

July 16, 1941

Dear Arthur:

How many of the World Organization pamphlets can we spare for the National Policy Committee? I wrote to Helen Hill Miller saying that we would like to send them to the Committee, thinking their membership was about twenty-five. She informs me that it is actually 2,100. Obviously we cannot furnish anything like that, and she quite understands and is willing to send out as many as we are able to spare. Do you think it safe to send her 25, 50, or 100? If you will let Mrs. Bailey know, she will send on to Mrs. Miller as many as you think safe.

Yours sincerely,

FRANK AYDELOTTE

Mr. Arthur Sweetser
Terry Park Ranch
Larkspur, Colorado

FA:ESB



BRITISH EMBASSY,
WASHINGTON, D.C.
July 15th, 1941.

Dear Sir:

His Majesty's Ambassador asks me to acknowledge the receipt of your booklet entitled "WORLD ORGANIZATION 1920-1940", and to thank you very much for sending it to him.

Yours very truly,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "A.C.E. Malcolm". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large initial "A".

A.C.E. Malcolm,
Private Secretary.

The Secretary,
Institute for Advanced Study,
PRINCETON, N.J.

ROBERT E. LAMB

RESIDENCE: R. D. 1
NORRISTOWN, PA.

OFFICE: 843 NORTH 19TH STREET
PHILADELPHIA, PA.

July 14, 1941

Dr. Frank Aydelotte
Director of the Institution for Advanced Study
Princeton University
Princeton, New Jersey

Dear Frank:

Today I received a copy of the report of your conference on World Organization. I shall read it with a great deal of interest.

I certainly miss seeing you and Mrs. Aydelotte at Swarthmore and I hope that some occasions may occur when we can meet again.

With kindest regards, I am

Very sincerely yours,

RE

SOCIETE DES NATIONS

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Dear Frank:

I have sent the attached letter to Dadds & Ten Broeck to close up the meeting in a good spirit...

Also to Miss Woolley for the President.....

Also to each speaker on the lines of that to Carter Goodrich, with 3 copies each -

I'm seeing Baudreau about a bulk order for the I of N Association.

Off to N.Y. now, back Thursday night. The golf tournament begins at 2 Friday; we could play at 10.30 or 5

A.S.

June 30, 1941

Dear President Dodds:

I take a very genuine pleasure in sending you the enclosed Report on the Princeton Meeting of League Experts just off the press today. I greatly hope you will find time to glance through it. I am sorry indeed that your other duties made it impossible for you to be present throughout the proceedings, but hope this little pamphlet will give you an impression which is both interesting and accurate. Certainly it gives a cumulative effect of American collaboration in this type of work as well as valuable indications for the future.

There are, of course, as many other copies available as you might desire. It occurs to me that you might care to have them sent to your Trustees, who would be interested in this extension of their original invitation. I should also be grateful for any comments which suggest themselves to you.

Enclosed also are a couple of reports on the Meeting which you may not have seen.

With deep appreciation for all your help and assistance which has made this work possible, I am

Yours very truly,

Enclosures

June 30, 1941

Dear Miss Woolley:

I take a very genuine pleasure in sending you the enclosed Report on the Princeton Meeting just off the press today, and hope you will find it both interesting and accurate. Certainly it gives a cumulative impression of American collaboration in this type of work, as well as valuable indications for the future.

It is this little pamphlet that I thought you might care to send on to the President with a brief note to show that the work which you and he discussed and upon which he wrote you so generously is still going on. This might give him just a glimpse of the future and show a type of activity, as well as of American support, which will be very welcome to him.

I should, of course, be grateful to see any comments on this little pamphlet or to send you further copies if you so desire.

Again thanking you for your contribution to the Meeting and with every hope that you are in the best of health, I am

Yours very truly,

Enclosure

June 30, 1941

Dear Carter:

I take pleasure in enclosing herewith a copy of the Report on the Princeton Meeting just off the press today and hope you will find it both interesting and accurate. Certainly it gives a cumulative impression of American collaboration in technical and non-political work, as well as interesting indications for the future.

