Foundations were not only about doing what government did not, or could not or should not do, to quote Stanley Katz and Barry Karl, but also had faith in improving the work government did, could or should do, as the same authors outlined at the end of a famous contribution. This trend was probably at its peak in the 1960s, especially during the Johnson administration, as suggested by Alice O’Connor and Gregory Raynor. That seems true for all levels of government, including municipal government, all the more that the interest of some of the biggest US Foundations in urban affairs seems to have been a consequence of their interest in government.

Urban issues are indeed a wide field, as the growing urbanization of human societies has made everything more or less urban. Since the 19th century, reformers from all kinds picked up cities as the scene to address the evils they were concerned with, from poverty to unemployment, from temperance to moral decay. Though, some elements were especially urban in the sense that they could not been isolated in rural societies. Housing, city-planning and municipal government were such points. Though there were others, and sanitation and public health could be quoted in the first place, I picked up those three for a systematic inquiry on the "Urban Internationale", e.g the international complex of agencies, both private and public, dealing with 'urban problems'. Housing was the first to be conceived as an "issue" in the middle of the 19th century, city planning and municipal government being individualized as such in the first years of the 20th century. All were quickly organized as

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movements, both nationally and internationally. Periodicals, exhibitions, conferences were set up and joined by the reforming marching bands from all over the Western World, culminating in the first 14 years of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century with a firework of meetings which gave birth to several voluntary associations that took up systematizing the interchanges of experience at the transnational level. the International Union of Local Authorities (IULA); the International Federation of Housing and Town Planning (IF) will be especially scrutinized here. They were mainly european in their concerns, their staffs and their meeting places. After the 1\textsuperscript{st} World War that tore their networks apart, forcing them to work on a much lower key, they resumed their organization task in the 1920s, and rallied more and more followers. Though some important US individuals such as Lawrence Veiller (for housing), John Nolen (for planning) or John G.Stutz (for municipal government) did participate to this transnational trade of ideas, designs, schemes, books and people, the American participation was nevertheless quite low. For sure, it was still difficult to cross the water regularly in those days (4-7 days of travel in each direction). When the International Federation of Housing and Town Planning organised its congress in New York City in 1925, only but a few Europeans were there. Almost all conferences took place on the European mainland, and consequently all but a few American did join, and almost none were able to join the governing bodies of the societies when they met to organize the work. This physical absence certainly did not mean that the interchange of ideas was low: correspondence was intense, as shown by the papers left by some of those "Atlantic crossers". As demonstrated by Daniel Rodgers in the wider field of social policies and ideas, the brokering of ideas between Europe and the USA, though increasing or diminishing according to circumstances, never stopped between the 1880s and the 1930s, whatever long the journeys, expansive the visits or slow the mail.

Thus went the life and work of the Urban International in the late 1920s, men of good will trying to keep in touch with one another at the international scale, often moved by a common faith in the future development of a peaceful global society where Reason and Prosperity would rule for better and for worse. The US Foundations were then far away, though a gift

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from the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace had been vital in organising the first Congress of Cities in Ghent in 1913. The Rockefeller, and then the Ford, would soon enter the field with a much greater impact, each one with its aims, methods and strategies. Nevertheless, the tool of this involvement will remain the same: a pool of professional societies and agencies, all headquartered in Chicago, that can be described as the think tank for the American involvement in the field of urban issues at the international and the national US levels.

I. THE CHICAGO NEXUS

From the middle of 1929 until the late 1980s, a cluster of professional organizations took Chicago as their headquarters. More exactly, they gathered on the campus of the University of Chicago, first at 850 E 58th Street and then in a new special building, the Public Administration Building (now Chapin Hall), at 1313 E. 60th Street. It was not a magnet, nor the wind, that attracted them to Chicago, but the enterprise and leadership of a bunch of men and the institutions they led or belonged to. This is not the place to write this story, but what was later known as the '1313' group was created and implemented thanks to the joint agencies of Charles Merriam and Leonard White (University of Chicago and Social Science Research Council), Beardsley Ruml and Guy Moffett (Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial, and then Spelman Fund of New-York) and Louis Brownlow (ex-journalist, ex-District of Columbia commissioner, ex-city-manager and ex-president of the International City Manager Association). To name only those three is to give a strong hindsight on the coalition that gave birth to what was to be a major national and international center of clearance, research, consultancy and experiment in the field of government from the 1930 to the 1960s. The 1313 group was powered by Foundation money, academic guidance and complicity, and professional dedication, though the division of labour was not that basic.

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7 The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace group gave a fifteen thousands dollars (15 000 $) grant to Henri La Fontaine and the Central Office of International Associations. This meant supporting an organization that was involved in the development and systematisation of internationalism. Consequently, La Fontaine and Otlet did not fulfill any specific mission when they used some Carnegie money to organize the first Congress of Cities at the Ghent World’s Fair of 1913, with their friend Emile Vinck—the future executive of IULA—as organizer. As they had done with many other conferences and societies, they were trying to «make internationalism conscious» by organizing as much spheres as possible at the international level.

8 To quote only a few: The International city Managers Association, the American Legislators Association, the American Municipal Association, the American Public Welfare Officials Association, the American Society of Municipal Engineers, the Council of State Governments, the Institute of Municipal Law Officers, the National Association of Housing Officials, the American Society of Planning Officials, the National Committee on Municipal Accounting, the United States Conference of Mayors.

9 Some universities (Columbia) and some organizations (such as the City Housing Corporation of Alexander Bing) provided a breeding ground where many figures from 1313 originated from.
Though the building of the Chicago group was a slow process with roots in the 1920s, it took a definitive shape in January 1929 when the ICMA approved the moving of its headquarters from Kansas to Chicago, where it was soon soon joined by the Bureau of Public Personnel Administration. The two societies were welcomed by a fireworks of grants by the Rosenwald Fund and the Spelman Fund of New York. These early arrivals were the beginning of an aggregating process relentlessly engineered under the joint patronage of the Social Science Research Council (more especially its Public Administration Committee), the University of Chicago and the Spelman Fund of New York, in order to promote contact between government officials and academics, and to parallel the improvement of government with the advance in social sciences. Indeed, the two things were more or less similar in the mind of many of the participants to these groups. The Chicago group, through its trustees and membership, mobilized officials, academics from all over the USA, and "experts" in government that had been active in the field since years, such as Luther Gulick who was directing the New York National Institute of Public Administration. It was not just another agency in the field, but was imagined to to be THE structure that gathered the facilities, abilities and energies in the field of public administration, topping research institutes and opinion molder such as the IPA or the Brookings Institution and its Institute for Governmental research.

