

1940-1943

vert. file "L"

LEAGUE OF NATIONS (WORLD WAR II)

Government Relations

Publications list.

Filed in Vertical File under "L" for League of Nations.

D, League of Nations

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Publications

1. Money and Banking. This is a regular annual League publication which was temporarily suspended after the war. I would hope to bring out a new edition in 1944.
2. Economic and Financial Committees' Report to the Council on the joint sessions I have just mentioned. In this report the Committees formally approve and make public the programme of work on which the Department has been engaged since its arrival in this country and, in addition, set out their views on certain essential problems of postwar reconstruction.
3. The Network of World Trade. This, on which the Department had been working for a couple of years, is a companion volume to Europe's Trade, published in 1941, and is essentially an analysis of the nature and functioning of the multilateral system of world trade.
4. Commercial Policy in the Inter-War Period. The first part of this study compares the commercial policies pursued in the inter-war period with the recommendations made at international meetings; the second part contains an analysis of the reasons for the frequent discrepancy between the proposals and policy and ends with a body of conclusions intended as a guide to those responsible for the formulation of commercial policy in the future.
5. Economic Fluctuations in the United States and the United Kingdom, 1918 - 1922, is intended to show that the problem of demobilisation and adjustment to peace conditions after the war was in fact the problem of boom and depression. Like

- all the other studies intended to help in the formulation of postwar policies, it contains a series of conclusions.
6. Wartime Rationing and Consumption. A topical pamphlet describing the rationing systems in force today and intended to be of use particularly to the persons dealing with problems of postwar relief.
 7. World Economic Survey 1941/42. The publication of this annual volume was resumed in 1941 as I mentioned in my letter of February 24th. The present volume brings the history up to the autumn of 1942.
 8. Prosperity and Depression by Prof. Gottfried Haberler. It was necessary to reprint this volume.
 9. Statistical Year-Book. Owing to difficulties of transport, we photo-printed the current edition of the Statistical Year-Book which was published in Geneva.

Work in hand

I propose to publish a number of other studies during the course of the present year, or, if they are not all completed in time, in 1944:

- a. Relief Deliveries and Relief Loans, 1919-1923. This has already been sent to the press and will, I hope, be published quite shortly.
- b. A study of the problems that are likely to be presented by the co-existence after the war of trade conducted by Governments or under Government control and trade under a free price system.

This document is also nearly completed.

- c. A study of the causes that have led to the imposition of quantitative restrictions on trade, with a view to ascertaining whether these causes are likely to recur and such restrictions to be revived or, insofar as they exist already, not to be removed.
- d. An analysis of proposals that have been put forward for dealing with the raw materials problem. This work is also in a fairly advanced stage.
- e. The volume on monetary experience about which I have already written. A good deal of work has been done on this and chapters are circulated in mimeographed form as completed; but I am a little doubtful whether it will be ready for publication during the course of the current year.
- f. An analysis of the recovery of European agriculture after the last war and the causes that delayed recovery. The real object of this study, which has already been circulated in mimeographed form, is to consider how far these causes - which in fact prevented agriculture from getting back to its prewar level until about 1925 or 1926 - are making themselves apparent again.
- g. This is really very important as, so long as production is seriously impeded and there is a lack of food in Europe, the tendency will be to abandon all ideas of improved nutrition and concentrate on the production of cereals.
- g. A study of Europe's imports of foodstuffs and raw materials in 1919/20, the manner in which these imports were financed and the effect of Europe's adverse balance of payments upon inflation. This study is really complementary to that on relief and is

intended to bring out the fact that the failure to deal with the whole relief plus reconstruction problem after the last war, contributed to a very considerable extent to the financial breakdown and the necessity later of issuing reconstruction loans.

This study is also in a fairly advanced stage; but I am likely to circulate it in mimeographed form to Governments before printing it. I am, in fact, being pressed for the information and feel that it will be necessary to furnish what I can before the material can be finally prepared for the press.

- h. I anticipate that two of the demographic studies, namely, those relating to population projections in Europe and to the status of European population will be completed and published in the course of this spring or early summer and I hope that, in the course of the year, at least one more section of this work will be completed. The State Department is, however, continually asking the Office of Population Research to prepare special memoranda for it so that the more exhaustive work it is doing for me is being delayed.

In addition to all this material which, as I have indicated, I hope ultimately to publish, a number of other studies are being conducted by the Department on the request of the Economic and Financial Committees. These embrace such questions as measures that might be adopted to prevent inflation in various countries in Europe as they are liberated; the effects of industrialization of

the less advanced States upon the trade of highly industrialized States; Government schemes for control of agricultural and other products, etc.

The Committees were anxious that the report of the Delegation on Economic Depressions should be completed and published as soon as proved practicable and, in fact the first part of this report, which deals with the problem of the transition from war economy to peace economy, has just been completed and circulated amongst the members of the Delegation. I do not know how soon it will prove possible to hold a meeting as some of the members are on this side of the Atlantic and some on the other.

At the moment of writing postal communications between this country and Geneva have been severed and the Acting Secretary-General has accordingly asked us to publish the Monthly Bulletin of Statistics in this country. We have just published the first number. This involves a considerable amount of additional work on the staff here; but, as I have already informed you, we had always foreseen that this change might be necessary and were, in consequence, able to bring out the first number with only two or three weeks' delay.

The publication of the Statistical Year-Book in Geneva had reached such an advanced stage that it will be completed there and I hope that means will be found for sending a copy over which we can photo-print. But it is, of course, quite probable that we shall have to make arrangements for preparing and publishing the next edition at Princeton. Again we have so organized our work as to render this possible, though it will, of course, necessitate an

increase in our staff on this side which, financially, will be compensated in part at any rate by a reduction in the staff at Geneva. The major difficulty will be presented by the fact that we shall have no standing type from which to print and will have to set up the whole volume in this country which will, I fear, prove an expensive undertaking.

The work of the Fiscal Committee continues to be mainly devoted to problems of special interest for the relations between countries of this hemisphere - prevention of double taxation; elimination of fiscal evasion; substitution of direct taxation for indirect taxation; fiscal coordination between national and local governments - and a great deal of work has been done on these questions and circulated to governments. But I hope to take up shortly the study of certain fiscal aspects of post-war problems such as those relating to public debt, the reorganization of tax systems and the adaptation of fiscal policies to general post-war economic policy.

PICTURE
SECTION

NEWARK SUNDAY CALL

Newark, N. J.,
June 1, 1941.

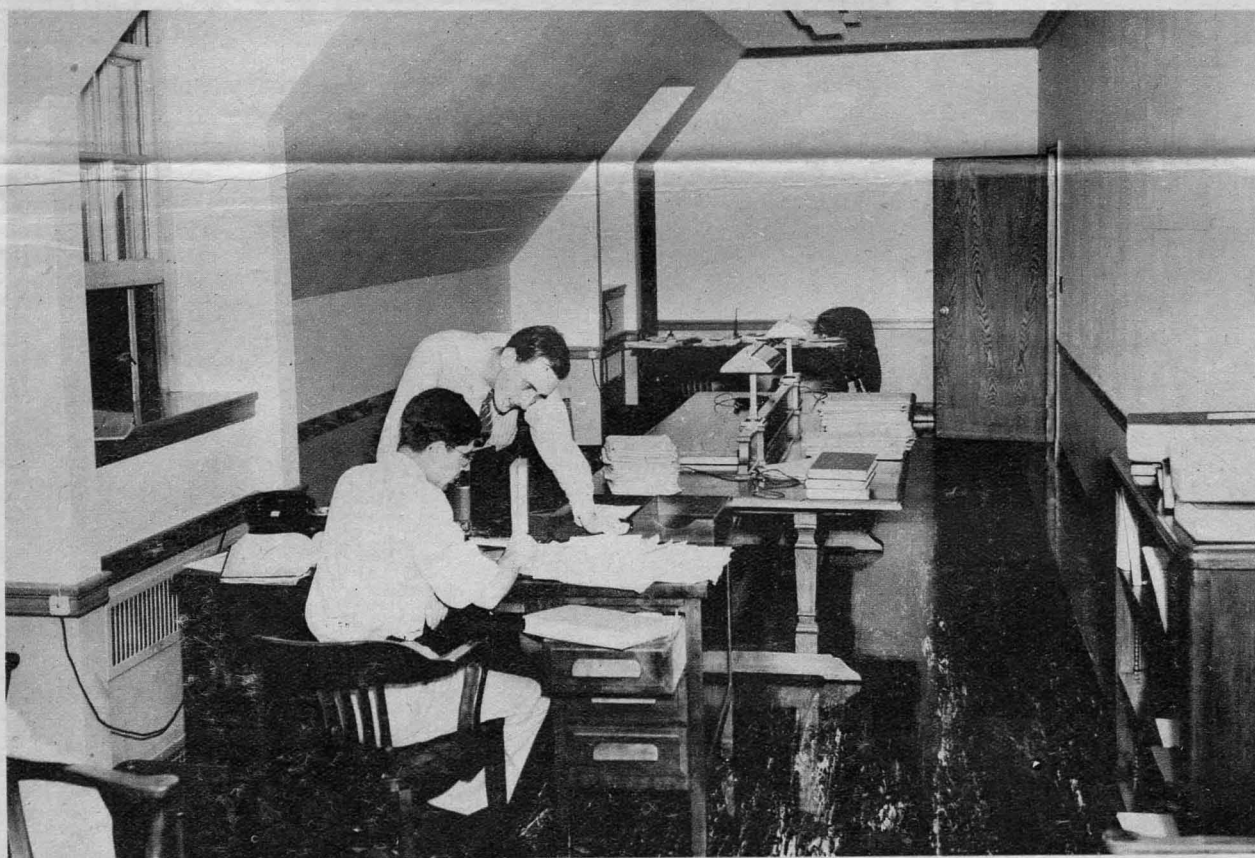


Staff conference of economic and financial department of League of Nations, in a room at the Institute for Advanced Study. This is the first picture taken of the department executives of the League at their work in Princeton. From left to right around the table are: Alexander Loveday of Great Britain, department director; Mrs. P. W. van Ittersum, Netherlands; P. Deperon, Belgium; J. J. Polak, Netherlands; R. Nurkse, Estonia; A. Rosenborg, Sweden; J. H. Chapman, New Zealand, and C. F. MacGuire, Eire.

Living Memorials to Wilson

With only a skeleton staff in its huge marble palace in Geneva, Switzerland and with its various bureaus scattered throughout the world, the League of Nations is continuing its labors for world peace, though its work at present consists chiefly in making surveys and publishing reports. About 30 men and women employed by the league are carrying on their chores as a branch of the league's economic and financial department, in "borrowed" quarters in the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton. There is a peculiar appropriateness in this, for Princeton is the community in which America's wartime President, Woodrow Wilson, was so long identified, and it was President Wilson who brought the League into being almost single-handed.

(Staff photos, H. C. Dorer.)



This "attic" room on the fourth floor of the institute will become the "library" of the League's department at Princeton as soon as bookshelves have been installed along the walls. About the only reminder of the League's spacious marble edifice at Geneva will be the special type sound-deadening linoleum.

Office staff of economic and financial department branch at work in temporary "library" of the League at the Institute for Advanced Study. Continued on Page 2.