I would welcome any suggestions which may occur to you on reading the pamphlet and would of course be glad to send you any further copy which you may desire.

With best wishes,

Yours very truly,

Enclosure

June 14, 1941

Dear Arthur:

I have gone through the proof and think you have made a masterly summary of the conference. Herewith my own contribution squeezed down to about the length which I judge you want. Squeeze it still further if you so desire.

I like everything but your title. It is exact, but not catchy, and I am afraid that people who are interested in the League would never open the pamphlet.

Your title would be an excellent sub-title. I think your main title should frankly be "The Technical Work of the League, the World Court and the International Labor Office". I see no objection to using all three. Instead of "Technical Work" you might say "Non-Political Achievements". Another suggestion would be "World Organization 1920-1940" and underneath in three separate lines "The Technical Departments of the League, the Permanent Court of International Justice, the International Labor Office".

This pamphlet, after all, is intended for the aid and encouragement of those who are interested in the League and I think the League, the Court and the I.L.O. should appear in the title. "The Non-Political Achievements of the League, the Court and the I.L.O." would not be bad. I am sure that if you wrestle with this problem long enough you can solve it.

Yours sincerely,

FRANK AYDELOTTE

Arthur Sweetser, Esq.
Fuld Hall
Princeton, N. J.

FA:MR

SOCIETE DES NATIONS

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

June 12th, 1941.

Dear Dr. Aydelotte,

I want to thank you very much for your note; I do appreciate your kind thought on behalf of the four Institutions, but I am sorry you will not let me talk to you about the orchids! In the circumstances, I do not feel I can press the point, but I would like to say that I really do not deserve them.

My reason, in the first place, for volunteering to help was a personal one - I was so very glad to have an opportunity of doing something for Miss Eichelser and Miss Wise in return for all the help and kindness they have given me in such a ready and friendly way that I have called upon it often and without hesitation.

Then too, the League is "my" Institution and I was glad to be able to make a very small contribution to the success of the Reunion and to be of some use to the League and the Institutions which have befriended it. Partly through a misunderstanding and partly owing to ill health, my contribution was, in fact, I am sorry to say, extremely small.

And, finally, I enjoyed doing what I did, and so I hope that on every occasion that presents itself in the future I may have the pleasure and privilege of giving my spare time to either of these Institutions.

Yours sincerely,

P. W. van Heterum

Dr. F. Aydelotte,
Fuld Hall,
Princeton, N.J.

June 11, 1941

Dear Mr. Brakeley:

The expense of the League of Nations conference will run just under the \$600.00 estimated (that is, \$200.00 for each institution) if no record of the proceedings is printed. Arthur Sweetser has prepared an extremely readable summary of the proceedings which could be printed in a little pamphlet for an estimated cost of \$185.00. This would bring the total expense of the conference to just over \$700.00. The estimate is \$708.02 which would be \$236.00 for each institution. If agreeable to you, I will instruct Sweetser to go ahead and print the pamphlet as economically as he can and I shall then furnish you a final statement when the bills have come in. Meanwhile, if you want to make a report for this year's budget, I am sure that the figure of \$236.00 is fairly accurate for each institution and that in no case would it run to more than \$250.00.

Very sincerely,

FRANK AYDELOTTE

Mr. George A. Brakeley
Princeton University
Princeton, New Jersey

FA:ESB

June 11, 1941

Dear Dr. Ten Broeck:

The expense of the League of Nations conference will run just under the \$600.00 estimated (that is, \$200.00 for each institution) if no record of the proceedings is printed. Arthur Sweetser has prepared an extremely readable summary of the proceedings which could be printed in a little pamphlet for an estimated cost of \$185.00. This would bring the total expense of the conference to just over \$700.00. The estimate is \$708.02 which would be \$236.00 for each institution. If agreeable to you, I will instruct Sweetser to go ahead and print the pamphlet as economically as he can and ^{I shall then} furnish you a final statement when the bills have come in. Meanwhile, if you want to make a report for this year's budget, I am sure that the figure of \$236.00 is fairly accurate for each institution and that in no case would it run to more than \$250.00.