Improving the machinery of public administration was the assignment of the Spelman Fund of New York. This new vessel of the Rockefeller philanthropic fleet had been incorporated in December 1928, with a 10 million $ grant by the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial, recently merged with the Rockefeller Foundation in the reorganisation of their philanthropies launched by John D. Rockefeller Senior and Junior in 1928. From its inception, the Spelman Fund of New York should have worked in the field of child study and parent education, interracial relations and cooperation with public agencies. The latter field, that had been explored by the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial just before its liquidation, most notably with the 'Merriam report' of October 1928, was soon to become the only task of the Spelman Fund, as an agreement was reached with the Rockefeller Foundation about the two other missions. Cooperation with public agencies was conceived on a very strict ground. As

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10 ICMA general story is usefully depicted in STILMAN Richard, The rise of the city manager: a public professional in local government, Albuquerque: University Of New Mexico Press, 1974
11 The IPA, as well as the Brookings Institution, were supported by the Rockefeller Foundation. The Spelman Fund made several grants to those organizations as well.
stated in a memorandum presented by Beardsley Ruml to the Board of Trustees in May 1929, "the interest of the Spelman Fund is not in the improvement of some social practice or function, such as health, education, crime prevention, but rather is in the contribution which may be made to all aspects of the public welfare through increase of efficiency, technical competence and rational purposefulness in the operation of the machinery of government" 13. There would be much to comment on what sounds as a gloss on the wilsonian views on politics and administration, on the former involvement of the Rockefeller in the field 14, on its fulfillment in the work of the Fund and on the caution with which the move was made. But not here. In any case, the Fund sharpened its program in the year 1929, and reached its full speed in the mid-1930s, with a highest in appropriations made for the year 1937.

The Chicago group clearly was the center of the Fund action. Of the 14 million $ that the Spelman Fund of New York spent between 1929 and 1948, the largest part went to the Chicago organizations, to help them to organize their secretariats, finance their field service, pay for their research staffs, support some experimentation and implementation programs and so on. According to the size of their membership, the general budgets of some 20 professional was wholly or partly covered by the Spelman Fund of New York grants until 1945 15. This support was also completed by money coming from the Rockefeller Foundation itself, as the Foundation developed a program in Public Administration from 1933.

Many of the organizations were in fact created thanks to the incitement and support of the Spelman Fund. The best example of total support was the Public Administration Clearing House, a central agency that was in charge, under the direction of Louis Brownlow, to organize cooperation and information at 1313 and to be a national resource in public administration. The 2.1 million $ that PACH received from the Spelman Fund between 1930 and 1950 almost constituted its full budget. PACH had no independant income, and lived just as long as it found support from Foundation money, that is until 1956. After the Spelman Fund had been liquidated in 1948, and final grants made to all the 1313 societies, PACH had found support for a few years near the brand new Ford Foundation.

12 ‘Memorandum on facilities for research and experiment for governmental officials, or groups of officials’, folder 774, box 3, series 5, Spelman Fund of New York Archives, Rockefeller Archive Center, North Tarrytown, New York (hereafter designed RAC).
13 ‘Memorandum’, Board of Trustees may 21, 1929, p.6, folder 19, box 2, series 1, Spelman Fund of New York Archives, RAC.
The Foundation world was a small world. The new Foundation had borrowed several of its staff, trustees or consultants to the Spelman-1313 connection, especially for its international and public affairs program, and this was certainly instrumental in the fact that PACH received two Ford grants in 1950 and 1952, totaling 1.2 million $. This helped the 1313 coordinating agency, now under the leadership of Herbert Emmerich, to go on with its activities until 1956, where it ceased to operate. Some of its logistic functions were then transferred to Public Administration Service, which ensured the coordination until the 1970s-1980s, when the different organizations began to leave the Public Administration Building (as the Government Finance Officers Association now on North Michigan Avenue), or even Chicago (as the ICMA now in Washington DC).

If public administration as a whole was the field of the Spelman Fund and of the Chicago organizations, including local, state, federal and international administration, municipal government was a major concern. The uncomplete list of societies in note 7 suggests how many societies were concerned with municipal government, and especially with the government of cities. General municipal administration and its specialized fields (such as planning, housing, finance, engineering,…) were all considered of prime importance. This was both a practical question and a strategy. A practical question because the leaders of 1313 and of the Foundations were well aware that the society was urbanized and that municipal government was a vital player in governmental techniques, policies and expenditures. A strategy because the local level was the one where opportunities for improvement were seen as the greatest, as it was thought to be the most intimately concerned with the life of the citizen and the most involved in 'making administration work'. This was the first basic choice of the Spelman Fund when it began its systematic work in Public Administration. The second was to choose the officials societies as the best locus for its strategies to improve personnel, techniques and machineries of government. The US municipal world had then already given birth to such active societies, such as the ICMA or the State League of Municipalities and their umbrella organization the American Municipal Association. Opportunities were considered as important.

15 In 1935, the Spelman Grant covered 96 % of the income of the American Society of Planning Officials. In 1940 85 %, in 1945 53 %. ASPO was a society of private membership, that can be considered as reflecting an ‘average’ situation of dependence towards the Spelman Fund of New York amongst the 1313 societies. Figures are taken from Cornell University, Kroch Library, private papers 3247 (then ASPO papers), box 23, folder 19.

16 The Merriam report of 1928 underlined that local government in the USA was accounting for 43 % of governmental expenditures, when the Federal government was responsible for 45 %.
Despite the heavy commitment to cooperation with Federal Government under the New Deal, and the continuous interest in experiments and demonstrations at the state level, this concern for municipal government was always of vital importance in the work of the 1313 group and the policy of the Spelman Fund. After the later had liquidated in 1948, the 1313 group maintained this concern, and was able to share it with new incomers in the field. The Public Affairs program of the Ford Foundation was especially receptive to this municipal level. Alice O'Connor has pointed to the fact that this division was, in the second half of the 1950s, preoccupied by urban social problems. She especially mentioned its program in metropolitan governance, impulsed by a committee report to which participated Coleman Woodbury, the executive secretary of the National Association Housing Officials, one of the 1313 organizations. Indeed, metropolitan government theme was a 1313 concern since a long time, and they were able to pursue it through the 50s and 60s, with the support of the Ford Foundation, notably through a fellowship program in metropolitan studies funded by the FF in several Graduate schools of Public Administration that were ran by ex-1313ers, such as Don Price in Harvard, Rowland Egger at Princeton or Donald Stone at Pittsburgh. This would remain to be sustained by more evidence, but I wish to argue that the first FF programs in metropolitan governance, as well as in urban redevelopment (another field where Paul Ylvisaker and the Public affairs division were actively involved) were hiring a lot of their concepts and methods to the 1313 groups. At least in its program areas "establishment of peace" and "strengthening of democracy", the Ford (later to become respectively International affairs and Public affairs programs), incorporated quite massively the experience of the Chicago center, and used many of the men that had been trained at 1313. This is only but one example of the ability of those groups and their leaders to create new connections after their initial supporter, the Spelman Fund, had disappeared from the scene. This was also true regarding their international action in the field.