LIVING MEMORIALS TO WILSON

(Continued from Page One)

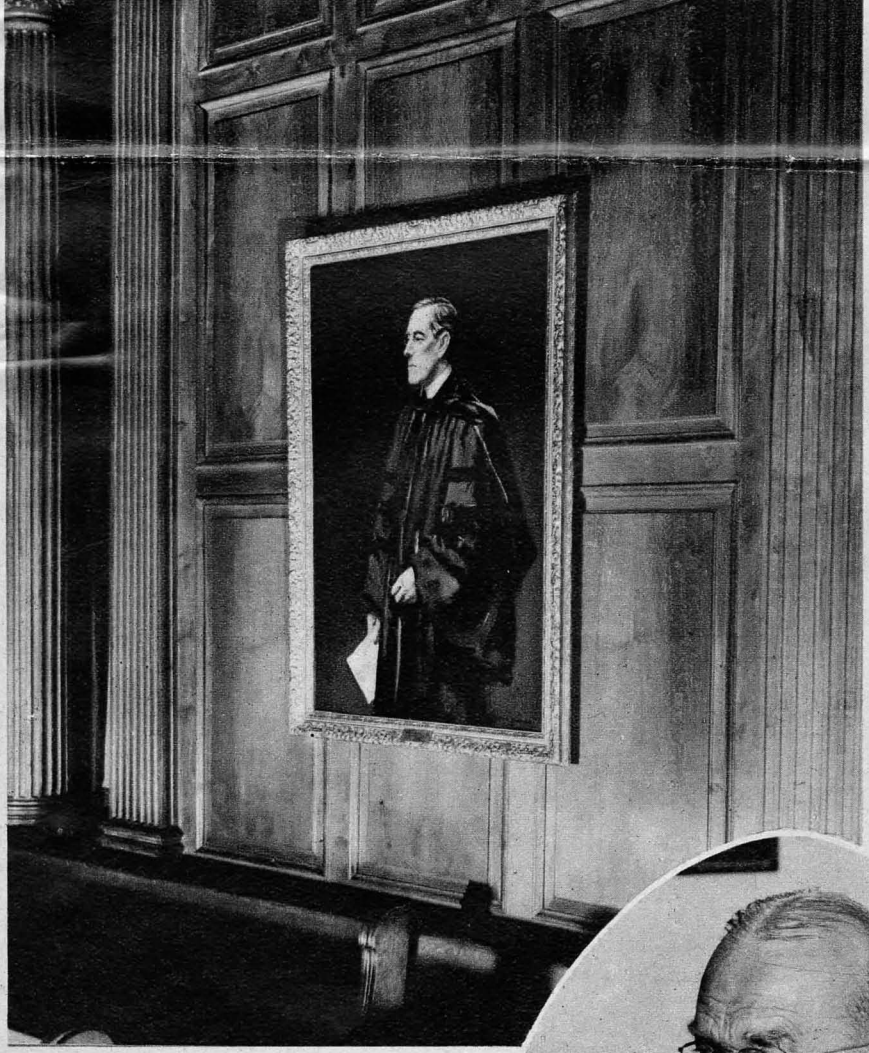
A casual visitor to Princeton will look in vain for any statue of Woodrow Wilson or building named for him, despite his important place in history as America's President during the World War and his long association before that with Old Nassau as a student in the class of 1879, later as a faculty member and finally as president of the university. But, in addition to the group from the League of Nations working temporarily at the Institute for Advanced Study, there are a few inconspicuous reminders in Princeton of Woodrow Wilson. They are shown on this page.



Room in Witherspoon Hall that Woodrow Wilson occupied for three years as a Princeton undergraduate. The furnishings are those of its present occupant, Dupont M. Copp of Norfolk, Va., '43, a student in the engineering department. There is no plaque to mark this as Wilson's old room.



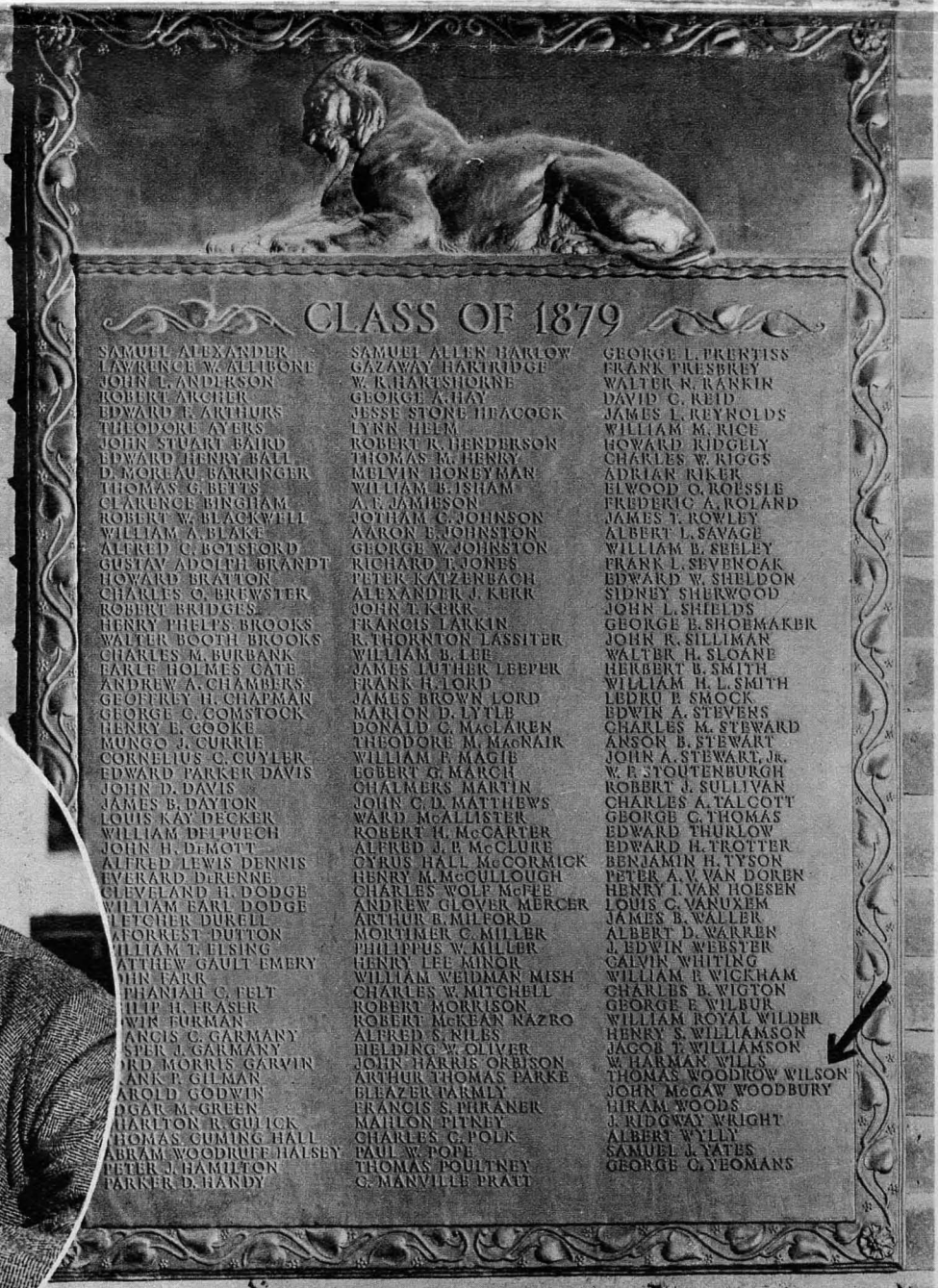
Bay window of room in '79 hall used by Wilson as his office while he was president of the university.



In the faculty room of Nassau Hall, most historic building at Old Nassau, hangs this oil painting of Wilson, along with the portraits of other former presidents of the university.



The university's own "living memorial" to Wilson is Dr. Robert Kilburn Root, scholar in Chaucerian and 18th century English, who, besides being dean of the faculty, holds the Woodrow Wilson Professorship of Literature founded in 1926 by Edward W. Bok "to commemorate Mr. Wilson's mastery of spoken and written English." Professor-emeritus George McLean Harper held this chair from its founding to 1932, and Dean Root was appointed to it a year later.



Woodrow Wilson's name to which arrow points (note the Thomas) on roster of his class in archway of '79 hall on the Washington street side of the campus.

1940-45

Vert file "L" for League of Nations

WORLD WAR II

Government Relations

SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS AND POLITICS

Academic Organization

Correspondence, pamphlets, etc. re League of Nations

Verticle File

A - league of nations

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED AT CONFERENCE IN PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY
DECEMBER 11 AND 12, 1943

A group of American citizens who have been officially associated in various capacities with nearly every branch of work of the League of Nations, meeting December 11-12 in Princeton, N. J. to consider studies which have been under way for several months to determine, first what contribution the League of Nations can best make to the postwar settlement, and secondly, what should be the attitude of the American people toward the League of Nations:

1. Welcomes the Moscow Declaration calling for a "general international organization."
2. Welcomes the subsequent Senate Resolution endorsing the Moscow Declaration as this endorsement promises to prevent a repetition of the deadlock which paralyzed United States Government action in 1919 and in subsequent years.
3. Urges the United States Government in cooperation with other governments at the first opportunity to take steps to implement the Moscow Declaration and the Senate Resolution for a general international organization.
4. Supports the action of the United States Government in initiating special United Nations Conferences on Food and Agriculture and on Relief and Rehabilitation which have resulted in the establishment of international organizations.
5. Expresses the hope that as other needs develop other conferences will follow as rapidly as possible on such specific questions as currency stabilization, aviation, shipping, etc.
6. Also welcomes the action of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Council in inviting the technical organizations of the League of Nations and the International Labor Organization to send representatives to participate in the Atlantic City Conference and in all other appropriate future work and conferences, thus developing effective coordination in the work of these international agencies. The group also notes with appreciation that the Interim Commission on Food and Agriculture has invited representatives of the technical organizations of the League of Nations to participate in the work of the Interim Commission whenever appropriate.

The group urges that the United States Government give particular attention to the following considerations:

1. Full recognition and support of League agencies continuing to function during the war, including particularly those on American soil, such as the Economic and Financial Mission at Princeton and the Drug Supervisory Body in Washington.
2. Adherence to the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice as recommended by every President and Secretary of State since the Court's creation in 1922.

The group also urges the appropriate authorities of the League of Nations and of the United Nations to give early consideration to the necessity of coordinating the international agencies developed after the first World War with those developing during the present war for the purpose of assuring continuity and of benefiting from the experience of nearly a quarter century of international work.

The group emphasizes the necessity of developing an effective system of collective security.

In implementing these resolutions the group urges that account be taken of the following principles arising from the twenty-year experience of the League of Nations in the period between wars:

A. As regards international organization and administration

1. That the nations of the world have reached the point where a cooperative organization is not only desirable but essential for a host of activities which have reached the international stage.
2. That that organization should be universal in character and built around one central authority as representative of the broad interests of the whole community of nations.
3. That that organization may have affiliated agencies organized either (a) on a regional basis, or (b) on a subject basis.
4. That any such affiliated agencies should be fully autonomous within their particular fields but should operate within the cooperative framework of the central organization, with proper allocation of funds, and documentation between themselves and the central organization.

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5. That independent or uncorrelated agencies tend to build up a separatist attitude which militates against the free cooperation which should exist between all agencies seeking peace and progress amongst nations.
 6. That, on the contrary, closely coordinated agencies can often pool their experience or facilities to the greatest advantage.
- B. As regards security, prevention of war, sanctions, peaceful settlement and disarmament
1. That problems of security and prevention of aggression have an urgency and compulsion which put them in a different category from other, more normal and more slow-moving international problems and thus offer the possibility of a different, or even separate method of treatment.
 2. That such problems depend primarily on the Great Powers and their willingness to take a positive position, and that, unless all the principal military powers agree on concerted measures, any really effective action in a major crisis is extremely difficult, if not impossible.
 3. That, contrary to a wide-spread view, the smaller powers also have great importance in this basic problem, whether as areas of conflict or as support for the principle of collective security and also for specific action.
 4. That the existence of a common agency of disinterested mediation can appreciably improve the chances of settlement of international disputes, as demonstrated in the Aaland Islands, Greek-Bulgar, Peru-Columbia and Paraguay-Bolivia conflicts.
 5. That such an agency, again contrary to common belief, is susceptible of very quick action and can be brought into operation in a few days' time, as in the Greek-Bulgar affair.
 6. That its effectiveness can be measured in very direct ratio to the degree of force known to be behind it.
 7. That, in the event of aggression, it is definitely possible, and indeed far easier than thought, to get a large number of nations to pass a verdict of guilty on the aggressor state, as in the case of Japan and Italy.
 8. That in the event of agreement of principle, it is technically possible and even not too difficult, to organize economic sanctions on a worldwide scale, as in the Italo-Ethiopian conflict.
 9. That the question whether or not such agreement will be reached is again primarily a question of the Great Powers, as demonstrated negatively in the Sino-Japanese affair.