Very sincerely,

FRANK AYDELOTTE

Dr. Carl J. Ten Broeck
Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research
Princeton, New Jersey

FA:ESB

June 3, 1941

Memorandum to Dr. Aydelotte:

I should be most grateful if you would glance through as soon as possible the attached material for a pamphlet on the recent meeting of League experts, and let me have any comments or criticisms which occur to you.

I confess that it has been a tough job trying to work this pamphlet out in principle and then get it into shape in detail. We had no less than 15 speeches, plus an introduction, all of them with excellent material which I should have liked to have given in full. That, however, would have made a wholly unmanageable pamphlet, especially at this very crowded moment.

What seemed to me most preferable was to attempt to give a series of short, succinct, evenly balanced statements, the impact of which, covering the very wide variety of fields that they do cover, would have a most effective cumulative effect. Therefore, I tried to set a limit of four pages each for the two general statements made by Mr. Hambro and Mr. Loveday at the opening session, and for the special cases of the two autonomous organizations, the Court and the Labor Office, giving two pages each to the eight statements on Sunday morning.

It has been very difficult to cut these statements down, as many of them contain excellent substance which I should have liked to have kept. It has been the only way, however, that I can think of to give a general, over-all and proportioned impression of the wide scope of subjects covered.

I hope you will agree with this general method of presentation, and would appreciate any detailed comments or suggestions. I am, of course, sending the individual statements to each speaker for his personal approval.

Obviously, this is a job we ought to get through at the earliest possible moment, given especially the lateness of the season, and I should therefore be grateful for your comments at the earliest moment convenient to you.

A.S.

Dear Frank:

It's hard to keep
all your predecessors
and successors
in line!

AS.

7 Newlin Road, Princeton, New Jersey
May 8, 1941

Dear Dr. Flexner:

I want very much to send you, of course privately and confidentially, a copy of a statement just received from Geneva as to the present status and function of the League of Nations Library, which you had so large a part in establishing. I am sure you will be deeply gratified, as we all are, to know that the Library is carrying on so effectively as it is, even despite all the difficulties, and that it bids fair, after the war, to be the best stocked international library in Europe. This is, perhaps, but a small ray of light in this dark world, but it is at least encouraging to know that one good thing is still carrying on amidst the havoc that is Europe.

The document which I am sending you is private in the form in which it stands, but there is no reason for not using the facts in it if you so desired. In any event, I want to send it on to you in view of your very preponderant part in the creation of the Library.

With kindest personal regards, I am

Yours very truly,

Arthur Drocates

Dr. Abraham Flexner
150 East 72nd Street
New York City

AS:MGH

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

R. B. WHITE
PRESIDENT

NEWCOMB CARLTON
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

J. C. WILLEVER
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS

DL=Day Letter

NT=Overnight Telegram

LC=Deferred Cable

NLT=Cable Night Letter

Ship Radiogram

WESTERN UNION

(70)

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

NP290 VIA RCA=CD GENEVE 47 24

NLT DODDS AYDELOTTE=

1941 APR 24 PM 11 19

TENBROECK UNIVERSITY PRINCETON (NJ)=

GRATEFUL YOUR TELEGRAM CONVEYING VIEWS MEETING OF AMERICANS
ASSOCIATED LEAGUES NONPOLITICAL WORK STOP COLLEAGUES AND
SELF ENCOURAGED BY THEIR CONFIDENCE IN FUTURE STOP I
GLADLY TAKE NEW OPPORTUNITY EXPRESS APPRECIATION SPIRIT
FRIENDLY HOSPITALITY AND COMRADESHIP SHOWN MY COLLEAGUES
IN PRINCETON=
LESTER.

7 Newlin Road, Princeton, New Jersey
May 6, 1941

President John W. Nason
Swarthmore College
Swarthmore, Pennsylvania

Dear President Nason:

Your letter of April 29 with its kind invitation for dinner on May 7 caught up with me in Virginia, where I had gone over the week-end for the dedication of Woodrow Wilson's Birthplace. This will explain my not having answered more promptly.