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17 art.cit
18 In 1946, Wyman Fiske had had several exchanges with the Spelman trustees when he was in charge of exploring the development of the Ford Foundation. Then Don Price, assisting director of PACH, became a member of the Gaither Committee. He played a large part in drafting the general organization of the new Foundation. Later on, the first 'bosses' of the Ford were Paul Hoffman and Robert Maynard Hutchins, both trustees of PACH, with which Hutchins was very familiar since his long time presidency of University of Chicago. Price joined the Ford once again in 1953 under the presidency of Gaither, to reorganize the Overseas Programs, after having been consulted since the Spring of 1951 on the general program of the Ford in Public Administration. Price took charge of all the "Aera I" program with the title of vice-president of the Foundation, before leaving for Harvard in 1958. Several other ex-1313ers worked for the Ford, with a special connection to its Public Affairs program. Clarence Thurber and Bernard Gladieux (who was Hoffman personal assistant) were part of the staff, Rowland Egger and Herbert Emmerich were used as consultants, directly or indirectly.
II. Atlantic crossings 1930-1940

The international dimension was part of the project since its inception. The Merriam report of 1928, that can be considered as outlining the action of the future 1313 group, surveyed the foreign and international societies active in the field of public administration. The German, English and French municipal organizations, as well as the International Union of Cities, the "International Town Planning Conference" (a wrong name for the IF), The Pan American Union and its municipal bureau were especially pinpointed as possible organizations to support. The international program that was then imagined by Merriam and Ruml for the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial was inherited by the Spelman Fund of New York. It was first played on a low key, partly because the trustees of the Fund, especially the most influential such as Raymond Fosdick and Arthur Woods, thought the time was not yet ripe to embark in a full fleshed international program. Building a structure in the USA to organize cooperation with the societies of officials was a priority. Moreover, the international chapter of the Fund was undoubtedly downpaced by the effects of the Great Depression, which diminished the values of the securities held by the Fund and by the Rockefeller Foundation in general. This undoubtedly accounts for the fact that, when the IULA got in touch with the Spelman Fund of New York in the spring of 1930, asking for help and support, the executive secretary Guy Moffett did not seize the opportunity. Rather, he answered that the Fund was convinced that the exchange of informations with foreign countries was highly beneficial, but that its first mission was to develop information facilities in the USA. Still, the Spelman Fund and the growing bunch of the Chicago societies began to get acknowledged to the European situation by adding information to the Merriam report. Louis Brownlow in the summer of 1930, Charles Merriam and Beardsley Ruml in the same summer, Beardsley Ruml and Luther Gulick in the summer of 1931, Guy Moffett in the summer of 1932, all toured Europe for weeks. They visited headquarters, interviewed leaders, listened to conferences and inspected municipalities in Germany, Holland, England, France, Sweden, Switzerland, BelgIULAm. What they brought was an identification of the societies and organizations with whom it was possible to work. But, in the same time, they were scouring Europe to find ideas for their domestic work. They were looking for partners that would be suitable enough to build a long term relation with their US eqIULAalents and allow to bring the best from old Europe.

19 'Staff conference ', september 9 1929, folder 106, box 2, series 2, Spelman Fund of New York Archives, RAC.
For ten years, this was to be the principle of the relationship between the Spelman Fund and the 1313 organizations on one hand, and the European societies or European-based international societies on the other hand. This was true in the field of municipal government as in the wider area of Public Administration that was the realm of the Spelman. The strategy of the Spelman-Chicago boys was echoing this familiar move by American reformers of all brands since a few decades: finding in Old Europe, especially in the highly valued examples of England and Germany, some models, ideas, recipes that could be translated in the USA. In the 1930s, precisely when Daniel Rodgers told us the sphere of transoceanic interchange became to be more and more organized, the Spelman Fund and its Chicago boys were a prominent actor of these "Atlantic crossings" in the field of Public Administration, and especially in the field of municipal government.²¹

And thus it went for several years. The interchange took different forms. The Spelman Fund sent the executive secretaries and directors of the municipal groups of Chicago in Europe. Clifford Ham and Paul Betters, executive secretaries of the American Municipal Association, Carl Chatters of the Municipal Finance Officers Association, Coleman Woodbury of the National Association of Housing Officials, Walter Blucher of the American Society of Planning Officials, Fred Hoelher of the American Public Welfare Association, G. Lyle Blesley of the Civil Service Assembly all made the trip to Europe to listen to conferences and to visit like organizations. The Spelman Fund also contributed to send several secretaries of State League of Municipalities to the Union Internationale des Villes conferences.²² Meanwhile, the Spelman Fund was also inviting European experts in public administration to visit the USA. Individuals connected with municipal activities were among them, such as I.G Gibbon, who was in charge of the town planning legislation at the British Ministry of Health, Levi Hill, the secretary of the English National Association of Local Government Officers, Yngve Larsson the "commissioner" of public works and traffic in Stockholm, Emile Vinck the director of the Union International des Villes. The Spelman also contributed, through his general grants to the Chicago groups, to such important visits as the "foreign housing experts" organized by NAHO in 1934, that was instrumental in the public campaign to mobilize US government officials on the idea of public housing.²³ Guy Moffett and the Chicago boys artfully designed the trips of those Europeans to serve two aims: first, the foreign guests were to give courses to students, to lecture academics and government officials.

²⁰ Folder 186, box 1, subseries 1, series 4, Spelman Fund of New York Archives, RAC.
²¹ Daniel T. Rodgers, Atlantic..., op.cit.
²² All those journeys were carefully prepared, and reported, in order to cover a theme, or a special area, and to build a coherent body of informations on European municipal life.
of all levels, to connect with the relevant officials society, to meet the officials and the elect (and even the president of the USA if possible), to visit interesting demonstrations, new schemes or projects. Second, they were also to be shown the great activity of the Chicago societies in their headquarters, and gain some "educational benefit" from seeing how work was organized at 850 then 1313.