-4-

10. That, if sanctions are initiated, they must be initiated in direct relation to the probable course of military events and become effective before the military goal is achieved, as was not the case in the Italo-Ethiopian conflict.
11. That lack of an effective system of collective security is the greatest single element underlying other causes of disunity between nations, notably heavy armaments and uneconomic tariff barriers.
12. That, conversely, armaments are the result rather than the cause of political insecurity and their reduction should be sought primarily through the removal of their causes rather than on a gun-for gun mathematical basis.
13. That once disarmament is agreed to, adequate measures of supervision and control can be set up to prevent abuse or violation of agreement.
14. That, if there is to be any hope of improving the world political situation by peaceful change recommended by the community of nations, there must be a change in the unanimity rule which made such action impossible in the 1919-1939 period.

COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY
League of Nations Association
8 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Alec:

(holiday)

The situation seems to be developing very well on this side if you wish to come over.....

Riefler phoned today from Princeton that he had quite on his own taken the matter up with Dr. Aydelotte, new President of the Institute, and Walter Stewart, new chairman of the Foundation Trustees. Both were enthusiastic and wanted to get under way at once. The former suggested approaching Lothian to recommend the transfer to his people; the latter at once phoned Fosdick, who is, incidentally, a graduate. Riefler urged me to come down to examine the facilities, at least tentatively, and to get in touch with his friends, IN CASE a favorable decision were taken abroad. I reemphasized to him that my inquiry had been of the utmost informal nature, that the question of principle could only be decided in Geneva, that I had no idea if it might work out, that we ought not to go any further beyond our immediate circle, etc., but that I would very gladly come down tomorrow just on the outside chance, to be prepared for any eventuality.

When going to the Foundation for lunch today with Willits, Fosdick came over to our table to tell of Stewart's telephone and to ask me for details. I explained the situation briefly to him, particularly the very informal and exploratory nature of my inquiry to Riefler, but took the occasion thus unexpectedly offered to ask his and Willits' view. Both of them were as enthusiastic as the two previously consulted and were plainly ready to do anything in their power to help if the decision fell out that way. They too stressed the GENERAL advantages, as well as the technical.

The Executive Committee is holding on next Friday, the 16th, its last meeting before the autumn. The agenda is out but Willits told me he would gladly add an item on this subject if it were decided to go through with it. He expressed the view that your section constitutes one of the two or three foremost centers of its work in the world and that it must at all costs be saved. The grant has been in suspense pending developments on the other side and there had seemed no reason to take it up this time, but if this situation developed, both he and Fosdick felt sure it would go through. I am wondering if we ought to press it anyway??? but perhaps I will hear in answer to my cable of today's date.

Meanwhile, following the publication of Miss Woolley's and the President's letters on the general subject, the former has called a preliminary meeting tomorrow night to decide what next step should be taken. This is a very small group, only Gerig, Eichelberger, Boudreau and myself to begin with. Obviously, if the project went through, the committee would be the ideal group to sponsor it....

Last night also, I met May, who told me he was going to Washington to see his friends on the anti-drug work. He will, of course, seek their continued cooperation and had already planned to ask how they thought it could best be carried out. It seems he had also discussed this matter at the recent meeting in Geneva, before coming over here.....

I am just sending you a long cable on this whole matter. I do not know just how I should handle it from here, but, as it began with you and is predominantly of your section, I presume it is proper for me to send these communications to you in the knowledge that you will pass them on to those

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who must, of course, see them and take the final decision. I hope this is right; in any event, it is a mere question of procedure. The essential seems to me, as I cabled, that the door appears to be open for us to enter, under very fine conditions, if we want to enter. Whether we do or not is, of course, a very big question with many other angles than those involved on this side, but at least it is a great satisfaction to know that the first informal soundings as to its possibility have been so warmly and cordially met. Those few but very wise and important people with whom I have talked stress the GENERAL advantages even more than the technical; they feel that even a brief stay here would have consequences of a permanent nature. Naturally I eagerly await your reply.

With best wishes,

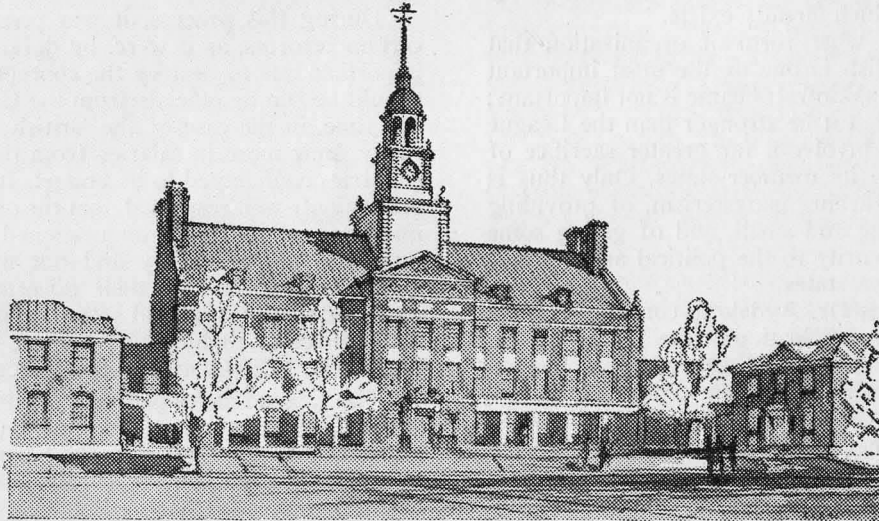
Sweetzer

June 6, 1940

THE WORLD WE WANT

LESSONS FROM THE PAST PLANS FOR THE FUTURE

A symposium by a group of men who have for years lived the daily life of international organization, speaking at a joint conference held at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton by the New Jersey and Pennsylvania Branches of the League of Nations Association.



Drawing by Louis Conrad Rosenberg

Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, Where the Economic, Financial and Transit Department of the League of Nations is at Work

AN UNUSUAL ANALYSIS of the problems of international organization was recently presented to an all-day session in Princeton by a group of men who had had wide experience in the world's efforts from 1919 to 1939 to create a better international society.

The hazards of war had brought to, or near, Princeton a group of men, both American and European, long associated with the manifold activities of the League of Nations and the International Labor Organization. These men were felt to be particularly qualified by their intimate contact with political, economic, financial, and social problems in the inter-war period to throw light not only on the reasons for the world's present plight, but also on certain basic problems of political organization, economic and social justice, universalism, regionalism, and federation: to suggest some of the lessons of the past and the possibilities of the future.

Accordingly, the New Jersey and Pennsylvania Branches of the League of Nations Association arranged an all-day session at the Institute for Advanced Study, where the Economic, Financial, and Transit Department of the League is headquartered. They were fortunate in securing the cooperation, in addition to that of the director of that Department, Mr. A. Loveday, of Hon. Carl J. Hambro, president of the Norwegian Storting and of the Assembly of the League of Nations, Mr. Carter Goodrich, chairman of the Governing Body of the International Labor Organization, and various other speakers who have for years lived the daily life of organized international cooperation.

The interest aroused by the meeting was in itself an encouraging indication of the increased seriousness with which problems of world organization are being considered. Where a hundred or so participants had been anticipated, over three times that number actually arrived, not only from the two organizing states, but also from New York, Maryland, Washington, and North Carolina. Many requests were made for a brief summary of the principal points in this wide-ranging discussion which it was felt might have considerable pertinence in seeking a way through the future. The present document is an effort to meet that demand.

League "Very Much Alive"

The meeting was opened, most appropriately, by Dr. Frank Aydelotte, who, in addition to being its host as director of the Institute for Advanced Study, had also been largely instrumental in bringing the League groups to this country. He took the occasion to counteract reports that the League is "dead," pointing out, on the contrary, that it is "very much alive," that many countries are continuing their support, and that its technical work is being maintained with an "impressive" vitality, even though the staffs have been greatly reduced and in part transferred to this side of the Atlantic.

Whatever else the League may have accomplished during the last twenty years, Dr. Aydelotte felt it has built up something wholly new in the world: an effective international civil service. It was from a recognition of the importance of preserving as much of this as possible

Page Two

that the three institutions in Princeton, the University, the Rockefeller Institute, and the Institute for Advanced Study, had united to invite the League's technical services to Princeton, and McGill University had similarly invited the International Labor Office to Montreal. Their preservation should, he felt, add greatly to the usefulness of whatever type of international organization the world may eventually adopt after the war.

Some kind of league of nations is inevitable, Dr. Aydelotte contended, if our civilization is to endure. Modern industry has unified the world and developed a myriad complicated interconnections which will be immediately reopened on the return of peace. The task of the statesman is not to create an international community but to recognize one which already exists.

The decision as to what form of organization that community shall establish is one of the most important problems now facing mankind. Its name is not important; what matters most is that it be stronger than the League after the last war and involve a far greater sacrifice of national sovereignty by its member-states. Only thus is there any promise of curbing gangsterism, of providing justice for nations large and small, and of giving some kind of dignity and security to the political and cultural activities of the different states.

One condition which Dr. Aydelotte considered absolutely essential was the participation of the United States. While any post-war international agency must depend very greatly, at least in its early years, on the support, and particularly on the sea-power, of the English-speaking nations, he would not have the two countries seek a world hegemony, nor did he think they would, but he greatly hoped they would cooperate in lending their full power to the support of a new international order. He warned the Pennsylvania and New Jersey organizations, however, that the vote of their respective Congressional delegations had been almost two to one against the all-essential repeal of the Neutrality Act and expressed the hope that meetings like the present might lead to a wider sense of world unity and responsibility.

Great Powers and Small AN INTERESTING account of the progressive democratization of the League and a novel suggestion for grading the relative importance of the nations in the international community was presented by **Hon. Carl J. Hambro**, president of the Norwegian *Storting*, for years member of his country's delegation to the League, president of its most recent Assembly in 1939, and chairman of its Supervisory Commission, whom Dr. Aydelotte introduced as a striking example of "a kind of new citizen of the world."

Mr. Hambro said he intended to speak personally and unofficially, setting forth ideas he knew not to be popular. The League of Nations had originally been conceived, in his judgment, as a means of perpetuating diplomatic control in the hands of the Great Powers. There was to be a council of such powers, with an occasional assembly of all powers limited to dealing with subsidiary matters. But the very first League Assembly destroyed this conception at three points when it provided that its sessions should be annual, that the Council should submit a report of its work for general discussion, and that elections should be by secret ballot. The whole history of the League had been one of the gradual growth of democratic processes, always opposed, however, by the Great Powers, which wished it to remain "The Great Experiment" which one of its ardent supporters later called it.

There were two ways in which Mr. Hambro thought complete success could have been achieved for the League. The first was to have had the membership of the United States, which proved impossible, and the second to evict the other Great Powers till they could be readmitted on demonstrated good behavior. This second course, while obviously not feasible as a positive policy, nevertheless turned out to be the course which history in reverse actually followed. Germany, Italy and Japan withdrew from the League; Russia was declared no longer a member; France was stricken prostrate; and Britain remained as the only Great Power member.

Reforms by Default

During this process, it was possible to get through certain reforms, as it were, by default. One of the most important was to destroy the conception that the League should be run by officials from the Great Powers, who at one time, in the case of the British and the French, actually drew more in salaries from the League than their countries contributed to its budget. It was laid down, and gratifyingly well respected, that the officials should be true international officers of unquestioned loyalty to the whole international community and not merely agents acting on the instructions of their governments. It was even proposed that they should be given an international status not subject to mobilization orders, but here, alas, only two states, Norway and Holland, were prepared to agree.

The League developed, Mr. Hambro said, into an important reality in every field but the political. It would be interesting to speculate why the technician had succeeded so richly and the statesman failed so lamentably. However this may have been, something was built at Geneva which Mr. Hambro felt was absolutely unique in international life. Its failure to achieve complete success was due, in his judgment, not so much to any major faults in the League itself as to the failure of governments to use the League and to respect its obligations.

