations.

XXIV. Nahum Goldmann

Guido Goldman's father was **Nahum Goldmann**.

Nahum Goldmann was one of the major Jewish political figures of the twentieth century.

The World Jewish Congress identifies him as a co-founder of the World Jewish Congress and its first chairman of the executive board. He later served as president of the WJC for many years. ([World Jewish Congress](#))

He was also:

- a major Zionist leader
- president of the World Zionist Organization from 1956 to 1968
- involved with the Jewish Agency
- involved in the creation of the Claims Conference
- involved in negotiations concerning German reparations
- involved in Jewish international affairs and organizations

The WJC describes his role in negotiating the 1952 reparations agreement with West Germany. ([World Jewish Congress](#))

XXV. World Jewish Congress Connection

The documented family relationship is:

Nahum Goldman

↓

World Jewish Congress

↓

World Zionist Organization

↓

Jewish Agency / Claims Conference

↓

Guido Goldman

↓

German Marshall Fund

This is a legitimate historical family and biographical connection.

The evidence does not establish that the World Jewish Congress controlled the German Marshall Fund.

It does not establish that GMF was created as a WJC project.

It does not establish that FAF was a WJC project.

Those would require separate evidence.

XXVI. Nahum Goldman and Zionism

Nahum Goldman was deeply involved in the Zionist movement.

The World Jewish Congress describes him as a Zionist leader from an early age. He participated in Zionist activities, represented the Jewish Agency, and eventually served as president of the World Zionist Organization. ([World Jewish Congress](#))

He also had a complicated political relationship with the State of Israel.

He supported Jewish statehood while emphasizing the importance of the Jewish Diaspora.

He later criticized some Israeli policies and advocated a more conciliatory approach toward Arab states.

This history is important because it shows that Nahum Goldmann was a major Jewish political figure with a broad international network.

His positions should not automatically be attributed to his son or to the organizations Guido Goldman later founded.

XXVII. Guido Goldman and Henry Kissinger

Another important relationship concerns **Henry Kissinger**.

GMF's own account describes Kissinger as an old friend and doctoral adviser to Guido Goldman at Harvard. ([GMFUS](#))

Goldman and Kissinger therefore shared:

- German-Jewish refugee history
- Harvard
- European studies
- international affairs
- interest in German-American relations
- transatlantic policy concerns

Kissinger subsequently became:

- National Security Advisor
- Secretary of State
- one of the most influential American foreign-policy figures of the Cold War

The relationship between Goldman and Kissinger is documented.

The evidence does not establish that Kissinger directed GMF.

XXVIII. Goldman as an Institutional Network Builder

GMF's own account portrays Goldman as an institution builder.

He helped develop transatlantic organizations and fellowships and believed that relationships between nations depended partly upon relationships among individuals. ([GMFUS](#))

This is significant when examining FAF.

The French-American Foundation itself was designed around bringing together leaders from multiple sectors.

Today, FAF describes its programs as convening people from:

- business
- government
- military
- media
- academia
- nonprofit organizations
- cultural organizations

The Foundation describes this as a way of creating a multiplier effect among leaders and decision-makers. ([French-American Foundation](#))

This means that **network-building was not an accidental feature of the institution. It was part of the model.**

XXIX. The Council on Foreign Relations Connection

The Council on Foreign Relations is significant because the FAF concept originated in discussions there.

James Chace was managing editor of *Foreign Affairs*.

Lowenstein was active in American foreign-policy circles.

George Franklin, another person in the FAF organizing network, had previously been president of the Council on Foreign Relations.

The Council therefore represents one of the intellectual environments from which the Foundation emerged.

XXX. The Trilateral Commission Connection

George Franklin provides another connection.

The early FAF document identifies him as:

- former president of the Council on Foreign Relations
- North American Secretary of the Trilateral Commission
- later a French-American Foundation board member

This establishes an overlap among:

Council on Foreign Relations

Trilateral Commission

French-American Foundation

The existence of this overlap is documented.

It does not establish that the Trilateral Commission controlled FAF.