But this was only one side of the "Foreign program" of the Spelman Fund. A second and more ambitious chapter was opened at the turn of 1932-1933, after a summer that saw big Spelman-Chicago delegations roaming through Europe. Two perspectives were then opened. The first was to organize a regular and constant exchange of informations between the USA and the rest of the world, especially Europe. The second was to support, financially, some european or international "outposts", strategic points from where it would be later possible to withdraw without loss or upon which further investment could be made. The British Institute for Public Administration and the Union Internationale des Villes were mentioned as possible undertakings in this direction. Though, the tactics for developing this foreign program were still uncertain. The experience of the Rockefeller Foundation in Europe had shown how difficult it was to develop a European program. It was all the more true that the european situation reached a higher degree of tension in january 1933 when Hitler took the reins of Germany. The key-persons of the Spelman-Chicago galaxy were especially aware of that, and handled the matter with great skill. This tactical sense was shown when they made their first real move on the international scene in 1933. Opportunity took shape at the Congress of the International Institute of Administrative Sciences in Vienna. There, Guy Moffett and Leonard White took full profit of a proposal made by Zoltan Magyary, a Budapest School of Law professor, who proposed to organize international research and cooperation in the field of public administration. The International Institute was another "partner" that had been identified by the Spelman-Chicago in the field of public administration. This European proposal, that was approved by the International Institute of Administrative Sciences Congress, would be the wooden horse of the Spelman-Chicago

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23 See Rodgers, Atlantic…, op.cit.p464-468
24 "It would appear to be highly advantageous if, in the near future, information centers abroad were to be tied in with this Chicago center in order that European experience might be fully utilized", wrote Guy Moffett in a november 1932 docket presented to the Board of Trustees. "Docket november 11, 1932", p. 6.,folder 25, box 3, Spelman Fund of New York Archives, RAC.
25 The British outfit because of the high respect to english civil service and in order to take advantage of the common language and outlooks, the IULA as a channel towards national organizations all over Europe.
26 Magyary was familiar with the American Foundations since the 1920s. The original focus of his proposal was on scientific organization of administrative work (see his "L'organisation scientifique du travail dans l'administration publique", Revue Internationale des Sciences Administratives, mars 1933)
foreign program. Seizing the Magyary proposal, Guy Moffett and Louis Brownlow would launch a series of action which aimed at the long term building sort of european PACH, that they soon called the "Brussels center", built on the Belgian nucleus provided by the IULA and the International Institute of Administrative Sciences.

The practical aim was quite simple : to gather in Brussels, in common headquarters, the european and/or international societies dealing with public administration techniques, and to channel them towards a program focused on research and clearance of information. The tactics to reach this aim was double.

First, the American party organized the drive to cooperation between the international organisations, beginning with IULA and IIAS. That meant financing meetings, but also sending a special deputy in Europe whose work it was to put the Europeans in a "cooperative frame of mind", beginning with the two executives of the IIAS and IULA, Edmond Lesoir and Emile Vinck. Rowland Egger, who was teaching political science at University of Virginia, was selected for this task he often referred to as "educational" and "manipulative" in his letters and memos to Louis Bronlow and Guy Moffett. He left for Brussels in may 1935, came back in the USA in may 1936, and stayed for another 2 months the summer of 1937. Thanks to the money of the Spelman Fund 27, Egger visited all the municipal groups of Europe, and relentlessly pushed Vinck and Lesoir in the way of cooperation 28. This was supported by some preliminary contacts, such as the ones led by the NYU political scientist the Spelman Fund had charged to write a survey of public administration in Scandinavia 29. This was also shouldered by the invitations to European leaders to visit the USA at the expense of the Spelman Fund agreedment by long talks with the 1313 boys to insist on the benefits of international cooperation. The journeys of Gibbon, Hill, Larsson, Vinck and Didisheim 30 take their full meaning in the context of the extension of the foreign program. Egger was finally successful on many points, though he met a major failure when the scandinavian municipal societies, that he had done his best to lure in, finally refused to join the IULA in 1936. But the IIAS and IULA merged their secretariats in early 1937, and moved in new headquarters in the

27 A 15 000 $ grant for the "joint comittee on " was given to PACH at the Executive Committee of the Spelman Fund in may 1935. The joint committee had been formed after the first "Round table on the international exchange of information and organization of research in public administration", held in Paris in september 1934 at the invitation of PACH. Louis Brownlow was the Commitee president, and Rowland Egger its secretary.

28 This also meant, as mentioned by Egger in the diary he regularly sent to Brownlow and Moffett, numerous invitation to Vinck and Lesoir for dinner in the best restaurants of Brussels, and "constant and insidious pressure" on his part.

29 Dr Roy Peel , trained in Public Administration at U of California, was assigned this report. His Spelman Fund grant for a 2 years research In Scandinavia was managed by Luther Gulick's National Institute of Public Administration.
brand new Shell office building. They were joined in early 1938 by the International Federation for Housing and Town Planning, just after the latter had merged with the International Housing Association in 1937, a move in which Rowland Egger and all the 1313ers took part. Contacts had also been taken with other organizations.

Second, the 1313-Spelman group got involved in the life and work of the international organisations they had identified, beginning with IULA. Getting involved meant, according to the words of the Spelman executive, "be in position to contribute in shaping the future program of the Union". This was possible only if the American group was placed on equality with the other affiliated of the Union, thus being entitled to have members at the controlling board. This meant rising the US contribution. But the Spelman Fund was there again, and began in 1935 to provide a yearly 3000 $ grant in order to match the maximum possible subscription at IULA. This was definitely not that much in the budget of the Fund, but this meant a lot to the Union. Until 1939, the US groups contribution accounted for ¼ to 1/3 of the Union subscriptions and between 1/6 and 1/7 of its total incomes. The US subscription was by far the largest one, and the rise of the American due was a give and take process. It was made clear that part of this money was to be used to create a Union periodical in the english language. This was to be Local Government Administration, edited under the direction of the British group of the Union. This gave a lot of weight to the voice of the US members of the Board, Louis Brownlow, Clifford Ham and Daniel Hoan. But the counterpart of the US subscription was prominently an increased influence on the work of the Union. The direction in which this influence was exerted was clear: the Union was to be made more effective in his work, its purposes had to focus on techniques, machineries and organization, it had to pay service to its constituency and it should endeavour to attract new members. Also, the Union was to take place in a larger scheme for international research and clearance of information (the joint secretariat mentioned above). All these aims were reached.