Mr. Hambro then made a suggestion quite contrary to conventional practice and opinion, particularly in the smaller countries, which will undoubtedly figure largely in future discussions of international organization. It is essential, he thought, that the Small Powers take in hand and initiate a reform of international procedure, and that they do so on the principle not only that no international agency can succeed if national sovereignty remains unimpaired, but, still more important, that there is, and can be, no real equality between nations. The sober fact is, he said, that if a Great Power takes a decision anywhere in the world, it incurs a responsibility which it has to fulfill, while if a Small Power takes a decision, it usually does so purely theoretically and without responsibility for implementing it.

Idea Died 70 Years Ago

The idea that states are equal expired seventy years ago, he continued. Whereas in the convention for maintaining the Cape Spartel Light House, all states paid equal contributions regardless of their size, the International Postal Convention introduced the new principle of proportionate payment, with states grouped in six categories in accordance with their relative importance. This classification was carried over automatically into the League Covenant as the best way of meeting the intricate problem of raising funds for the League's maintenance, and while, when applied to the larger sums involved, it

proved to have been so haphazardly set up that a new and more scientific scale of allocation had to be adopted, it took into League practice the theory of differential contributions in line with the differing importance of the nations. Thus, Britain pays 103 units, Russia 99, and other states descending amounts till the last 20, which pay only 1 unit. It is significant, Mr. Hambro thought, that all the nations now at war on the Allied side are continuing to pay, some of them on a token basis, but all as an expression of their faith in the future.

Mr. Hambro suggested that the principle might have great importance in the future. Nations, indeed, might be entitled to vote in the international assembly in proportion to their contribution to the international community, much as the states of the United States are represented in the House of Representatives on a proportional basis according to population. More and more is this principle of differentiation becoming recognized in international life, most recently, perhaps, in the Convention for Safety of Life at Sea adopted in 1935 where the various states involved contribute to the expenses according to a scientific assessment of their share in the benefits.

Mr. Hambro stressed the importance of getting around the unanimity rule which had proved always to be the worst obstacle in the way of any rule by common sense or intelligence, mentioning that in the International Labor Organization there had never been any unanimity rule, and the lack of it had never been felt.

Finally, Mr. Hambro felt that delegates to international conferences must have greater power to bind their states than heretofore. It is absurd, he said, for them to sign international agreements only to have their parliaments reject them. International life should be built, he concluded, on the basis of full national responsibility and commitment to the international community.

World Economics and Reconstruction

AN OUTLINE was then given by Mr. A. Loveday, director of the League's Economic, Financial and Transit Department, of the work of his department, which Dr. Aydelotte had described as being so important that it must continue as an essential part of any international structure. Mr. Loveday explained that the greater part of his Department had come to Princeton in response to the generous invitation extended by the three educational institutions there, though the headquarters of the League remained in Geneva. This division constituted an advantage, as it made it possible to follow events in Europe from Geneva and events in the rest of the world from America.

The main objects of this work, Mr. Loveday continued, were to try to trace the major changes that were taking place in the economic structure of the world and to consider in advance some of the innumerable economic problems which will arise for settlement if the world is to have any chance of permanent peace. The League had not succeeded in its primary function of maintaining peace, he thought, partly because governments had failed to make the necessary sacrifices at the appropriate moment, and partly because the whole world had failed to build its economic organization on solid foundations. The economic system broke down between 1929 and 1932, and, though comparative prosperity was restored in subsequent years in certain regions, the international economic system was never restored.

The war will, he said, add enormously to all the problems which the world had failed to solve before its outbreak. We shall be faced, on the one hand, with ruined factories, scorched earth and a starving Europe and Asia and, on the other, with the problem of demobilizing men from the armed forces and munitions factories. If out of this chaos the world is to have any hope of creating an ordered and stable society, it must think out its problems in advance. Durable peace will not descend on the earth like manna from heaven.

An Objective Necessary

It is necessary to have an objective and to have thought out in advance means for attaining that objective. The first joint pronouncement adumbrating such an objective is to be found in the Atlantic Charter. The problem now is to implement it. One of the first steps to this end is, he considered, to turn round on the past and consider why the world, which made a real effort at least during the first ten years after the last world war, failed to achieve an economic system sufficiently stable to assure peace. It will not succeed next time unless it knows why it failed last time.

Mr. Loveday's Department is approaching these problems in this spirit of critical analysis. It is not trying to draw up blue-prints of a new world order. It is trying rather to analyze and set out the essential facts and their implications and to put before statesmen the evidence on which policy can be based. Though some of its studies on these questions are published, such for instance as its recent analysis of European trade—to be followed by another on the trade of the rest of the world—the Department is primarily a secretariat for governments in their collective capacity and not an organ for the public dissemination of ideas.

It is difficult to foresee today what sort of society nations will wish to create after the war. But it is at least clear, as is emphasized in the Atlantic Charter, that they will demand an organization of society which will give them greater assurance of economic security than they have had—greater assurance that those who wish to work will be able to secure work, greater assurance that the world will not be subject, as it has been, to violent oscillations in economic activity.

Much Already Done

The League has already done a great deal of work on this question of economic oscillations and economic depressions and it is continuing to devote a great deal of time to it today. Indeed, that problem and the problems that arise from the demographic pattern of society and demographic behavior reflect the most important underlying force influencing economic life. There has been a lack of systematic study of these demographic problems and particularly of the problem of demographic pressure. But a beginning had been made by the League shortly before the war and the work it then undertook is being continued under the general direction of the League by the Office of Population Research of Princeton University.

But the world we have to consider will not, Mr. Loveday thought, be the world as it was in 1939, nor the world today, but the world that is when the war ends. It is essential, therefore, to follow the deep-laying changes that take place during the course of the war. This is being

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done and the Department has just issued a World Economic Survey covering the period from 1939 to the middle of last summer. It will continue to issue such Surveys.

But what chance will there be, Mr. Loveday asked, even if all the lessons of the past have been understood and real and adequate thought devoted to the new or different problems that would present themselves, that the support of public opinion would be obtained for policies designed to secure economic stability in a progressive world? Will not policies in the future, as in the past, be very largely determined by the sectional interests of groups of producers? He thought that the chances of success would be far greater if the world had the courage to modify its whole conception of economics and to think in terms not of economics of the producer, but of the consumer. Were we going to have the sort of world in the future in which it was considered a normal market practice to throw milk down the drain in order to maintain its price or the sort of world in which that was an indictable offense? If we could think in terms of the consumer and his needs, of sound nutrition, of adequate clothing and housing for all, we should go far to guarantee the economic security that is sought and we should secure the support of the opinion of the great mass of citizens in this country and in others.

World Health and Nutrition THAT INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION is absolutely essential to safeguard the world against impending post-war epidemics and to raise its whole nutritional standard, was emphasized by **Dr. Frank G. Boudreau**, for 12 years member of the League's Health Section and now director of the Milbank Memorial Fund.

The magnificent international health services which the League built up in the interval between the two world wars are still carrying on, both in Geneva and Singapore, said Dr. Boudreau. Every week the Epidemiological Intelligence Report comes to his desk, less complete than before the war, shrinking in size from month to month, but still the only document attempting to give a world picture of the prevalence of disease. It is an illustration of the fact that the machinery for international cooperation in health matters still exists, its wheels idle or turning slowly, ready to go into high speed immediately after the war.

The existence of this machinery will be a priceless boon to the war-torn, disease-ridden world when hostilities finally cease, Dr. Boudreau continued, for post-war health and nutrition problems promise to be even greater than those which confronted the world in 1918. Then Europe was threatened with typhus and relapsing fever, epidemics from Russia and the Balkans; it is most probable that these and other epidemic diseases are already smoldering in many European countries. Then it was necessary to build new machinery, with no blueprints available for guidance. Now detailed plans are ready, some machinery is available and there are experienced technicians on hand. If worse disasters than those which faced Russia, Poland and Greece after the last war are to be avoided when the present war ends, international cooperation on the widest scale ever contemplated must be practiced; present machinery for such cooperation must be developed and expanded.

Prevention of epidemics is the negative side of inter-

national cooperation in health matters, said Dr. Boudreau. Prevention of famine is also essential but negative. More than these are needed to infuse life into the international health program. Here again, he pointed out, the first steps had been taken by the League; suitable machinery had been set up; all was ready for the moment when war would no longer absorb the major energies of mankind. For one of the most important steps ever taken by the League was its decision to explore the possibilities of international action in the field of nutrition. Here was an almost wholly new science capable of bringing improved health to the submerged and underprivileged classes in all countries. In 1935 the League summoned a conference of experts in nutrition from the leading countries. These experts in three short days agreed on a table of dietary standards, thus charting for the first time in human history a precise description of these human needs.

Dr. Boudreau said he was now serving on the Food and Nutrition Board of the National Research Council in Washington, which, like similar committees in Canada and some eighteen other countries, had been established largely as a result of the League's work in nutrition. Briefly summarizing its activities, he said that the Board in Washington had taken over the task of bringing the League's dietary standards into line with advances in nutrition; it was making a study of the nutrition of defense workers, and that white bread enriched with the vitamins and minerals of which wheat had been deprived in milling was now available throughout the country as a result of the Board's work.

One of the most serious post-war problems, he stated, would be the task of feeding the starving and restoring the malnourished to health. This task would be easier because of the League's work in nutrition, and because of the national nutrition committees in so many countries. Dietary standards based on the League's work would provide the yardstick of nutrition. By this yardstick more than a third of our people fall below the line of diets adequate for health. Applying this yardstick after the war will banish forever the very thought of food surpluses. Agriculture will be hard pressed to produce the necessary foods. Shipping will not suffice to transport the food supplies needed. By the application of these new standards, an infinitely higher standard of health would be made possible throughout the world.

Dr. Boudreau gave two illustrations of the health-promoting possibilities of modern knowledge of nutrition. Some thousand volunteers for the army and navy in England just before the present war were rejected because of failure to meet the physical standards. These men were taken to a physical development depot at Canterbury and reconditioned largely by dietary means; they consumed five meals a day. Six months later 86 per cent of these men were accepted for army service, when they applied at recruiting stations where they were not known. Second, a controlled study of the effects of prenatal diet was carried out in Toronto among 200 women, in the fourth month of pregnancy, whose diet fell far below the proper level. The diet of every second one of these women was brought up to a satisfactory level by the addition every day of one egg, one pint of milk, one orange, some cheese, tomato juice, etc. Fourteen deaths occurred among the offspring of the women whose diet had not been supplemented; no deaths occurred among the offspring of the women who had received this extra food.

Dr. Boudreau emphasized that the possibilities of the new science of nutrition had hardly been scratched; there remained an almost unlimited field of usefulness for the kind of international cooperative effort which the League had so largely helped to get under way only a few short years ago.

Anti-Drug Work as an Example A MOST SUCCESSFUL EXAMPLE of international cooperation as evidenced in the League's anti-drug work, was described by Mr. Herbert L. May, who, as vice-president of the Permanent Central Opium Board and acting chairman of the Drug Supervisory Body, was introduced by Dr. Aydelotte as "the dean of American experts in this field." Mr. May gave a broad account not only of the work itself but of its general significance in the field of international organization, concluding that "the amazingly swift progress of international legislation and administration in this field was possible because there was available an instrument for international cooperation—the League of Nations."

This work has not been discontinued in the present crisis, Mr. May said; on the contrary, it is surviving in a disintegrating world and successfully resisting the forces which have disrupted much other international cooperation. The reason, he thought, lay both in the soundness of its organization and its necessity to mankind.

After the last world war, Mr. May said, there had, in effect, been no control of the drug situation. Each country did what it liked; international administration barely existed, and national legislation and administration were in most countries elementary. In a short time all this changed, and a detailed control system was in operation.

The start came with the establishment by the League of Nations in 1921 of the Opium Advisory Committee. This body, while dealing with certain immediate questions, soon disclosed two startling facts; first, that the amount of drugs manufactured in the world was several times that needed for medical and scientific purposes, and, second, that drug addiction was spreading rapidly. Two world conferences resulted, in 1925 and 1931, with two further conventions and two new international bodies. The Permanent Central Opium Board, entrusted with supervision of the trade in drugs, has the power, which it has exercised a number of times, to impose an embargo on shipments to a country delinquent in its obligations. The Supervisory Body determines each year, from estimates submitted by governments and analyzed and questioned, the amount of drugs needed for each country for legitimate purposes, and thus establishes a schedule for the world's manufacture, a charter of obligations for governments, and a basis for ascertaining if they have fulfilled their obligations.