I wish very much that I might attend the dinner, as I feel strongly that all of us who are interested in international organization and peace ought to cooperate to the greatest possible degree against the enemy common to all of us, namely, the isolationists and provincialists. My own convictions, as you know, incline very strongly towards a universal rather than a limited or regional agreement, but I have always thought that the two could and should be pressed simultaneously, without necessarily an open conflict between them. It is for that reason and also because of the utter impossibility today of predicting the future that I have regretted that some of the newer ideas have been either critical or oblivious of the wider and ultimate system.

Had it been possible for me to be present at the meeting, I should have expressed the view that we ought to advance over every possible open road, making as many neighborhood and ideological groupings as possible but, at the same time, going ahead with the utmost vigor on a universal basis. I have been somewhat alarmed, I confess, at a tendency in some quarters to lay all their emphasis on a purely Anglo American relationship, whether it be from the ideological, economic or military viewpoint, as it seems to be almost a law of human nature that one alliance begets another. All of us must recognize, I think, that from the purely practical and realistic point of view the British and American peoples will probably, if the war comes out right, have to bear the bulk of the post-war burden, the British perhaps in the field of preserving order and the Americans in that of providing relief, but it would seem to me to be catastrophic if that control could be interpreted in other countries as an attempt at Anglo American hegemony over the world or as another racial theory. From the very fact that we may be forced to assume such very large responsibilities after the war, I tremendously hope that we will make them as unobtrusive as possible and take very active steps for the creation of a universal agency where all States will feel at home as of right. It is surprising to me how some of our people in getting caught up with the appeal of a new idea lose sight of a lot of other interests, such as our vital concern in the welfare of continental Europe, and our own specific traditions in Latin America and the Far East.

I confess, too, that I am confused by the thought of prescribing any particular method or system of government as an essential qualification to membership in a general agency, or conversely as a debarment from such membership. On the one hand, experience in the League has shown that such a test presents difficulties of application, as for instance, when democratic Italy went Fascist, democratic Germany went Nazi, or even when Spain broke up into two conflicting governments. On the other hand, a better test would seem to me to be, not what

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a government did within its own territory but what it did outside. Our chief concern in a matter of this sort is, after all, whether a nation is a danger to its neighbors, not whether it is our exact ideal of government. An argument can be made, of course, that democracies are of the more peaceful type, but I am not absolutely certain that that works out in history as, for instance, in our own case we seem to have got into our full share of wars. Similarly, I can imagine a situation where for domestic reasons it might be necessary to have a non-democratic government, which, at the same time, would be a very peaceful government, asking nothing from its neighbors except to be left in peace.

Regretting again that I cannot be with you at the dinner, and wishing you every success, I am

Yours very truly,

Arthur Sweetser

P. S. Mr. Sweetser apologizes for not being able to sign this letter. Only the first page of the letter was ready and read over by him when he had to leave hurriedly for New York to attend an important meeting.

League Conf.

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY
PRINCETON NEW JERSEY

PRESIDENT'S ROOM

May 1st, 1941.

Dear Dr. Aydelotte:

In Dr. Dodds' absence I wish to acknowledge with thanks the receipt of your letter of April 28th, with enclosures, which I shall be glad to bring to his attention on his return to Princeton.

Yours very sincerely,

Margaret Regan
Secretary to the President

Dr. Frank Aydelotte,
The Institute for Advanced Study,
Princeton, N. J.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

April 28, 1941

My dear Dr. Aydelotte:

I am very thankful indeed for your interesting letter of April 21, with still more interesting enclosures. I follow your work with keen interest, and am always glad to receive a communication from you.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) Cordell Hull

Dr. Frank Aydelotte
Institute for Advanced Study
Princeton, New Jersey

League Conf.

April 28, 1941

Dear Dodds:

I think Arthur Sweetser sent you a copy of the cablegram which he sent to the Acting Secretary General of the League, concerning the meeting in Princeton. I have just received the enclosed reply from Lester, which I thought you would be interested to read.

It has been a matter of great satisfaction to me to receive many expressions of enthusiasm for the success of the League meeting.