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30 René Didisheim was the secretary of the IIAS, and got very close from Egger during his stay in Brussels. He was the youngblood in the organizations, and ran the joint secretariat after it had been established. He was also considered as a possible successor to Vinck by Guy Moffett and Louis Brownlow.
31 The American Society of Planning Officials was a member of the IF.
32 Since 1934, contacts had been taken with the International Institute of Statistics, the International Union for scientific investigation on Population Problems, the International Federation of Officers and Employees of the Public Service, the Association Internationale des Congrès de la Route. At the 1937 Paris Congress, offers were also made to others 'technical' societies to join the Brussels center. Only the Association Générale des Hygiénistes et Techniciens Municipaux reacted favourably.
33 "Dockets february 4 1935", p.10, folder 31, box 4, series 1, Spelman Fund of New York Archives, RAC.
34 Until 1934, the American Municipal Association was making some 150 $ a year contribution to the Union. An American Committee for the IULA, that gathered almost exclusively the 1313 municipal orientated societies, was created in september 1933, and contributed to a higher due of some 300 $ in order to show the good will of the american party.
35 Between november 1934 and november 1935, the Spelman Fund of New York appropriated 769 000 $ in the field of public administration.
quite satisfactorily, according to the 1313-Spelman leaders. It does not mean that they were totally satisfied with the evolution of things in Brussels. Egger or Moffet often expressed their discouragement about the slow change, and had no clear idea of "what to do" with the Brussels center in the long run, but they thought that a lot had been done considering the context. When you linger on the history of the Union, major changes took place in the 1930s. It is important that not only the sections of congresses and conferences became more and more technical, but that the culture of the organization was modified. The formal conferences tended to lose ground in front of the new "round table" proceedings, intriduced by PACH in the international cooperation project. The round-tables got together Union members and technical experts from the outside, and were intended to provide room for discussion instead of report reading. Also, the periodicals published by the Union were reshaped: *Local Government administration*, published in Brussels from the winter of 1939 with the help of an American collaborator, turned to special theme issues to offer a more practical service to its subscribers, and stopped to be a narrative of the British accomplishments in municipal government. These changes were also noticeable in the other organizations at the Brussels center: the Joint secretariat published the *Tablettes documentaires à l'usage des administrations publiques*, a newsletter on public administration, and the IF began its *Planning newsletter*, both explicitely on schemes inspired by what was done at 1313. But the changes in the Union were also more subtle, though never anecdoctical. Thus, one of the aims of Rowland Egger in 1937 was to introduce the electric typewriter in the Union headquarters, and to get rid of the wooden desks "*with the holes in the middle*" for modern steel furniture. This was not only about physical appearance: Egger made it clear that this was part of his strain to change the culture of the Union, to persuade the Brussels people that "*the tecnological processes to which they have adhered ought to be radically altered*".

Changing the furniture, or going in new modern headquarters, went alongside with asking for better financial control and accounting systems, requiring annual programs and reports or urging Vinck to visit national unions to stir up energies. This thrive to create a new

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36 The mayor of Milwaukee was also the chairman of the US conference of Mayors.
38 Donald Tweedy, a former political science student of Samuel May at the University of California. Samuel May was the Director of the Bureau of Public Administration at U.C, and was familiar with the work of IULA since the 1920s. He was a member of the American Committee for IULA.
39 Memorandum by Rowland Egger to Guy Moffett, september 7 1937, folder 245, box 6, subseries 1, series 4, Spelman Fund of New York Archives, RAC.
40 "I put a lot of pressure for complete modernity", added Egger ( Rowland Egger to Guy Moffett november 11 1936, copy of a letter to Leonard White, folder 748, box 1, subseries 2, series 4, Spelman Fund of New York Archives, RAC)
organizational culture was sometimes felt as hopeless, but it was a major endeavour of the action of Americans in Europe in the 1930s.

It must be stressed that this involvement in the European-based international municipal societies was not isolated. In 1933, at the very same time the Fund began to pay interest to Europe, it also considered other areas. Outside of the Canadian survey in government that was thought of, the executive of the Fund also got in touch with the Pan American Union about its municipal work, and conceived the idea of a Latin American municipal clearing center. There again, this was left aside for better times. The Fund turned towards Europe, and the interest towards Latin America was just mentioned episodically in the executive committee meetings. Things changed in 1937 when the American Municipal Association, a component of the Chicago center, was asked by the US Department of State and by the Pan-American Union, to be the American partner of the 1st Pan-American Congress of Municipalities, to be held in Havana in 1938. Though some house analysts were quite suspicious about the possibility to work with Cubans, as far as the hectic political situation of the island was concerned, a double opportunity was to shed new light on the forthcoming congress. First, there was the death of its organizing Chairman Ruy Lugo-Vina, killed in a plane crash in the end of 1937 while he was touring Latin America to rally participation to his Conference. Clifford Ham, Rowland Egger and Guy Moffett subsequently considered that there was an opportunity to use the Pan-American Congress to complete the international work of the Spelman Fund of New York, by using the Conference to create a permanent organization that could work hand in hand with Chicago and Brussels to clear municipal information at the world level. Following a trip by those three in February 1938, the Conference was postponed until November 1938, and special deputies from Chicago were sent in Havana, under PACH subsidies, to organize the conference, in the midst of the very complicated Cuban political

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41 See the despaired comments by Guy Moffett about the IIAS conference in Bucharest in 1938, concluding that the Brussels people don't know how to organize a conference, and that his and other 1313ers efforts to teach them were useless. Guy Moffett to Carol Moffett, undated, Spelman Fund folder #1, box 6, Papers of Guy Moffett (MSS 9768), Special Collections Department, University of Virginia Library (then UVA).
42 Guy Moffett memo, October 1933, folder 812, box 5, series 5, Spelman Fund of New York Archives, RAC.
43 Rowland Egger to Guy Moffett, October 5 1937, folder 781, box 3, series 5, Spelman Fund of New York Archives, RAC.
44 Ruy Lugo Vina was a very important figure of international intermunicipal cooperation. Apart from his Cuban and Pan-American work, he was also the working engine behind the Cuban proposal of intermunicipalism presented to the League of Nations in 1925.
scene. After a Pan-American Commission on Intermunicipal Cooperation has been created by the conference, it was again thanks to the increased Spelman support, shouldering the Cuban government subsidy, that this Commission, chaired by the mayor of Havana but powered by Louis Brownlow, held its meetings, maintained headquarters in Havana, organized the next Congress (Santiago Del Chile in 1941), and began to publish the *Pan-American Municipal review* in several languages. This increased support by the Spelman Fund was decided on the basis of a second opportunity. Early 1939 was the moment when the Federal diplomacy began to develop programs designed to build new cultural and economical links in the Americas, in order to counteract the totalitarian influences in Latin America. As witnessed by the minutes of the Spelman Boards and Guy Moffett's memoes, the Fund acted as a para-diplomatic agency in the field of municipal cooperation, acting "on behalf" of the department of State. Thus, it gave its share to the task that Charles Merriam labelled as keeping totalitarian states and doctrines "beyond the two oceans," in a way that was coherent with the mission of the Spelman Fund. After all, the aim of improving administrative techniques was to preserve and improve democracy as it was working in the USA. The cooperation became even closer after 1940 and the creation by Roosevelt of a position of Coordinator in Inter-American Affairs. Indeed, the Coordinator began to directly support the Pan-American Commission on Intermunicipal Cooperation from 1944.

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45 This was the task of Rowland Egger, and then of John J. Kennedy, who spent several months in Havana. Their correspondence is a monument to understand the skills involved in preparing an international conference. Poor Kennedy once confessed "I don't know what to do. This whole business is a sort of labyrinth from which one never seems to emerge. It is clear enough by this time that the Pan American Intermunicipal Cooperation will never amount to a damn until the Commission meets and takes it entirely out of Cuban politics", JJ Kennedy to Louis Brownlow, October 14 1939, folder 782, box 3, series 5, Spelman Fund of New York Archives, RAC.

46 Some of them took place at 1313 in order to give the members the "best example of clearance in public administration" (agenda February 1 1939, folder 43, box 6, series 1, Spelman Fund of New York Archives, RAC).