By the time the second world war broke out, this system had become firmly established. Legitimate international trade was well controlled, manufacture was strictly limited; drug addiction was being reduced, trafficking made more difficult, and the problem of the control of production of raw opium being approached. The secret of success, Mr. May thought, lay in the existence of a permanent supervisory system, with the League Assembly and Council lending their aid to the technical bodies. The destruction of the system would have been a great loss, particularly as the drug danger always increases in wartime.

Appeal to Governments

Accordingly, in the spring of 1940, the responsible bodies addressed an urgent appeal to governments, which responded wholeheartedly. At the same time, it became apparent that it was necessary to establish a new operating center where communications with trans-oceanic governments could go on uninterruptedly despite the war, and, early in 1941, branch offices of the Central Board and Supervisory Body were opened in Washington, with the consent of the United States government, though the Drug Control Service remains at Geneva. The Central Board thus continues to receive quarterly and annual drug statistics (in 1940, from 57 countries and 89 territories) and the Supervisory Body to issue its annual Statement of World Requirements. The maintenance of this work has demonstrated, Mr. May thought, first, that well-developed international cooperation can be upheld even during a major war, second, that a large number of governments respect international undertakings as of direct interest to them, and third, that the continuance of such cooperation is greatly facilitated by the existence of permanent international bodies and their secretariats, interested in their work and alive to their responsibilities.

Social Justice and Security THE WORK of the International Labor Organization was described by Mr. Carter Goodrich, United States government representative and chairman of the Governing Body, as continuing most actively despite the war. With its principal working center at Montreal, its international network is maintained through the offices at Geneva, London, Washington and New Delhi and through correspondents in eighteen other countries. Its most dramatic manifestation was the Conference held in New York from October 27 to November 5 and concluded the following day at the White House in Washington.

The decision to convene the Conference was taken in the double belief, first, that there was need of common counsel between government, employer and worker in the free countries, and, second, that an organization dedicated to social justice could not remain silent when all labor and social policies were at stake in the world. Official representatives were present, Mr. Goodrich said, from 35 nations—in contrast, incidentally, to the 13 which Hitler assembled a little later. Among the I.L.O. delegates were 16 members of cabinets, the lord privy seal of Great Britain, the foreign ministers of Belgium and Czechoslovakia, nine labor ministers, the President of the Assembly of the League of Nations, and from the United States, the secretary of labor, and representatives of employers and of A.F. of L. and C.I.O. unions. Twenty-two delegations included representatives of employers and workers.

The Conference provided what Mr. Goodrich described as an extraordinary and even somewhat unexpected demonstration of solidarity of democratic thought. No one had any idea before it convened as to just how far it would go, and in the event it went very far indeed. It demonstrated particularly the unity of views between the free nations at war and the nations in Latin America. As a result of this solidarity, certain resolutions were adopted which no one would have presumed to draft in advance and which Mr. Goodrich earnestly recommended be read. One resolution represented the victory of the free peoples as an indispensable condition to the attain-

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ment of the ideals of the International Labor Organization; another, introduced by Peru and China, endorsed the economic principles in the Atlantic Charter; and an even more drastic war resolution was introduced into the Conference by all the 22 workers' delegates and adopted unanimously with one abstention.

Collaboration of Governments

One of the principal items on the agenda was the collaboration of governments, employers and workers, which is the basic principle on which the Labor Organization is founded. The Office had prepared a valuable document on this subject for the Conference regularly scheduled for 1940 but postponed because of the war. For the 1941 Conference, the Office, recognizing the new urgency the question had taken for the very survival of the democracies, prepared a new report on "Wartime Collaboration"; and one useful function of the Conference was to indicate in its discussions and its resolutions how the employers and workers could collaborate in defense and war efforts.

The work of the Conference culminated in the adoption of a comprehensive resolution outlining a program of post-war reconstruction. Mr. Phelan's report as acting director was entitled "The I.L.O. and Reconstruction," and much of the discussion turned on the post-war problems and the part the Organization could play in meeting them. Underlying this discussion were two basic conceptions: first, that there was no value in discussing this problem except on the hypothesis that the democracies would win the war, and, second, that the social and the economic factors are inextricably bound together. The United States delegation introduced a resolution, which it is interesting to note was stiffened rather than weakened by the other delegations, and which, after stressing the necessity of a victory for the free nations, called for the fullest collaboration of all nations in the reconstruction problems, for the participation of the Labor Organization in the planning and application of measures of reconstruction, and finally for its direct representation in any peace or reconstruction conference after the war.

It was this reconstruction theme, Mr. Goodrich pointed out, that President Roosevelt emphasized when he addressed the closing session in the White House as follows:

"In the planning of such international action the I.L.O. with its representation of labor and management, its technical knowledge and experience, will be an invaluable instrument for peace. Your organization will have an essential part to play in building up a stable international system of social justice for all peoples everywhere. As part of you, the people of the United States are determined to respond fully to the opportunity and challenge of this historic responsibility."

Universalism and Regionalism

THE PROBLEM as to whether international organization should be based on the universal or the regional principle or on a combination of the two was presented by Mr. Arthur Sweetser, member of the League Secretariat from the time of its founding in Paris and London. In any society, Mr. Sweetser said, two principles are operative, that of the community as a whole

and that of special, closely linked neighborhoods. The two may dovetail or collide, cooperate or conflict.

The League, he felt, was the most ambitious venture in the universal field ever attempted. It sought to bring together all nations from all continents on a basis of equality; one of its difficulties indeed was that it was confronted with so many different standards and degrees of civilization. But what has been curiously little noted, he said, was that the League itself had given an enormous stimulus to the regional movement. First, the Little Entente, which had been initiated at the Peace Conference, developed in the League into a formal regional grouping. Shortly developed an informal grouping, before each Assembly, of the Latin-American states members of the League. Later a neutral bloc developed at the Disarmament Conference, including Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Holland, Belgium, Switzerland and Spain. Again an Arab grouping of Iran, Iraq, and Afghanistan was formally constituted at Geneva. Even the Axis itself might be described as a grouping in reverse which grew out of the League, as it was composed of states which had left the League.

Groupings Created ad hoc

More important and even less remarked, Mr. Sweetser thought, were the special groupings created *ad hoc* in various disputes before the League. There were, for instance, the Aaland Island group of states having interests in the Baltic; the Austrian Reconstruction group of states especially interested in Central Europe, as well as similar groups for Hungarian, Greek, and other reconstruction projects; the Chaco and Leticia groups comprising especially interested European and Latin American states, together with the United States; the Manchurian Committee of 21 specially interested states in Europe and Asia including the United States; and so on throughout all conflicts submitted to the League.

There were also special groupings not on the regional or geographical basis but rather on that of interest. As an illustration, Mr. Sweetser cited the anti-drug committee, which embraced all states involved in the growth or manufacture of drugs wherever they were located. This system gave the utmost flexibility and allowed the committees to be organized and directed to a particular question, much as one would direct a spotlight to a particular point which one wished to illuminate.

Regional organization is not, therefore, in Mr. Sweetser's judgment, absolutely essential, any more than it is within the United States. Nor, he pointed out, is it easy to define. The Americas constitute undoubtedly the clearest unit but even they are divided in interest, with many lines going east-west rather than north-south. Europe is usually classified as the next easiest, but no one is quite sure what to do about Britain. The Far East or Pacific Region, which at first glance seems logical, has proved almost undefinable, as there is little agreement as to where it begins and ends and who is to be included.

Regional organization can be very helpful, Mr. Sweetser thought, but it can also be disruptive or exclusivist. The Little Entente, for instance, often seemed to put regional interests above universal and the Pan-American movement often gave the impression of being exclusivist rather than cooperative.

The starting point and the foundation of international organization seemed to Mr. Sweetser incontestably

to be the universal principle. More and more, he thought, is this becoming necessary as the world contracts and nations live on each other's doorsteps. Disarmament, he pointed out, cannot be achieved unless all great states cooperate; prosperity cannot be compartmentalized in one corner of the world; even microbes roam the continents.

Once the universal agency is created, regional groupings can be built up to buttress it and to extend and adapt broad principles to local conditions. What is vital in this as in all other international problems is the spirit in which it is done. If that spirit is big-minded, fine; if small-minded, bad. Regional organizations should not be separate from, but should be organically and definitely contributory to, the larger agency. Several precise suggestions were put forward by Mr. Sweetser: first, the fullest exchange of information and documentation, which has not even yet been achieved, for instance, between the League and the Pan American Union; second, the possible interchange of officials; and third and most important, the right of mutual consultative representation. Thus all agencies seeking peace and cooperation between nations would be harmonized in a single cooperative movement, with opportunities for all-inclusive consultation and formulation of principle, as well as for adaptation to regional or local necessity.

Federation and League AN ANALYSIS of the relationship of federation and the League, which Miss Besse Howard, secretary of both the League of Nations and the Federal Union groups in Philadelphia, called the best she had heard on this moot question, was given by Dr. Benjamin Gerig, for ten years member of the League Secretariat in Geneva and now professor of international relations at Haverford College.

Regret was first expressed by Dr. Gerig that some League supporters considered federalism as antipathetic to the League, while some supporters of federalism failed to see the League as a vital step towards ultimate world government. In Dr. Gerig's opinion, both groups were wrong; the League was an essential step through which society had to pass, even if eventually it were to arrive at federalism as the ruling principle of the future world order.

The League had worked admirably, Dr. Gerig thought, up to a few years before the war. It had received its first great shock on the plains of Manchuria, its second in the heart of Africa, and its third in Europe when it was bypassed in 1939. From then on, its political work continued to weaken and finally to disintegrate. Dr. Gerig urged, however, that its lack of success was not due to structural weaknesses within itself but to outside causes which might have brought failure to any other agency attempting to work at that time. No machinery will work where there is not the will or the spirit to work it.

The creation of a union of the fifteen democracies might, if it had been possible when first proposed, have retrieved the situation at the eleventh hour and even prevented the war, but opinion in neither Britain nor the United States would have permitted such a union without one final effort at appeasement on the conventional basis. Again, during the 1939-1940 "phony" war, such a union might also have had an opportunity to prevent the wider spread of the war, but again the nations failed to take advantage of it.

Another Chance After the War

At the present moment, Dr. Gerig said, there is an association of the seven British democracies, with the United States linked to each one separately but not to the group as a whole. After the war, things will be very definitely "a little mixed up," as Mr. Churchill has put it, amongst the Anglo-Saxon powers, with consequences it is hard to foresee. In any event there will be still another chance to bring about the union or federation already twice missed with such desperately tragic consequences.

But it is important to see that there are also other groupings pointing to federation of one sort or another. There is, for instance, the Czech-Polish arrangement announced some time ago, and the Eastern European agreement promulgated in loose terms at the International Labor Conference in New York. Even Mr. Hitler is battering down by brutal methods frontiers which the gentle Briand could not remove by persuasion and which will never be raised in their previous severity.

Both Methods Needed

In Dr. Gerig's view, neither league nor federal union alone will be able to outline the peace. Standing by themselves, both seem lost causes, neither sufficiently wide or flexible to meet the colossal problems ahead. To mention only one difficulty, Russia will be vitally important to any new settlement, yet the League has expelled her from membership and the federal union supporters left her out of consideration. What seemed to him likely was a combination of the two methods: federal groups formed in Europe, amongst the Anglo-Saxon powers, in the Western Hemisphere, and perhaps in the Near East, with a looser world association above them. There would thus be elements of both league and federation in the post-war settlement—and unless there is some such fusion, Dr. Gerig feared that the peace would be made under the Klieg lights of Berlin. The problem was not, therefore, in his judgment, league *or* federation, but league *and* federation.

Amended Covenant or New THE RELATIVELY NEW but important question as to whether post-war international organization should be built around the present Covenant, perhaps amended, or around an entirely new document, was discussed by Prof. Clyde Eagleton of New York University, chairman of the Studies Committee of the Commission for the Organization of Peace.