Yours sincerely,

FRANK AYDELOTTE

President Harold W. Dodds
Princeton University
Princeton, New Jersey

FA/MCE

Same letter to Dr. TenBroeck

Copy of acknowledgment from Secretary Hull enclosed

7 Newlin Road, Princeton, New Jersey
April 23, 1941

Dear Sean:

How very deeply I wish you might have dropped in on us at Princeton over the week end when for the first time we brought together, at the invitation of the three Princeton institutions, a formal group of Americans who during the past twenty years have participated in the technical and non-political work associated with the League, the Labor Office, and the Court.

The meeting exceeded any hopes that we had dared to have for it, and would have given you a big emotional pickup in these critical days. I would give a good deal if I could get a bit of the atmosphere over to you, beyond that contained in yesterday's cable from the three institutions and the invitation previously air mailed.

First of all, we have never attempted, in these twenty years, to bring together as a group the many and very varied American technicians associated with League work. An almost steady stream of Americans has flowed from this country to Europe during these two decades, particularly during the last decade, but they have always gone as individuals, each in his own particular field and without any cognizance of other fields. There was consequently not only no cross fertilization of knowledge as amongst the many different types of technicians but there was no sense of unity amongst them or even of common attachment through association with the same objective.

Shortly after the first League officials arrived here last summer, it occurred to me that it might be a good idea to try to get all these various technicians together, first in order to put them in touch with the present situation and the establishment of bits of the League here, and second in order to try to create homogeneity and a sense of common association amongst them. This seemed particularly desirable at this time when so many common efforts are breaking up and a general tendency towards separatism is setting in.

The three Princeton institutions which had issued the invitations to the League's technical services to come to this country, namely, the University, the Institute for Advanced Study, and the Rockefeller Institute, were enthusiastic about this suggestion and were more than willing to accept the responsibility, both financially and otherwise for it. We had first thought to have the meeting on Armistice Day, but that seemed just a bit too early, and we later thought of having it early in the new year, but that was at the moment of the Lease-Lend debate. Finally, we fixed on April 19-20, which, as it happens, is the most beautiful part of the year in Princeton.

The preparations were made with a good deal of care. The invitations were carefully drafted to avoid any of several difficulties which might have arisen, and our friends in Washington were kept in touch. Everything from this general point of view went as smoothly as we could dare to hope.

My first surprise came with the numbers involved. I had thought that two hundred invitations would be more than enough, for they were to be confined very strictly to American technicians who had been on League Committees. They did not include many occasional delegates to conferences, such as Disarmament, Economics, and Labor, nor, of course, quite a considerable number who had become unavailable in this long period through distance or death. Very shortly, however, the invitations were exhausted, and we had to run off another fifty.

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Our next surprise came in the extraordinarily high proportion of acceptances. We had anticipated from thirty to fifty people; instead of that we sat down at the opening dinner with eighty-six, and had over a hundred for the business session the following morning. Much as it has been my business to follow the spirit of these fellow countrymen, I would never have dared to hope that so large a proportion would put themselves to the inconvenience of coming to Princeton over a week end for discussions which, at this immediate moment, might seem either pretty much of the past or pretty far in the future.

Our third source of gratification was the quality of the acceptances. They included not only many individuals important in American technical activities but no less than sixteen officials from various Departments in Washington, including four each from State and Treasury, three from Labor, two from Commerce, and one each from Tariff, Social Security, Federal Reserve and Housing. This again was a surprise to me in seeing so many Government officials willing to take the time off from their very arduous tasks to come here for the week end.

Perhaps most fortunate of all, however, was that we were able to get together almost all of the people who have played a leading part in this work. We have only one American, Henry Grady, who is Chairman of the Economic Committee, but he arranged to come on from San Francisco. We have but one American who is Chairman of the Statistical Committee, Dana Durand, but he came up from Washington. We have but one American, Carter Goodrich, who is Chairman of the Governing Board of the I.L.O., but he came down from New York. Similarly, but one American Judge of the Court, Manley Hudson, who came down from Cambridge. So also with Mitchell Carroll, constant motivator of double taxation, Frank Boudreau, who is continuing his health work as assiduously as during his twelve years in Geneva, Herbert May, who has been patron saint of our Opium group here, Miss Castendyck, who spoke officially for the Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor, Winfield Riefler, who is doing some of the most valuable work in economic depressions, and Miss *Smith Williams, authority on nutrition.*