47 The Latin American move was completed in other fields. The International Federation of Housing and Town Planning organized its conference in Mexico-City in 1938, and the ASPO was instrumental in including national planning on the agenda. Moffett and Merriam attended the conference. Coincidentally, PACH and the Spelman were financing a report by Sir Henry Bunbury on national planning in Europe, while Merriam and Brownlow were involved in the National Planning Board and the National Resources Committee set up by Roosevelt. The Mexican experience was clearly an attempt to complete and disseminate the reflection on national planning in which the Fund and the Chicago center were contributors.

48 Some of the meeting between Guy Moffett and several Division chiefs at the Department of State in March 1939, folder 771, box 2, series 4, Spelman Fund of New York Archives, RAC. Subsequently, JJ Kennedy was hired by the Department of State. Cooperation with the Federal diplomacy on the European scene was at play since 1933. The Department of State warmly supported 1313 contribution to the establishment, or preservation, of a peaceful sphere of relations between countries in the technical field of administration. On the role of the Rockefeller Foundation as 'semi-official' US department of international cultural affairs, especially in Latin America where the action of the Foundation was appreciated, and the US diplomatic patronage suspected, see Ninkovich Frank A., *The diplomacy of ideas: US foreign policy and cultural relations 1938-1950*, NY: Cambridge University press, 1981 and Malcom L. Richardson "The humanities and international understanding: some reflections on the experience of the Rockefeller Foundation", in Kathleen McCarthy, *Philanthropy and Culture: the International Foundation perspective*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984.

49 Docket may 12 1939, folder 44, box 4, series 1, Spelman Fund of New York Archives, RAC.
after having helped to the expanses of the American delegation to the Santiago conference in 1941. No doubt this close cooperation was helped by the fact that Nelson Rockefeller was the first holder of the position, and also its inventor together with Spelman trustee Beardsley Ruml. The relevance of this Latin-American episode is important for two reasons: first for what it confirms a sort of "diplomatic turn" in the Spelman-Chicago achievements, and second because it embodies a significantly different conception of international clearance in the field of municipal administration. Of course, as argued in many Spelman Board meetings, the purpose is still said to be to import in the USA possible Latin American innovations in public administration. But the concern that was expressed in the several correspondences was also that "aid" was to be given to the Latin Americans in the field, not only by disseminating the good world as formulated in Chicago, not only by showing Latin American municipal leaders how the 1313 center was efficient, but also by having young Latin Americans come to train for several months in Chicago, or by thinking about providing surveys and installments to Latin American municipalities. Thus, the ways in which international interchange was conceived was beginning to change: the clearance of information and the importation of expertise was not only to benefit the USA, but the USA themselves had to export their savoir-faire. This conviction, progressively built through the relationship with the European partners in the 1930s, was solidified in the Latin American experiment. It was to come to full fruition from the mid-1940s onwards, when the war and the victory made it a duty in the eyes of the Chicago fellows to teach good government to the world.

III. "An expanded program in Public Administration" 1940-1960

By force, the international action of the Spelman-1313 nucleus was downplayed by the Second World War. The Brussels Center was closed, its leaders disbanded, and some of its documents taken away by the Nazis. The activity of the Spelman Fund and of the 1313 groups, though concentrated on domestic affairs, nevertheless kept an international dimension, especially though the strong connexion that was maintained with Great-Britain to exchange informations about the innovations in warfare public administration. Though, the "urban" sides of this international activity was focussing on organizing Pan-American municipalities. But important things were in the making.

50 See the correspondence between Moffett and Nelson Rockefeller, box 4, Papers of Guy Moffett (MSS 9768), Special Collections Department, UVA.
First, the 1313-Spelman boys were thinking hard about the ways and means to organize a new world order. A lot of them were involved in all the brain-storming that was to give birth to the new international organizations: their concern for integrating public administration had now a new level, the international one, in the hope that it would be possible to build a more efficient system than the League of Nations. Rowland Egger, since 1941, had began to work on a memo on the administration of international organizations, under a grant given by Phil Jessup, and published his *The administration of International Organizations* under the label of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Donald Stone was a member of many US delegations to UN or UNESCO between 1945 and 1948, and he also worked on questions linked to FAO, United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration and gave time to push the UNESCO program in the direction of public administration. Herbert Emmerich was adviser for the US delegation sent to London in 1946 to draft the UNESCO charter. From 1944, he and Brownlow had been frequently consulted a propos UNRRA or the making of international organization. Same people can be found again at the very early stages of UN, UNESCO and other supranational organizations. Rowland Egger was vice-president of the Administrative Tribunal of the UN and advisor on Public administration for the same body, Guy Moffett assisted Harold Smith in managing the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development for several months in 1946, Donald Stone worked in the AID program, Charles Ascher was assistant in charge of the program under the first UNESCO director Julian Huxley, while Louis Brownlow and Herbert Emerich were still all-around consultants for the new UN agencies. This was but the top of the iceberg as many other ex-1313ers were then employed in the new international field, in the Federal government as well as in the international bodies. This was also just the beginning of a long term cooperation, that would come to an end in the late 1960s. Together, and though their ways, means, supports are still to be studied, they were instrumental in putting public administration, housing, planning and municipal government on the agenda of the new international institutions.

Meanwhile, the same people were also thinking about the future of their international links in the municipal field. Good news arrived from Europe in 1944-45. Senator Vinck, in Brussels, was still alive and ready to raise IULA from the ashes. The library and archives of

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52 Coming from the Bureau of Governamental Research in Cincinnati and the Institute of Public Administration, Stone was the director of the Research Committee of ICMA from 1930, and became Director of Public Administration Service, the "applied research agency" of 1313, in 1933. He joined the Executive Office of FDR in 1938
the International Federation of Housing and Town Planning were safe in Stuttgart and the help of an ex-1313er now in the US Army helped to bring them back in Brussels. As soon as it was possible to travel between the USA and Europe, Rowland Egger and Herbert Emmerich went to Brussels and London to cheer up the old crowd and reestablish links, though some wartime correspondence had existed. They did not go with empty hands. Even before contact was renewed with the continental members of the IULA or the IFHTP, discussions had developed between the Americans and the British about the future of the Union Internationale des Villes, and amongst the Americans as to the future of the International Federation. 1313ers were quite unanimous on the fact that the societies were to be reorganized and put on a more effective basis that would allow them to collaborate with the UN agencies. This was to be the thrust of their action in the coming years. Their basic statement was simple: to reconstruct a devastated Europe and to support the development of the rest of the world, as prosperity was the only guarantee for peace, the local scale was vital both as a democratic cell and as the place wherefrom basic community services were provided. Better government, better houses, long term urban planning were required, and the international agencies which had to support this task would need information, evaluation, know-how and support all over the globe. International societies such as the IULA or the IF were able, if correctly run, to provide for all.