XXXI. Banking and Corporate Connections

The early Foundation's organizing group and boards also contained people associated with major financial and corporate institutions.

Examples include:

- Morgan Guaranty
- Shearman & Sterling
- Kuhn Loeb
- Revlon
- Dreyfus
- IBM Europe
- BNP
- Société Générale
- Air France
- Thomson CSF

- Hachette
- St-Gobain

The Foundation was therefore deliberately populated with people who possessed institutional influence in multiple sectors.

XXXII. Michael Harrington and DSOC

One of the most notable political connections is **Michael Harrington**.

The early FAF New York board listing identifies Harrington as:

National Chairman, Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee.

DSOC was a democratic-socialist political organization.

In 1982, DSOC merged with the New American Movement, creating the organization known as the **Democratic Socialists of America (DSA)**.

Therefore, the historically precise statement is:

Michael Harrington, a prominent democratic-socialist leader and national chairman of DSOC, served on the early French-American Foundation board.

The available document does not establish that:

- FAF was a DSOC organization
- DSOC founded FAF
- DSOC controlled FAF
- DSA controlled FAF
- all FAF board members shared Harrington's political ideology

The significance lies in the presence of a democratic-socialist political leader within a board that also included diplomats, business leaders, academics, journalists, and government officials.

XXXIII. The Government–Nongovernmental Boundary

One of the most important features of the Foundation's history is its position between government and private institutions.

The Foundation was explicitly created to operate **outside official diplomatic channels**.

At the same time, its founders maintained relationships with:

- the State Department
- French Foreign Ministry
- Élysée
- French Prime Minister's office
- American Embassy in Paris
- French Embassy in Washington
- President Ford's administration
- President Giscard d'Estaing's administration

This creates a distinctive institutional model:

Outside formal diplomacy

while

connected to people working inside diplomacy.

That distinction is central to understanding the Foundation's stated purpose.

XXXIV. The Kissinger Memorandum

The early-years account records an episode involving Secretary of State **Henry Kissinger**.

Arthur Hartman sent Kissinger a memorandum explaining that President Giscard was expected to discuss the new foundations.

The memorandum identified State Department officials who were fully informed of the project and stated that the State Department had approved how the foundations had been organized.

Lowenstein later wrote that he did not know whether Kissinger actually read the memorandum.

Therefore, the evidence establishes:

- a memorandum was sent to Kissinger
- State Department officials were informed
- the department approved the organizational arrangement according to the memorandum

It does not establish:

- Kissinger personally directed FAF
 - Kissinger controlled FAF
 - FAF was a State Department operation
-

XXXV. President Ford and President Giscard

The early Foundation history records a 1976 dinner involving President **Gerald Ford** and President **Valéry Giscard d'Estaing**.

Giscard discussed the purpose of the two foundations.

The foundations were presented as mechanisms for promoting greater contact, dialogue, and understanding between France and the United States.

This demonstrates high-level governmental recognition during the Foundation's creation.

XXXVI. The American Board

The early New York board included people connected with:

- diplomacy
- government
- academia
- media
- finance
- corporations
- international affairs
- political organizations

Among those listed were:

- Nicholas Wahl
- Edward Tuck
- James Chace
- Louis Begley

- Michel Bergerac
- George Franklin
- August Heckscher
- Stanley Hoffman
- Yves-André Istel
- Marie-Monique Steckel
- James Lowenstein
- Thomas Bishop
- C. Douglas Dillon
- Michael Harrington
- Amory Houghton
- John N. Irwin
- Joseph Kraft
- Jean Mayer
- John B. Oakes
- Nathaniel Samuels
- Sargent Shriver
- Howard Stein
- Gordon Wright

This is a broad leadership network rather than a single-sector organization.

XXXVII. The French Board

The French board likewise included representatives of major institutions.

The early document lists people associated with:

- Radio France
- Thomson CSF
- French medicine
- French petroleum
- French diplomacy

- French industry
- Air France
- BNP
- Société Générale
- IBM Europe
- Hachette
- French museums
- Conde Nast International
- French government institutions

The French board therefore reflected a similarly broad cross-section of French institutional life.