The present Covenant, Professor Eagleton felt, contains most of the essential principles; the main question is whether they are put sufficiently strongly and with adequate enforcement. First, the Covenant is based on the principle of universality, which he felt to be correct; if regionalism is developed, it should be within the broader agency. Second, it provides for the submission of disputes to impartial judgment, which surely should be contained in any agreement and which should be made compulsory. Third, it embodies the obligation to use force to restrain the law-breaker, which again would seem desirable, though the denial of the right to use force except under international mandate is not as clearly stated as might be. Fourth, is a forecast of "peaceful change," though this was only weakly stated in Article XIX and badly needs strengthening. Fifth is the guaranty, so to speak, of life and property in the international sphere as

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embodied in Article X for the preservation of the political independence and territorial integrity of states. Sixth is a reference in Article XXIII to social justice, though here again amplification would be possible. Finally, there has been in constitutional practice an indirect effort to get around the theory of the complete equality of states, which must be done in any workable system of international government.

League Lacked Power

Thus the Covenant seemed to Professor Eagleton to contain the basic fundamentals necessary for an effective international order. The difficulty lay not in the principles of the Covenant but in the fact that the League was not given enough authority and power to put them into effect. If the power conferred on the League had been greater and that of the states less, the situation would have been far better. The problem, then, is rather one of distribution of power than of principles.

It might also be expressed, Professor Eagleton said, as the change from confederation to federation. There is obviously a great deal of latitude involved in such a change and many ways of creating a federation. The substance, however, comes down to providing that, instead of having many states using a common machinery as a matter of convenience, there should, in effect, be, for certain purposes, some kind of fusion of states which would not destroy the individual autonomy of each but would create something above them.

One of the great questions, Professor Eagleton thought, would be how to develop a loyalty amongst hundreds of millions of individuals to an agency which would necessarily seem remote from their daily lives. This could be done as well, he believed, by building up the existing League as by starting wholly anew. He disagreed with Mr. Streit's thesis that the principles of the League are all wrong and that a new structure must be built; on the contrary, he thought it possible to develop federation gradually from the older institution. He was not sure whether the result would be an amended Covenant or a new one, but he was quite convinced that whatever was to come had far better be built out of what now exists. The ideal solution would seem to him to be a constitutional convention called by the League of Nations in Geneva at the headquarters of the League and free to take whatever course then seemed desirable.

Conclusion Professor Ernest Minor Patterson, president of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, thought the task ahead truly appalling. It was not a question only of what should be but also of what will be. The world contained over two

billion people, 60 per cent of them in Asia and Africa. Its economic difficulties would be colossal. Attempts to meet them by voluntary regional agreements had broken down; he even wondered if there were hope of continuing such agreements once outside pressure were removed. Moreover, while the world is now trying to meet its difficulties by entrusting ever more power to government, there will inevitably after the war be a reaction, probably huge unemployment, loss of exports and markets, raids by special groups, and pressure for economic nationalism. On the political side, there will also be enormous obstacles and, on the psychological side, all the difficulty of completely changing the world's mental outlook.

Dr. Boudreau replied, nevertheless, that all recent polls of opinion showed a far greater interest in, and sense of responsibility for, international order than ever before. Another speaker asked if the world were to continue to have sixty-odd states each trying to handle the international situation in the same chaotic way as the manifold parties in the French Parliament, and still another remarked that, to his mind, two fundamental principles had emerged from the discussions: first, that unlimited national sovereignty was a thing of the past, and second, that international authority backed by the power to act was essential to any likelihood of peace.

A telegram was then read from Mr. Clark Eichelberger, national director of the League of Nations Association, whose plane had become fog-bound in Texas, expressing the view that "the program of the League of Nations Association is about to take on added importance and energy. Ideals are won after hard experience; the bitter lessons of the past twenty years have shown the tragedy of our not joining the League of Nations in 1920 and the inevitability of our joining the greater League to follow this war."

Must "Sally Forth"

Miss Hickman, president of the New Jersey Branch, said that, whereas for years they had been holding a fort, they must now sally forth. Two things greatly impressed her: first, that there was infinitely more interest than they had any idea of, and, second, that they did not need to await the end of the war but might use the inspiration contained in the ideal of world-order as a rallying cry to shorten the war. Dr. Boudreau, national president of the Association, considered the present meeting as both an inspiration to those present and a challenge to others in different parts of the country to do likewise. Dr. Aydelotte concluded that the prospects ahead, while immensely difficult and arduous, were nevertheless the most exhilarating and inspiring that human experience could offer.

CHAPMAN, J. B.

New Zealand; was in New Zealand Customs Service; reorganized New Zealand and Australian trade statistical methods before joining League; specialist on trade statistics, raw materials, etc.; primarily an administrative statistician.

DEYERON, M. P.

Belgium; was educated in England and Paris; studied law; specialist on fiscal questions, especially double taxation; secretary of Fiscal Committee.

HILGERT, F.

Swede; studied economics in Stockholm High School, which has university status; was in Swedish Customs Service; worked for several years on Royal Commission on Tariffs and Commercial Treaties; came to League originally to assist in study of tariff levels; has since specialized on international trade and balance of payments; writes every year the Survey of World Trade and the volume on International Balance of Payments.

LINDBERG, J.

Swede; studied Stockholm University; held Rockefeller fellowship in U.S.A. for two years working on immigration questions; employed Swedish Social Board and government committee on unemployment; was in the statistical branch of the International Labour Office for about 8 years; joined League in 1938 and has been engaged on production problems; prepares the volume on World Production under Mr. Rosenberg's immediate supervision.

MURKSE, R.

Estonian; studied at Tallin, Edinburgh University, Vienna University; primarily a theoretical economist specializing on monetary and banking questions; writes the annual volume on Money and Banking; before joining the League published a book on Kapitalbildung; writes equally well in Estonian, English, and German; commands a number of other languages.

RASMINSKY, L.

(Who may join the group); Canadian; studied Toronto University and London School of Economics; all around economist; is secretary to the Finance Committee and to the Delegation on Economic Depressions for which he has written the Draft Report; has specialized on monetary and banking questions.

ROSENBERG, M. A.

Swede; studied Upsala University; worked in Swedish Board of Trade where he made special study of shipping problems; is the center of the Intelligence group doing the first editing of a number of publications and being responsible for the bulk of the administrative work; has a very extensive knowledge of economic statistics throughout the world and sources of information.

van IFFERSUM, Baronesse

Dutch by marriage, English by birth; worked in 1919 on Hoover Relief Committee in Holland; entered League in 1920 as my secretary; married in 1926 and returned to the League as a widow a couple of years ago to take charge of all the statistical clerks and effectively edit the Monthly Bulletin of Statistics; does a large part of the administrative work of the section.

MACGUIRE, C. F.

Irish; originally an engineer by profession working for a company in Nigeria; had to abandon profession for reasons of health; joined the League as a clerk and is responsible for all the statistical work on production; has an extensive knowledge of raw materials; a man of very good all-around education.

POLAK, J. J.

Dutch; studied, I think, in Rotterdam Commercial College; primarily an econometrician and mathematician; joined the League to help Dr. Koopmans who was engaged to follow up Professor Tinbergen's work on the statistical testing of business cycle series; has a fair knowledge of economic theory, especially on problems connected with the trade cycle.

The League of Nations and Post-War Settlement

Recommendations of a group of American citizens
who have been closely associated with the League

THE adoption of the Four-Power Declaration of Moscow and the passage of the Connally Resolution by the United States Senate calling for a "general international organization" throw into sharp relief the question of the contribution which the League of Nations can make to the great problems of the future. Over two hundred and fifty American citizens have at various times and often for long periods participated officially in different phases of the work of the League. As many as could be reached met at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, New Jersey, December 11-12, 1943, on invitation from the League of Nations Association, to consider the relation of the League of Nations to the present situation.

The background for that Conference was laid in a series of eighteen studies which were initiated by a Committee of Inquiry set up by the League of Nations Association. Each study was prepared by an American citizen associated with the work of the League, and each deals with a particular phase of its work, such as security, reduction of armaments, economic and financial problems, the drug traffic, mandates, health and general principles of international organization.

Through the cooperation of the Woodrow Wilson Foundation and the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace arrangements are now being made for the publication of these studies in book form. Meanwhile the Committee of Inquiry makes available the full text of the resolutions adopted at the Princeton Conference, believing them to be important as embodying conclusions reached by the Americans best qualified to speak concerning the relation of the League of Nations to the post-war settlement.

TEXT OF RESOLUTIONS

A group of American citizens who have been officially associated in various capacities with nearly every branch of work of the League of Nations, meeting December 11-12 in Princeton, N. J. to consider studies which have been under way for several months to determine, first what contribution the League of Nations can best make to the postwar settlement, and secondly, what should be the attitude of the American people toward the League of Nations:

1. Welcomes the Moscow Declaration calling for a "general international organization."
2. Welcomes the subsequent Senate Resolution endorsing the Moscow Declaration as this endorsement promises to prevent a repetition of the deadlock which paralyzed United States Government action in 1919 and in subsequent years.
3. Urges the United States Government in cooperation with other governments at the first opportunity to take steps to implement the Moscow Declaration and the Senate Resolution for a general international organization.
4. Supports the action of the United States Government in initiating special United Nations Conferences on Food and Agriculture and on Relief and Rehabilitation which have resulted in the establishment of international organizations.
5. Expresses the hope that as other needs develop other conferences will follow as rapidly as possible on such specific questions as currency stabilization, aviation, shipping, etc.
6. Also welcomes the action of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Council in inviting the technical organizations of the League of Nations and the International Labor Organization to send representatives to participate in the Atlantic City Conference and in all other appropriate future work and conferences, thus developing effective coordination in the work of these international agencies. The group also notes with appreciation that the Interim Commission on Food and Agriculture has invited representatives of the technical organizations of the League of Nations to participate in the work of the Interim Commission whenever appropriate.

The group urges that the United States Government give particular attention to the following considerations:

1. Full recognition and support of League agencies continuing to function during the war, including particularly those on American soil, such as the Economic and Financial Mission at Princeton and the Drug Supervisory Body in Washington.
2. Adherence to the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice as recommended by every President and Secretary of State since the Court's creation in 1922.

The group also urges the appropriate authorities of the League of Nations and of the United Nations to give early consideration to the necessity of coordinating the international agencies developed after the first World War with those developing during the present war for the purpose of assuring continuity and of benefiting from the experience of nearly a quarter century of international work.

The group emphasizes the necessity of developing an effective system of collective security.

In implementing these resolutions the group urges that account be taken of the following principles arising from the twenty-year experience of the League of Nations in the period between wars:

A. As regards international organization and administration

1. That the nations of the world have reached the point where a cooperative organization is not only desirable but essential for a host of activities which have reached the international stage.
2. That that organization should be universal in character and built around one central authority as representative of the broad interests of the whole community of nations.
3. That that organization may have affiliated agencies organized either (a) on a regional basis, or (b) on a subject basis.
4. That any such affiliated agencies should be fully autonomous within their particular fields but should operate within the cooperative framework of the central organization, with proper allocation of funds, and documentation between themselves and the central organization.
5. That independent or uncorrelated agencies tend to build up a separatist attitude which militates against the free cooperation which should exist between all agencies seeking peace and progress amongst nations.
6. That, on the contrary, closely coordinated agencies can often pool their experience or facilities to the greatest advantage.