We were very fortunate, too, in some of our foreign friends. While this was, for obvious reasons, conceived distinctly as a kind of American family reunion, nevertheless, certain special foreign friends were invited as guests. First in line, of course, were the two little groups of League officials in this country, the Economic, Financial, and Transit group at Princeton, and the Opium group at Washington. I imagine that sometimes they feel themselves pretty far from home, but for these two days at least they were transplanted directly back into the old Geneva atmosphere, and secured, from what they have told me, an immense emotional stimulation and pickup. It was good to bring them in touch with their American colleagues and their American colleagues in touch with them.

In addition, it was very appropriate to have Mr. Hambro, who is now resident in Princeton, available to make a reply in behalf of the League to the address of welcome by President Dodds of Princeton University. Mr. Hambro gave a very interesting statement of the present situation, particularly as regards finances, where he was, perhaps, more optimistic than Willits, Kittredge and Stewart, especially, had anticipated. Loveday, who was the other speaker the first evening, made a very deep impression, particularly on people such as Feis and Pasvolsky. One point I should perhaps mention here is that we were very happy to have the cooperation of both the Labor Office and the Court.

-3-

The Sunday morning meeting, held in the very comfortable lounge room of the Institute, with its wide open doors and background of rich spring foliage, was one of the best such discussions I have ever attended. Dr. Aydelotte, who was presiding, ran it off with exemplary speed, limiting each speaker to ten minutes despite his attempting to cover twenty years of international effort. The speakers were divided into two groups, first, economic, and second, social, with very clear and net summary contributions by each speaker and a brief general discussion on each of the two broad fields. These statements in themselves, made by American technicians alone, would make almost a complete story of the League's technical work.

The meeting then adjourned for a closing lunch and discussion, where it fell to me to preside. We had arranged to give the Court and the Labor Office a somewhat separate status by having Goodrich and Hudson speak at that time. It was gratifying indeed to have both these associated agencies represented, and co-operating, as has not always been the case in the past, and we were particularly happy that Phelan, who happened to be in Washington, could also be on hand as one of the guests.

The session was brought to a close by two general statements, the first by Miss Woolley, who, as you remember, organized the National Committee to Aid and Preserve the League's Technical work, which drew a formal statement of approval from President Roosevelt, and the second by Dr. Frank Aydelotte, who, as Director of the Institute for Advanced Study, has been the prime mover and the special host in connection with the Economic group here. Both spoke most effectively, stressing the absolute indispensability of such international cooperation, in any kind of normal and ordered world.

Just before the end, Mr. Henry Grady, who, as I say, had come on from the Coast, asked leave to present a resolution expressing appreciation to the Princeton authorities for calling the present reunion and for inviting the League's services here, expressing also the hope that others might come, expressing appreciation for the cooperation which the Rockefeller Foundation had given, expressing their belief that, "whatever the precise future of international relations, these technical and non-political activities must be continued as an integral part of world organization", and finally, their appreciation for recent statements by the President and the Secretary of State of the United States that the American government has cordially cooperated in such work and hopes greatly to see it preserved and extended. This resolution was most warmly seconded by Dr. Boudreau, accepted by acclamation, and cabled in summary to you.

The net impression left on one's mind of this two-day session is ^{the} extraordinary loyalty, one might almost say affection, felt by this group of important Americans towards the work and effort with which they have been associated. It was a revelation, indeed, to me, who am supposed to be in touch with this sort of thing; it seemed to be even more of a revelation to others, who had not anticipated anything comparable. I cannot tell you how many kind expressions of appreciation and gratification came from all sides, or how often the wish formally expressed by Darlington at the closing session, that other such meetings be held, was expressed.

Now we are in the throes of the aftermath. Yesterday the three institutions sent off their cable to you; today Dr. Aydelotte is making a brief report for Mr. Hull, and Miss Woolley will probably find ways and means of informing the President. I fear I must add, too, that I have been unanimously chosen as the only victim to attempt to draw up a brief statement or pamphlet out of the pages and pages of concise notes taken during the sessions.