XXXVIII. The Network in Simplified Form

The early history can be represented as follows:

Foreign-policy/intellectual network

Council on Foreign Relations

↓

James Chace / Foreign Affairs

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French-American Foundation

Transatlantic network

Guido Goldman

↓

German Marshall Fund

↓

French-American Foundation

Trilateral network

George Franklin



Trilateral Commission



French-American Foundation

Government network

U.S. State Department



James Lowenstein / Arthur Hartman



French-American Foundation

French government network

French Foreign Ministry



Élysée / French officials



French-American Foundation

Media network

New York Times Company Foundation

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German Marshall Fund



French-American Journalists Conference



French-American Foundation

Democratic-socialist connection

Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee

↓

Michael Harrington

↓

French-American Foundation board

Goldman family network

Nahum Goldmann

↓

World Jewish Congress / World Zionist Organization / Jewish Agency

↓

Guido Goldman

↓

German Marshall Fund

↓

French-American Foundation

XXXIX. What the Evidence Strongly Establishes

The evidence supports several conclusions.

1. FAF was deliberately created as a transatlantic leadership organization.

Its own history says it was established to strengthen Franco-American relations outside official diplomatic channels. ([French-American Foundation](#))

2. Its founders came from foreign-policy and academic circles.

The project began through people connected to the Council on Foreign Relations, the State Department, and scholarship on France.

3. French and American government officials knew about the project.

The early history documents extensive contact with officials in both countries.

4. Guido Goldman participated in the Foundation's early organizing process.

The primary document explicitly places him at the organizing dinners. ([French-American Foundation](#))

5. GMF later funded an early FAF project.

The French-American Journalists Conference received GMF support.

6. GMF and FAF shared a broad transatlantic purpose.

GMF was created to strengthen U.S.–European relations, while FAF focused specifically on U.S.–French relations. ([GMFUS](#))

7. The early FAF board contained people from many different institutional backgrounds.

The board included diplomats, academics, corporations, financial institutions, media figures, international-affairs organizations, and Michael Harrington of DSOC.

8. Guido Goldman had a documented German-Jewish family background.

GMF identifies him as having grown up in a German-Jewish family. ([GMFUS](#))

9. Guido Goldman's father, Nahum Goldmann, was a major Jewish international leader.

The World Jewish Congress documents his leadership of the WJC and World Zionist Organization. ([World Jewish Congress](#))

10. Guido Goldman had a documented relationship with Henry Kissinger.

GMF describes Kissinger as Goldman's old friend and doctoral adviser at Harvard. ([GMFUS](#))

XL. What the Evidence Does Not Establish

The evidence examined so far does not establish:

- that FAF was secretly controlled by GMF
- that GMF controlled the French-American Foundation
- that FAF was a Jewish organization

- that FAF was controlled by the World Jewish Congress
- that FAF was controlled by the World Zionist Organization
- that FAF was a DSOC organization
- that DSA controlled FAF
- that the Trilateral Commission controlled FAF
- that Henry Kissinger controlled FAF
- that the State Department controlled FAF
- that the French government controlled FAF
- that the German government controlled GMF after its establishment
- that the documented financial relationships constitute corruption
- that the institutional connections establish criminal activity

Those conclusions would require additional documentary evidence.

XLI. Why the Network Is Still Historically Significant

The absence of evidence for control does not make the institutional relationships unimportant.

The early Foundation was deliberately designed around the interaction of people who possessed influence in different sectors.

The network crossed:

- government
- diplomacy
- academia
- journalism
- banking
- corporations
- international organizations
- political movements
- cultural institutions

The German Marshall Fund adds another major transatlantic institution to this network.

Guido Goldman is particularly significant because he appears in the FAF founding story while also being the founder of GMF.

The New York Times Company Foundation adds a major media connection.

George Franklin adds the Trilateral Commission connection.

Michael Harrington adds the democratic-socialist connection.