B. As regards security, prevention of war, sanctions, peaceful settlement and disarmament

1. That problems of security and prevention of aggression have an urgency and compulsion which put them in a different category from other, more normal and more slow-moving international problems and thus offer the possibility of a different or even separate method of treatment.
2. That such problems depend primarily on the Great Powers and their willingness to take a positive position, and that, unless all the principal military powers agree on concerted measures, any really effective action in a major crisis is extremely difficult, if not impossible.
3. That, contrary to a wide-spread view, the smaller powers also have great importance in this basic problem, whether as areas of conflict or as support for the principle of collective security and also for specific action.
4. That the existence of a common agency of disinterested mediation can appreciably improve the chances of settlement of international disputes, as demonstrated in the Aaland Islands, Greek-Bulgar, Peru-Colombia and Paraguay-Bolivia conflicts.
5. That such an agency, again contrary to common belief, is susceptible of very quick action and can be brought into operation in a few days' time, as in the Greek-Bulgar affair.
6. That its effectiveness can be measured in very direct ratio to the degree of force known to be behind it.
7. That, in the event of aggression, it is definitely possible, and indeed far easier than thought, to get a large number of nations to pass a verdict of guilty on the aggressor state, as in the case of Japan and Italy.
8. That in the event of agreement of principle, it is technically possible and even not too difficult, to organize economic sanctions on a worldwide scale, as in the Italo-Ethiopian conflict.
9. That the question whether or not such agreement will be reached is again primarily a question of the Great Powers, as demonstrated negatively in the Sino-Japanese affair.
10. That, if sanctions are initiated, they must be initiated in direct relation to the probable course of military events and become effective before the military goal is achieved, as was not the case in the Italo-Ethiopian conflict.
11. That lack of an effective system of collective security is the greatest single element underlying other causes of disunity between nations, notably heavy armaments and uneconomic tariff barriers.
12. That, conversely, armaments are the result rather than the cause of political insecurity and their reduction should be sought primarily through the removal of their causes rather than on a gun-for-gun mathematical basis.
13. That once disarmament is agreed to, adequate measures of supervision and control can be set up to prevent abuse or violation of agreement.
14. That, if there is to be any hope of improving the world political situation by peaceful change recommended by the community of nations, there must be a change in the unanimity rule which made such action impossible in the 1919-1939 period.

COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY

DR. FRANK G. BOUDREAU, *Chairman*
MALCOLM DAVIS
CLARK M. EICHELBERGER
HUNTINGTON GILCHRIST

CARTER GOODRICH
JAMES T. SHOTWELL
ARTHUR SWEETSER
MRS. HARRISON THOMAS, *Secretary*

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS ASSOCIATION

8 West 40th Street

New York 18, New York

lowe

April 25, 1940

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION WITH PROFESSOR LOWE:

Professor Lowe understands that his appointment at the Institute at a salary of \$10,000 plus a \$4500 grant from the Carnegie Institution of Washington amounted virtually to a guarantee by the Institute that he would receive this grant or its equivalent. The grant was afterwards reduced from \$4500 to \$4000. Professor Lowe does not mind that reduction, but he feels that the \$4000 over and above his salary is indispensable to the success of his work.

This \$4000 has now been reduced by the Carnegie Institution to \$1000. The Institute is for 1940-41 undertaking to pay an assistant for Professor Lowe at a salary of \$1800. \$1800 plus \$1000 makes \$2800, leaving a balance of \$1200, which Professor Lowe feels that the Institute should find for the support of his work. It would be used mainly for travel, assistance abroad, and miscellaneous expenses. Professor Lowe will understand perfectly if in the present condition of the Institute budget this \$1200 cannot be found, but he would like an understanding that the Institute would meet this expense when funds are available, or perhaps induce the Carnegie Institution to increase the amount of its subsidy.

FRANK AYDELOTTE

love

September 29, 1947

Dear Robert:

I had a letter from Love which makes me wonder whether I informed you that the Carnegie Institution has appropriated an additional \$10,000 for the completion of Codices Latini Antiquiores. You will find all the correspondence in regard to this under Love's name in the files. When Love returns at the end of October, I think we should ask the Carnegie Institution to begin payments. My thought was that they should spread them over three years but that is a question, of course, which we will want to discuss with Love.

Yours sincerely,

Frank Aydelotte

Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer
Institute for Advanced Study
Princeton, New Jersey

1931

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vert. file
LIBRARY

Facilities

WILLIAMSON, C. C. (Director of Libraries,
Columbia University)

Biographical

Attached article sent to Flexner with request for subscription to
Catalogue Bibliotheque Nationale.

Filed in Vertical File under Library "L".

IV-22

Reprinted from THE LIBRARY JOURNAL for July, 1928

CAN THE CATALOGUE OF THE BIBLIOTHEQUE NATIONALE BE COMPLETED IN TEN YEARS?*

By C. C. WILLIAMSON

Director of Libraries, Columbia University

FORTUNATELY for my present purpose it is not necessary to attempt to describe the existing system of catalogs of the Bibliothèque Nationale. A list of the "principal catalogs" appearing in the 1926 edition of a *Guide du Lecteur à la Bibliothèque Nationale* contains twenty-three items, certain of which represent in themselves a multiplicity of catalogs. First in the list, and most important, is the *Catalogue Général*, which even in its present uncompleted form has only one rival for the premier position among the great printed book catalogs of the world, and that is of course the catalog of printed books in the British Museum.

After a long period of discussion as to what should be done to provide an adequate catalog, the *Catalogue Général* was begun in 1894 in accordance with a plan prepared by a special government commission appointed to study the problem. Under this plan the catalog was to consist of three series. The first, and most extensive, was to contain all books and pamphlets by known authors. The second series was to contain all anonymous works and those issued by bodies corporate. Works appearing anonymously are to appear in this second series even tho their authors have been identified and therefore included in the first series. The third, and least important at this time, was to be a series of volumes devoted to special subjects.

The first volume of the author catalog appeared in 1897. Ninety volumes have now been published, bringing the alphabet down to word *LeCompte*. While this is perhaps a little more than half way thru the alphabet, the volume of material bulks larger with the lapse of time. It is estimated that this first series will require ninety-six more volumes to bring it to completion. Each volume is octavo in size, with about 625 pages, double column, printed in legible type, the author's surname in bold face capitals.

Even in its present incomplete form the *Catalogue Général* has come to be looked upon as an indispensable tool in all scholarly libraries, especially those which have to do with French books. Mr. T. Franklin Currier, of the Harvard College Library, writes as follows in reply to a request for a statement of the value of the *Catalogue* in his library:

"In many ways it is the most useful general bibliographical work that we have. While we were printing our cards for the letters previous to the point which it has now reached, my assistant constantly had a volume on her desk, and found it of the greatest help, not only for French, but for the minor languages of Europe, such as Hungarian. Of course, its vast wealth of early and renaissance literature and of foreign works is of great importance. The work is accurate, clear and well arranged, and we would even go so far as to say that we find it fully as useful as the British Museum *Catalogue*, except, of course, for English books."

From Miss Reba S. Cowley, the chief cataloger of the Princeton University Library, and from others we have received many specific reasons for considering the *Catalogue Général* an invaluable tool for catalogers. For voluminous authors, such as Dumas, Balzac, and Hugo, it is especially valuable for the complete and well indexed record of the many editions, translations and varying titles (See Vol. 1, p. LXVIII-LXIX, of the *Catalogue Général*). This is true not only for the French but for authors in all languages, notably Greek and Latin writers, and such German authors as Goethe and Frederick the Great. References from editor's or translator's name to the author frequently serve to establish an entry. References are often given from pseudonyms to real names. With the exception of Arabian, Greek and Latin, entries conform more nearly to L. C. than do those of the British Museum. A book by two authors is entered under both. "We are constantly wanting," says Miss Cowley, "to refer to volumes not yet published. Quérard and Lorenz are not nearly so accurate," "and," adds Miss Prescott, of Columbia University, "not nearly so complete."

Many of the features which make the *Catalogue* valuable to the cataloging department are of equal importance for the reference department or for the order department. The name of the publisher is given, for example, which is a point of superiority over the British Museum *Catalogue*. The fullness of collation, the contents notes, and the series notes are of value in dealing with bibliographical questions. Many reprints and extracts from journals, translations, and other publications, even from government documents, are included with exact references to the place of original publication.

*Based on a paper presented to the Catalog Section of the American Library Association, West Baden, Indiana, May 29, 1928.

The *Catalogue* thus serves to a considerable extent as an index to the unanalyzed French series to be found in all large libraries.

The Bibliothèque Nationale is perhaps the largest library in the world. Since the reign of Henry II it has enjoyed the *depôt légal*, corresponding to the copyright deposit of the Library of Congress and the British Museum. Consequently its collections are practically complete for French authors. The following example of the superiority of the *Catalogue Général* over other bibliographies has been furnished by Miss Isadore G. Mudge, reference librarian, Columbia University. Casimir Delavigne was a nineteenth century dramatist, poet, etc. Four much used French bibliographies—Vicaire, Lorenz, Thieme and Lanson—together list a total of about seventy titles and editions of his works, not counting obvious duplicates. For the same author the *Catalogue Général* lists one hundred and sixty-eight titles and editions, not including duplicates and reprints, and at the same time gives fuller titles, notes, etc., than are to be found in most of the other sources. In the case of several other authors for which a similar comparison was made the results were practically the same.

Ninety volumes of the present series have appeared in the last thirty years, or an average of three volumes a year. Production has been as high as six volumes a year, but came practically to a standstill during the latter part of the War. In 1917 and again in 1918 only one volume was issued. With its present resources the *Bibliothèque Nationale* cannot publish more than four volumes a year, which means that the letter Z cannot be completed until after the middle of the century.

Primarily because of the urgent need of the *Catalogue Général* in the work of the Bibliothèque Nationale itself, Monsieur Roland-Marcel, soon after he became director, in 1924, conceived the idea of photostating the old cards or *fiches* in their present form, not only for the remainder of the author catalog, but also for the greater part of the anonymous works. This plan was announced in September, 1926, and is being carried out at the rate of some fifty volumes a year. Altogether there will be about three hundred and ten volumes of this provisional photostatic catalog, including music which will form nearly half of the total. Each volume contains 3,200 entries and is made up of fifty sheets of linen on each side of which is mounted a positive photostat print of four horizontal rows of eight cards each.

Some of the university libraries represented in the Conference of Eastern College Librarians desiring more information about this provisional photostat catalog, Mr. M. Humphreys, head of the order department at Yale University, was asked to report on it at the meeting of November, 1927. A summary of his report ap-

peared in the LIBRARY JOURNAL, the complete report having been mimeographed and sent to all libraries thought likely to be interested. The number of such libraries was not large because the price of the entire set of photostatic volumes came to something like \$11,000. It was not necessary, however, for subscribers to take the entire set. They could select only the volumes on subjects in which they were interested, the number ranging from two volumes for bibliography to one hundred and fifty for music. The price per volume was \$35, bound.

Inasmuch as a discount running as high as eighteen per cent was offered in case several libraries should subscribe, the Secretary of the Conference of Eastern College Librarians entered into correspondence with all prospective subscribers in the hope that the maximum discount might be secured. It soon became apparent that not enough libraries would order to obtain even the minimum discount of five per cent. The main reason for this lack of interest was of course the high cost, but even the libraries that could have found the money felt that the defects and limitations of the *Catalogue* in this form were too serious to warrant the expenditure. From many correspondents, however, came the query, Why cannot the libraries that need the *Catalogue* of the Bibliothèque Nationale put any money they may be able to spend for it into some plan for hastening the completion of the printed catalog which will be of enormously greater value than the photostat catalog?

The Secretary of the Conference therefore entered into correspondence with M. Roland-Marcel with a view to finding an answer to this question. Later he conferred with him in Paris and more recently still in New York. It appears, as a result, that the rate of progress toward completion of the *Catalogue Général* will depend almost entirely on the amount of money available. M. Roland-Marcel does not consider it possible to secure a larger appropriation from the French government for this purpose. The full realization of the value of the catalog to scholarly libraries in the United States and Great Britain inevitably suggests that here is an excellent opportunity for library co-operation on an international scale.

M. Roland-Marcel is deeply interested in the project and can be relied upon to carry thru anything to which he puts his hand. He has secured a change in the French laws, which permits him to accept private financial assistance and to manage the finances independently of any other government office or department. He now has a separate staff of twelve persons working on the *Catalogue Général*. As soon as funds are available he can bring back a number of trained and competent men now on the retired list. Before reaching the age of compulsory retirement these men were receiving 30,000 francs

—\$1,200 a year. They now have an allowance of \$600 and will be glad to come back for \$600 more. M. Roland-Marcel has at hand ready made, therefore, a trained and dependable staff for greatly increasing his output. I cannot take the time here to describe the organization or methods. Anyone with experience in this kind of work can appreciate some of the difficulties encountered at every step. We can depend upon M. Roland-Marcel and his colleagues to keep up the high standard set in the first ninety volumes. We would doubtless go about the task somewhat differently, but I doubt whether our vaunted American efficiency methods would produce as large a result per dollar expended.