It was in this spirit that the 1313ers began to reconstruct the Urban Internationale after 1945. The flow of visits, staff members, trainees, letters and money began again in the direction of Europe. In five years, while the support of the Spelman Fund of New York was progressively extinguishing, they altered radically the old order they had begun to challenge in the 1930s. The most significant changes took place in four dimensions, under the leadership of Walter Blucher, executive director of ASPO (the American partner of the IF), Herbert Emmerich (director of PACH and chairman of the American Committee for the International Union of Local Authorities) and Charles Ascher, who was the ubiquitous US delegate in the two societies and their representative at the Economic and Social Council – ECOSOC – of the UN.\textsuperscript{54}

\textsuperscript{53} This was especially true with Herbert Emmerich, senior consultant in Public Administration near the Department of Economic and Social Affairs of the UN between 1957 and 1963. Or with Charles Ascher who was the deputy of many “urban-oriented” international societies at the UN NGOs Conference and at ECOSOC.

\textsuperscript{54} What happened in the field of housing, planning and municipal government echoes the changes the same band of people impulsed in the wider field of public administration. Charles Ascher, the restless go-between for 1313, was connected with more or less all the organizations, schools or boards of the field. He acted as a conductor for relations between international organizations and CIAM, The International Committee for Public management, the International Union of Architects, the International Institute for Educational Planning, the Sociedad Interamericana de Planificacion, the International Institute of Administrative Sciences, the Escuela Superior de Administracion Publica, the International Federation of Surveyors and many others.
-Status changes. Of course, the two societies kept their status as voluntary societies. But, more and more, they acted as Non Governmental Organizations. This not only implied that they received the according label, both being received as consulting partners for ECOSOC and for UNESCO in 1947 and 1948. This meant that they did not conceive themselves only as offering services to their members, but to the wider community. This meant they were not only living for their conferences and publications, but developed a strong research activity in connection with national governments or, more frequently, with international organizations. Indeed, the working relations between the international organizations and the international societies just went on growing after the first contract signed in August 1947 between UNESCO and the Brussels Center on the "Needs and resources in international exchange of personnel in public administration", that brought 2500 $ to the organizations. Housing and planning were put on the agenda of ECOSOC in 1951, technical assistance in the field of local administration was a specific steady concern of UN Department of Public Administration since its creation in 1950, and UNESCO was keen on organizing exchanges of administrators at all levels. These research contracts developed in the 1950s, and it is important to underline that the research manpower used for their realisations was largely supported by Fulbright and other US fellowships. These changes, often supported by the European partners, especially in the case of the Union Internationale des Villes, were pushed hard by the 1313 boys. As Ascher relentlessly said to his European partners, time was no more to gather individuals of good will, but to build international ONGs based on strong national sections, living on their fees and on the income that their professional expertise could generate through contracts with international bodies and national governments. It is quite striking that, more or less, this was the type of status that the US Foundations had promoted on the domestic scene, and especially at 1313. This new role of the societies was to develop in the 1960s and 1970s, as the IF and IULA were called by the UN, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and other international institutions to provide expertise and know-how in many occasions.

- Organizationnal changes. It would take time to detail the small changes that took place, and I only want to highlight a few of them. The most obvious was the change of leaders

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55 See box 24, folder "UN Department of Public Administration History and Administration", Papers of Herbert Emmerich (RG21.38), University Archives, Special Collections Department, UVA Library
56 See Ascher to Emmerich, July 2 1957, box 3, Spelman Fund of New York Archives, RAC. Many 1313ers were members of the US Fulbright grants commissions, according to the non-published history of PACH by Ruth Grodzkins in 1956 (kept in box 4, Papers of Guy Moffett (MSS 9768), Special Collections Department, UVA Library).
57 Several letters he wrote to Van der Veijde, the executive secretary of the IF, illustrate this continual pressure towards the ONG model. Cornell University, Kroch Library, ASPO, box 39.
and of headquarters. Though, in 1945, the first concern of the Americans was to reconstitute the Brussels Center, especially to answer the British attempt to keep the IF back in London from where they had revived it in 1944, the two societies soon migrated towards the Netherlands. The Union Internationale was the first to make the move to The Hague, decided in 1948. The IF followed the same year, leaving to Amsterdam in 1949 before joining the IULA in common headquarters in 1953. This change paralleled a change of leaders. Moving to The Hague, for the IULA, meant that the general director Vinck and the President Harris waved goodbye after decades of leadership. The old guard of the IF was longer to surrender, and Sir Georges Pepler left the presidency in 1953, though his wife had abandoned the secretariat since 1949. In both cases, the direction of the societies went to younger Dutch individuals. They had long supported the US plead for more efficiency and more effective action, and that can account for the support the American gave to the move \(^{58}\). The Dutch had also something to put in the balance, as the Union Internationale des Villes was to be hosted by the Dutch Union of Cities and assisted by its large staff. Current leadership was too old (Vinck-Harris at the IULA) either or hostile to the change of status and role of the organization (the Peplers at IF). This was in full continuity with what Guy Moffett and Louis Brownlow had tried to do in the 1930s without success: bringing new blood into the international societies to put them to work. This move, that sent the societies to the Hague where they still are today, was paralleled by other organizationnal changes. At the IULA, and according to the proposals of the Hill report, the society was organized on a regional basis, with centers (Americas, Europe, Asia...) that were to organize research and had the opportunity to convene their own conferences between two world congresses. The IF was soon to use this scheme. The two societies also changed the way they used to organize the work in conferences, and promoted the work in special committees dedicated to one theme (such as urban renewal or housing for the IF), according to a trend that touched many other international societies connected to the international bodies, such as the International Union of Architects. The general drive was to more specialization and continuity in the research work, as attested also by the changing agendas of the societies, though this would need to be supported by a deeper study of their daily work. It does seem nevertheless that the societies cooperated more and more with national governments and international bodies in general (non only UN and agencies, but also regional organizations such as the EU or others), that they

\(^{58}\) Walter Blucher, ASPO executive director, was first a bit reluctant as far as the IF was concerned, fearing it might turn into a "Dutch" organization. Cornell University, Kroch Library, ASPO papers, Blucher to Hirsch, march 2 1948, box 39.
developed training activities and created a whole network of associated specialized organizations.

- **Changing geographies.** Until the Second World War, both societies were mainly European in their membership, their concerns and the location of the conference venues. Apart from the American societies and individuals, the non-European members were marginal or linked to the colonial empires of France, Britain or Belgium. After the Second World War, and until the 1970s, non-Western membership developed quickly. South-American, African and Asian members were enrolled, national societies were created in African and Asian countries, regional conferences were organised and specific programs set up for developing countries. Though the changes in the political situation were essential to this change (with the wave of independence in the colonized world), the link with the international bodies was the factor that pushed the societies towards this new world. As Charles Ascher, again, put it at the Vienna Congress of IULALA in 1953, "Si nous aspirons au droit d’être consulté par les Nations-Unies, il nous faut faire en sorte que les autorités locales soient représentées dans le monde entier". The American partners in IULA and IFHTP relentlessly pushed in this direction, as they had done since their involvement in the 1930s.