James Chace and the Council on Foreign Relations connect the project to the American foreign-policy establishment.

The French board connects the organization to French government, industry, finance, media, transportation, and culture.

The resulting picture is therefore one of a **dense transatlantic leadership network**.

XLII. The Difference Between a Network and Control

This distinction should remain central throughout the research.

A **network** means that people and organizations have overlapping relationships, memberships, funding arrangements, meetings, projects, or personal associations.

Control means that one person or organization has demonstrable authority over another.

The documents examined so far clearly establish a network.

They do not, by themselves, establish centralized control.

The next stage of research should therefore look for evidence such as:

- correspondence
- contracts
- grant agreements
- board minutes
- memoranda
- financial records
- instructions
- organizational bylaws
- personnel appointments
- decision-making records

Those materials could establish whether relationships were merely cooperative or whether particular institutions exercised decision-making authority.

XLIII. The Most Important Primary-Source Discovery

The most important document in this investigation remains James G. Lowenstein's **"The French-American Foundation — Early Years."**

Its value comes from the fact that Lowenstein was directly involved in creating the Foundation.

The document records:

- the original conversations
- the Council on Foreign Relations setting
- the three American founders
- the French government contacts
- the U.S. government contacts
- the two-foundation structure
- early funding
- the May dinners
- Guido Goldman
- George Franklin
- the Trilateral Commission connection
- the Morgan Guaranty connection
- the first journalism project
- GMF funding
- New York Times Company Foundation funding
- the Ford/Giscard event
- the Kissinger memorandum
- the American board
- the French board

- Michael Harrington and DSOC

That makes it a central primary source for reconstructing the Foundation's origins.

XLIV. A Working Institutional Timeline

Year	Event
1947	Marshall Plan announced
1950s–60s	Postwar U.S.–European institutions develop
1970	Guido Goldman approaches West Germany concerning Marshall Plan anniversary funding
1971	German officials develop plans for a much larger transatlantic institution
1972	Willy Brandt announces creation of German Marshall Fund
1972	West German government provides 150 million DM capital
1973	James Chace and James Lowenstein begin discussing French-American relations
1973–74	Nicholas Wahl joins development of FAF concept
1974	French government officials become involved
1975	French and American organizing groups expand
1975	Guido Goldman participates in FAF organizing dinners
1975	George Franklin participates; Trilateral Commission connection documented
1975–76	French and American foundations establish parallel structures
1976	French-American Foundation formally established
1976	Ford/Giscard diplomatic recognition of foundations
1976	French-American Journalists Conference receives GMF and New York Times Company Foundation support
1976	Early FAF boards include Michael Harrington of DSOC
1977	James Lowenstein becomes U.S. Ambassador to Luxembourg
1982	DSOC merges with New American Movement to form DSA
1982	Nahum Goldmann dies
2020	Guido Goldman dies
2022	GMF publishes extensive retrospective on Goldman's life and institutional legacy

XLV. Consolidated Findings

The investigation begins with a French-American organization created in the 1970s to improve relations between France and the United States outside official diplomatic channels.

Its founders came from the worlds of foreign policy, academia, diplomacy, and international affairs.

Its organizing process involved French and American government officials.

Its first major project involved journalists.

Its financing included the German Marshall Fund and the New York Times Company Foundation.

One of the most important individuals present during the Foundation's organization was **Guido Goldman**, founder of the German Marshall Fund.

Goldman's own institutional history connects him to Harvard, German-American relations, and transatlantic institution building.

His father, **Nahum Goldmann**, belonged to a different but historically important network: the World Jewish Congress, World Zionist Organization, Jewish Agency, and postwar German reparations negotiations.

The early French-American Foundation board also included **Michael Harrington**, identified as National Chairman of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee.

Another board connection involved **George Franklin**, who had served as president of the Council on Foreign Relations and as North American Secretary of the Trilateral Commission.

The result is a documented network crossing several major sectors of twentieth-century American and European public life.

The evidence currently supports describing this as an **interconnected transatlantic institutional network**.