The title of this paper as it appears on the program suggests the completion of the *Catalogue*—meaning the completion of the present series of authors—in ten years. Personally I believe it can be done, but the plan for financing the undertaking approved by M. Roland-Marcel is a bit more conservative, being based on an estimate of twelve years. He estimates that to increase the annual production to eight volumes will require an additional income of 240,000 francs, or \$9,600, a year. To complete the present series in twelve years at the rate of eight volumes a year will therefore mean a total addition to the normal budgets of 2,880,000 francs, or \$115,200. To add this amount during the next twelve years to the budget of the department working on the *Catalogue Général* it will only be necessary, in the first place, for American and British libraries to buy the forty-five sets now on hand of ninety volumes each, and, secondly, for these libraries, as well as those already owning sets, to order the new volumes as they appear at the rate of \$10 a volume.

Of the original printed volumes—*A* to *Le Compte*—only five sets are left and these are held at 20,000 francs, or about \$800, which is a very low price in view of the improbability that more than a very few sets will ever come into the market. For ordinary library purposes the so-called "mixed edition" would seem to be quite as satisfactory. This set consists partly of original volumes printed from type and partly of volumes reproduced photographically by what is known as the Catin process. At the present time the first thirty volumes of the "mixed edition" are in facsimile, the other sixty volumes consisting of originals. Everyone is familiar with anastatic reproductions, commonly referred to in this country as lithographic, tho of course zinc plates are used instead of stones and the printing is done by the offset process. By means of accurate machinery for printing and other improvements excellent results are now obtained in book work. The facsimile volumes of the *Catalogue Général* are printed on durable paper, a trifle thicker and more opaque than

that used in the current printed volumes. Probably no one but the expert will notice the difference between the two kinds of volumes.

This mixed edition is available at 10,000 francs, or \$400, i. e., half the price of a set made up entirely of originals. About forty sets of the mixed edition are now available. It will be possible, of course, to reproduce more of the out-of-print volumes by the Catin process and thus increase the number of mixed sets, each containing a larger proportion of facsimile volumes than the forty sets now available. While there is this possibility of making up more sets, for practical purposes it should be considered that less than fifty sets are now available. When these are gone, which is likely to occur within a year as a result of the plan here set forth, libraries may find themselves in the unfortunate situation in which so many have long found themselves in respect to the catalog of the British Museum, of being unable to secure it, altho they are willing to pay almost any price for it.

Five sets of the *Catalogue Général* at 20,000 francs each and forty sets at 10,000 francs each will put into the hands of M. Roland-Marcel the sum of 500,000 francs—\$20,000—which will enable him to place his organization at once on a basis for bringing out eight volumes a year. Most of the remaining funds needed to continue at this rate for twelve years will be assured if present subscribers and those who purchase sets hereafter will agree to pay \$10 for each additional volume issued. There are about fifty sets in American libraries at the present time. It has proved difficult to get an accurate list from Paris because most libraries get their copies thru dealers, their destination being unknown to the Bibliothèque Nationale or the Imprimerie Nationale. If the forty-five available sets are purchased in Great Britain and the United States and Canada, it seems reasonable to assume that there will be at least one hundred sets in these countries. If the libraries owning these 100 sets will agree to pay \$10 a volume in the future, the revenue of \$8,000 a year for twelve years will produce 2,400,000 francs and this, with the 500,000 francs from the sale of the forty-five sets in stock, will yield 2,900,000 francs, or a little more than the amount estimated by the Bibliothèque Nationale to be necessary to complete the present series in twelve years. There is therefore good ground for hoping that it can be accomplished in ten years.

You will want to know what ground we have for assuming that forty-five sets of the *Catalogue* can be sold at once. According to present information, it is owned by thirty-three college and university libraries, as follows: Amherst, Bryn Mawr, California, Chicago, Cincinnati, Clark, Columbia, Cornell, Dartmouth, Harvard, Illinois, Indiana, Johns Hopkins, Iowa State

College, State University of Iowa, Kansas, Michigan (two copies), Minnesota, Missouri, North Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Princeton, Rochester, Stanford, Syracuse, Texas, Tulane, Vanderbilt, Vassar, Washington, Wesleyan, and Wisconsin. Also by the public libraries of the following six cities: Boston, Cleveland, Detroit, New York (two copies), Newark, and St. Louis. The Library of Congress, the John Crerar Library, the New York State Library, Peabody Institute, the U. S. Department of Agriculture, the Smithsonian Institution, the Boston Athenaeum and the Grolier Club, New York, each have one set. In other words, forty-eight sets have been reported. A number may have been overlooked. Canadian and British institutions have not yet been canvassed.

A few of these libraries are at the present time receiving the current volumes of the *Catalogue* as a gift, either directly from the Bibliothèque Nationale or from the Ministry of Instruction. Those on the free list that have come to our attention are: Library of Congress, Smithsonian Institution, Harvard University, University of Missouri and Johns Hopkins University. It is proper that the National Library of France should show this courtesy to our own National Library. And on account of its services to all scholarly libraries probably no one will question the propriety of keeping the Smithsonian Institution on the free list. All other institutions will doubtless be willing to waive their exceptional privilege and join with the subscribing institutions in helping the Bibliothèque Nationale to complete this great bibliographical tool as rapidly as possible. Johns Hopkins reports that it receives the *Catalogue* on an exchange basis, but other universities which send all their publications to the Bibliothèque Nationale are nevertheless paying subscribers to the *Catalogue*. French Government officials responsible for the distribution have not heretofore been greatly concerned about the revenue from sales nor have they been sufficiently familiar with our educational institutions to discriminate between those which should receive free copies and those which should pay. The University of Missouri receives a free copy but I have a strong suspicion that somebody in Paris, misled by the name of the city in which that university is located, thinks that copy is going to Columbia University, for in the lists sent to us from the Bibliothèque Nationale the address appears as "Columbia University, Missouri." Altho Columbia University sends hundreds of volumes to the Bibliothèque Nationale every year it pays for the *Catalogue Général* and is contemplating the purchase of a second set.

To satisfy myself that it is not beyond the realm of reason and possibility to count on disposing of forty-five sets of the *Catalogue Général* to scholarly libraries in the United States,

Canada and Great Britain, which do not now have it, and to those which will desire a second set, I have made up some tentative lists of libraries which it seems to me will certainly make every effort to purchase a set before it is too late. In these lists are fifty college and university libraries in the United States, twenty public libraries, and a half dozen other endowed libraries that cannot afford to let this opportunity pass without acquiring a set which may never be offered to them again.

In at least six of the accredited library schools it appears not to be available for teaching purposes. Probably one reason that more of the libraries which buy and catalog French books and attempt to serve a clientèle of students and scholars do not have this important tool is that it has not been taught in the library schools. Certainly every library school that tries to fit its graduates for responsible reference or cataloging positions in college, university and other scholarly libraries should own a set of the *Catalogue Général*.

Here are nearly eighty prospective purchasers for the forty-five sets and I have no doubt overlooked many others, perhaps half as many more, that should be in my lists. English librarians are also interested and ready to co-operate. Colonel Luxmoore Newcombe, director of the Central Library for Students, hopes to purchase a set for his own collection, and has prepared for us a list of seventy-three libraries in Great Britain and Ireland "which might be approached in reference to the *Catalogue*." The situation in Canada has not been canvassed at all, but there must be a market there for a few sets.

Full information will presently be sent to all libraries likely to be interested. It is important that orders should go directly to the Bibliothèque Nationale—not to the Ministry of Education, not to the Imprimerie Nationale and not to dealers, unless the dealer specifically waives his commission. In this way every cent of money paid by the co-operating libraries will go into the special fund in the Bibliothèque Nationale devoted to the work on the *Catalogue Général*. The Committee* is not in a position to act as agent, yet it will be glad to transmit to M. Roland-Marcel orders for the volumes already published and for continuations. In any case the Committee would like to be advised of any orders placed so that it can keep an accurate record of the progress made toward the desired goal.

* The members of this Committee are: Asa Don Dickinson, librarian, University of Pennsylvania; James T. Gerould, librarian, Princeton University; Andrew Keogh, librarian, Yale University; H. M. Lydenberg, assistant director, New York Public Library; and C. C. Williamson, director of libraries, Columbia University, chairman.

Vert. file "L"

LOWE, E.A.

Biographical

Curriculum vitae

filed Vert. file "L" for Lowe

Vertical File

LOWE, Elias Avery

June 3, 1955

Professor in Palaeography Institute for Advanced Study,
Princeton, New Jersey, U. S. A. since 1936;
Consultant in Palaeography Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

Born 15 October 1879; son of Charles and Sarah Ragoler Lowe;
married 1911 Helen Tracy Porter; three daughters.

EDUCATION AND HONORS:

New York Grammer School;
College of the City of New York;
Cornell University- Phi Beta Kappa 1901, A.B. 1902;
Munich Univ. Ph.D. 1907;
M.A. and Hon. D.Litt. (Oxon.);
Hon. LL.D. (Univ. North Carolina);
Fellow American School of Classical Studies Rome 1908-10;
Associate of Carnegie Institution since 1911;
Lecturer and Reader in Palaeography University of Oxford
1913-48;
Honorary Fellow Corpus Christi College Oxford;
Sandars Reader in Bibliography University of Cambridge
(England) 1914;
Corresponding Fellow British Academy;
Fellow Mediaeval Academy of America;
Corresponding Member Hispanic Society of America;
Fellow American Academy of Arts and Sciences;
Corresponding Member Real Academia de la Historia Madrid;
Corresponding Member Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften
Munich;
Corresponding Member Accademia dei Lincei Rome;
Corresponding Member Institut d'Inscriptions et Belles-
Lettres Académie Française Paris;
Corresponding Member Institut für Osterreichische
Geschichtsforschung Universität Vienna;
Honorary Member Royal Irish Academy Dublin.

LOWE, Elias Avery (Cont'd)

PUBLICATIONS:

- Die ältesten Kalendarien aus Monte Cassino, Munich 1908;
Studia Palaeographica, Munich 1910;
The Beneventan Script, Oxford 1914;
The Bobbio Missal: text, London 1920;
A sixth-century fragment of the Letters of Pliny the Younger, Washington D.C. 1922 (with E. K. Rand);
Codices Lugdunenses Antiquissimi, Lyons 1924;
The Bobbio Missal: notes and studies, London 1923-24 (with A. Wilmart, H. A. Wilson);
A Hand-list of Half-uncial Manuscripts. In Miscellanea Fr. Ehrle IV, Rome 1924;
Handwriting. In Legacy of the Middle Ages, Oxford 1926;
English Handwriting. In S. P. E. Tract XXIII, Oxford 1926 (with R. Bridges, R. Fry);
Regula S. Benedicti, Oxford 1929;
Scriptura Beneventana, Oxford 1929 2 vols. 102 plates;
The oldest Omission Signs in Latin manuscripts. In Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati VI, Rome 1946;
Codices Latini Antiquiores: palaeographical guide to Latin manuscripts prior to the ninth century:
Pt. I The Vatican City, Oxford Clarendon 1934 plates
Pt. II Great Britain and Ireland, Oxford 1935 "
Pt. III Italy: Ancona-Novara, Oxford 1938 "
Pt. IV Italy: Perugia-Verona, Oxford 1947 "
Pt. V France: Paris, Oxford 1950 "
Pt. VI France: Abbeville-Valenciennes, Oxford 1953 "
Pt. VII Switzerland, Oxford 1956 "
Pts. VIII-IX Germany and other countries (partly in press);
Numerous articles and reviews in historical, classical and theological journals.

ADDRESSES:

Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, New Jersey, U.S.A.
Corpus Christi College, Oxford, England

E. A. Lowe, An unknown Latin psalter
on Mount Sinai, in
Scriptorium IX², 1955,
pp. 177-199, plates 17-23.