- **Chicago, magnet of the world.** The circulation inside the Urban Internationale in the 1930's had been bilateral, between the US and Europe. Then, mostly American partners crossed the Atlantic to scour Europe for "innovations" in municipal government, even if European partners were also invited to discover the magic world of 1313. The use of the visit to Chicago as a way to stimulate improvements in municipal government was systematized in the relation with Latin America beginning in the late 1930s. The 1313 tour was then a must in the activities of the training programs that took Latin Americans to the Maxwell School in Syracuse or as interns of the Bureau of Budget in Washington. The end of the war signified a boom in the number of foreign visitors. In 1946, there came the deputy mayor of Warsaw with other Polish officials, in search of information about reconstruction, a group of French planners, a member of the Slum Clearance Board of Copenhagen. In 1950, The High Commissioner in Occupied Germany made a contract with PACH to guide three groups of...
Germans in the USA. 194 individuals from 32 countries visited 1313 in 1952, and this number kept on growing until a special position was created to handle them. The levels of government concerned by these visits were multiple, but municipal government and urban issues were major concerns. Also, projects addressing the municipal scene outside the USA were growingly organized from 1313. Apart the continuing investment in the Inter-American Municipal Organization, one can quote here the renewed support to the Tokyo Self-Government Institute/Institute for Municipal Research (an institution created in 1922 by Charles Beard on behalf of the NY Bureau). PACH received several grants from the Rockefeller Foundation to replenish the library of the Japanese outfit, or to send a qualified consultant to Japan for several months. The different societies of 1313 also had their own international operations and programs, especially the municipal ones. This attraction was paralleled by a growing self-confidence that the days had come where the 1313 agencies had more to teach the world, including Europe, than the other way round.

This influence of the American partners in the field of international urban issues was made possible by general trends affecting the world. Definitely, the fact that the USA had won the war, and that they were the only ones in position to support development and reconstruction, amidst a concert of laude for their governmental system, was at the basis of the solid position that was held by American parties in the Urban Internationale. But that favorable situation needed a logistic to be exploited. The 1313 center, thanks to the links it had built before and during the war, was able to provide the human and intellectual support of this growing prestige. Economic support was, then again, provided by the US Foundations. First, the 1313 societies lived on the terminal grants of the Spelman Fund of New York. This support came to an end in 1950. Then, some societies had been able to make a living from the services to their members (ASPO), or by extending their membership (AMA). PACH, who was at the heart of the international action of the 1313 center, had no such opportunities. As a "catalyzing" unit, it had no members and the services it provided could only account for

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60 PACH consultancy might have been used in occupied Japan or Germany in the "resurrection of democracy" program of the American authorities. The fact that Emile Vinck, director of IULA, was sent in mission in the US zone in 1947 might be an hint in this direction (see Vinck's memo, undated folder "International Public administration 1942-1948", box 3, Papers of Guy Moffett (MSS 9768), Special Collections Department, UVA Library.

61 Meantime, other US Foundation-supported institutions also developed their international action in the field of municipal government, beginning with the Institute of Public Administration. The IPA made a survey in the 1950s to establish a water supply agency for Calcutta, provided Dominican Republic with technical assistance on local government in 1964-67, supported the Calcutta's metropolitan planning organization in 1962-67 (Calcutta was also on the map of the Ford Foundation), made a survey for Bolivia on improving local government in 1970-77...
part of its operating expenses. Moreover, the international bend Herbert Emmerich had given to the outfit also meant he neglected a bit the domestic side, where "the money, the interest and the support were". Accordingly, PACH had been looking for new financial support from 1945 onwards, and contacts had been made with the Russell Sage Foundation, the Kellogs Foundation or the Carnegie. High hopes had been even entertained by the reorganization of the Carnegie Corporation, that gave PACH a few grants to study the new duties of the Department of State in the aftermath of WW2, and the international organization that was to be set up to prevent such conflicts. But sake was to come from a newcomer, as mentioned above. The Ford Foundation was the funder behind the activity of PACH and in the early 1950s, thanks to two grants that were to support what was called "an expanded program to strengthen the administration of international organizations and national government". Some 1.3 million $ were provided to PACH until 1955 and accounted for most of its expenses. The funds were used in all the fields that were dealt by the expanded program, and part of it went to the municipal dimension of PACH's activities. The Union Intentionale des Villes, the Interamerican Municipal Organization and the International Federation of Housing and Town Planning received their share, as the money from PACH was used to pay the American subscriptions to these societies, as usual. But the money was also used to finance the visit of foreign municipal visitors, or to make American attendance to congresses or governing bodies of the organizations possible. Also, PACH directly supported the American secretariats of the three societies, and the work of Charles Ascher as a representative of the IULA and the IF near the UN. After 1955 and the expiration of the second grant by the Ford Foundation, it is quite sure that the Foundation continued its support to the international municipal activities set up by PACH, through specific contracts with the international societies themselves, with their US partners or with individuals. Individual contact had been made between Ylvisaker of the Ford and executive secretary Arkema of IULA in 1957, through the echannel of Ascher and Emmerich, and grants seem to have been made subsequently.

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62 The accounts of PACH were published with their annual reports.
64 The first appearance of the program is a memo to Rowan Gaither from Herbert Emmerich, included in a letter of May 11 1950, PA 50-6, Ford Foundation Archives.
65 The Ford Foundation supported a program by UN and IULA from 1961 to 1968. It allowed some 'municipal experts' from developing countries to acquire experience abroad during several months abroad. This program had been proposed by IULA to the Public administration division of the UN, where Emmerich was then senior consultant. Emmerich and Ascher forwarded Arkema to the Ford Foundation (Emmerich to Arkema, March 26 1961, box 17, folder "IULA The Hague 1960-1969", papers of Herbert Emmerich (RG21.38), University Archives, Special Collections Department, UVA ).
Thus, the Ford consolidated the work of international organization that had begun in the 1930's, placing the Urban International under discrete but efficient American patronage. It added the last stone to what could be called a 'Chicago consensus' on urban issues at the international scale, this consensus being circulated through the net of links created since the 1930s, and put in action thanks to the overlapping personal of the Ford, the Chicago organizations, the international societies and the international institutions. It needs more work to be able to say if the US involvement supported or engineered by the Big Foundations changed the way in which the city was imagined at the international scale, or rather created some new frame in which the city was imagined or managed. It seems that the Big Foundations heavily contributed to create a new international market for governmental consultancy, quite close in its operation from the one that had been created on the domestic scene in the 30s. A vital role in this development was the one played by 1313 leaders, when they cooperated with the Spelman and when they shaped the action of the Ford.

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