It does not yet establish that these organizations formed a single coordinated organization or that one institution controlled the others.

That distinction should remain in place as additional documents are examined.

XLVI. Priority Documents for Further Research

The next documents worth examining are:

1. German Marshall Fund original board records

Look for the original 1972–1977 trustees and their institutional affiliations.

2. GMF grant records

Especially records concerning the French-American Foundation and the 1976 journalists conference.

3. Guido Goldman correspondence

Particularly correspondence from 1973–1976 concerning:

- FAF
- France
- French officials
- James Lowenstein
- James Chace
- Nicholas Wahl
- German officials
- Henry Kissinger

4. French-American Foundation correspondence

Particularly correspondence between FAF and:

- GMF
- New York Times Company Foundation
- State Department
- French Foreign Ministry
- Élysée
- French Embassy
- Guido Goldman

5. 1976 board minutes

These could reveal how decisions were actually made.

6. Financial records

These would clarify:

- who contributed
- how much was contributed
- what restrictions accompanied contributions
- who approved expenditures
- whether funding was unrestricted or project-specific

7. State Department records

The memorandum to Henry Kissinger would be particularly valuable if the original document can be located.

8. French government archives

These could clarify the extent of official French involvement in establishing the French foundation.

9. Trilateral Commission records

These could establish whether George Franklin's involvement was purely personal or whether institutional discussions occurred.

10. DSOC records

These could clarify the circumstances under which Michael Harrington joined the FAF board and whether any institutional relationship existed between DSOC and FAF.

XLVII. Final Historical Assessment

The early French-American Foundation was deliberately created as a nongovernmental institution operating outside official diplomacy while maintaining substantial relationships with governmental, diplomatic, academic, business, media, and international-affairs circles.

The German Marshall Fund was an important part of that environment.

Guido Goldman is the clearest connecting individual. He founded GMF, participated in the early organization of FAF, and came from a German-Jewish family whose patriarch, Nahum Goldmann, was a major figure in the World Jewish Congress and World Zionist Organization.

The evidence also documents connections involving the Council on Foreign Relations, Trilateral Commission, State Department, French government, New York Times Company Foundation, major financial institutions, corporations, academia, journalism, and the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee.

These connections are historically significant because they demonstrate how the French-American Foundation was constructed as a **cross-sector leadership and relationship-building institution**.

The strongest evidence presently establishes **relationships, participation, funding, and overlapping personnel**.

The evidence presently available does not establish **centralized control, corruption, criminal conduct, or a single ideological command structure**.

For the next stage, the most valuable work would be to move from **who was connected to whom** to **what documents show they actually discussed, funded, instructed, or decided together**. That is where the research can distinguish ordinary institutional cooperation from stronger forms of organizational coordination.

The key primary-source point is especially strong: the French-American Foundation's own early-history document explicitly places **Guido Goldman** at its organizing dinners and identifies him as the person behind the German Marshall Fund. ([French-American Foundation](#)) The current GMF history independently confirms Goldman founded GMF and that its original German capital was **150 million Deutschmarks**. ([GMFUS](#)) The World Jewish Congress independently confirms Nahum Goldmann's leadership of the WJC and World Zionist Organization. ([World Jewish Congress](#))

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CORRUPTION

Un relais des États-Unis en France : la French American Foundation

par Pierre Hillard

L'opposition  politique fondamentale réside aujourd'hui entre ceux qui soutiennent une gouvernance unipolaire du monde sous l'autorité des États-Unis et ceux qui prônent un équilibre des puissances régi par le droit international. À ce niveau, la grille de lecture traditionnelle française opposant une gauche à une droite n'a plus de pertinence – car on retrouve des deux côtés des partisans de la *Pax Americana*. Une organisation non-lucrative, mais richement dotée, la French American Foundation, a depuis trente ans pour fonction de recruter les jeunes leaders appelés à occuper des postes de dirigeants pour les former au soutien de la politique atlantiste. On y trouve des membres de l'UMP, du PS aussi bien que de l'équipe de campagne de José Bové.  Analyse politique américaine