-4-

All of this, my dear Sean, despite its satisfaction and pickup, often seems small and unimportant against the lurid background of devastation and slaughter now encompassing such large parts of the world. Yet if only those who are better qualified than we in the art of conflict and battle can work out some satisfactory outcome to the present crisis, all this will have its very big importance in laying a foundation for the future. At the same time, it is my own very strong hope that the setting up of some such clear ideal and objective as we have envisioned here these past two days will have not only a future but a very real immediate value in creating that morale and sense of purpose which is essential to sustaining any great conflict. Sometime or other the world must and will get out of its present barbarism and savagery, and the glimpsing of a wider and saner future constitutes both an immediate incentive and a future goal.

If, therefore, at moments in reading this letter, you have the feeling that I am being unrealistic or far away from present facts, please be sure that that is not the case. Indeed, one who has seen, as we have seen these past two days, what might be is in a sense all the more infuriated and outraged by what is. The little effort that we are making here, and that you are making in Geneva, is just to keep alive and ready as against the day, that little flame of enlightenment and hope which mankind needs to see ahead of him out of the blackness to guide him to something more worthy of the human race.

Let me close this letter with the line with which I opened it, that I deeply wish you might have been here these past two days for a little of the emotional stimulation and pickup which I am sure this meeting would have given you. I can only hope that this, I fear, very long and somewhat rambling summary may, however, give you a bit of the picture.

With all best wishes from many old friends here who deeply admire and sympathize with the effort you are making on the frontline, I am,

Yours as ever,

Arthur Drexler

Mr. Sean Lester
7 rue Contamines
Geneva, Switzerland

AS:MOH

League Conf

April 21, 1941

Memorandum to Dr. Aydelotte:

Attached are drafts of a suggested cable to Mr. Lester and letters to Secretary Hull, Miss Woolley and Mr. Fosdick, which I should like to submit for any criticism or comment.

A.S.

April 21, 1941

*Final Copies:
Original to Mr. Hull
2. hours to
Dr. Hydelettle
Robert Dadda
Dr. Tom Broeck
AS (2, inclu-
ding 1 for
Miss Goble)*

The Honorable Cordell Hull
State Department
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Secretary:

Revise

We were all so very much gratified with the success of the reunion over this weekend of American citizens who have participated in the technical and non-political work associated with the League of Nations that I am anxious to send you just this brief word on behalf of the three inviting institutions: Princeton University, the Institute for Advanced Study, and the Princeton Department of the Rockefeller Institute.

We were considerably surprised, at the outset, when in making up the list we found that there were nearly two hundred and fifty of our fellow citizens who have cooperated in one or more of the many branches of the League's technical work, without including large groups of special delegations, such as that which you led to the World Economic Conference, or ~~which~~ ^{accepted} took part in the Disarmament and Labor Conferences. We had not realized that the group of international technicians with direct experience in Geneva was anywhere near ~~so~~ so large.

We were next extremely gratified with the very unusual proportion of acceptances. While we had anticipated some forty or fifty people, practically double that number were on hand for the two-day session. Certainly there is a degree of interest and devotion amongst this group which ought to be a very real national asset in whatever future foreign policy our Government may wish to follow in this immense field of *international technical collaboration*

Finally, we were gratified most of all, perhaps, by the quality of those who accepted and by our good fortune in being able to secure practically all the leaders amongst these technicians, ~~amongst them were~~ ^{in Washington} sixteen officials of our own Government ~~including, to our great pleasure, acceptances from~~ ~~four officers of the Department which you are so ably directing.~~ Those who were kind enough to speak represented, as you will see, the ranking American experts in most of these ~~technical~~ activities, including the International Labor Organization and the Court. Certainly the discussion was one of the most precise and practical that one could imagine.

It is a particular pleasure to tell you that this very special group of American citizens not only did not lose ~~the~~ sight but took positive cognizance of both the attitude and the action which you yourself, as Secretary of State, have so generously taken. At the end of the meeting a resolution, offered by Mr. Henry Grady and seconded by Dr. Frank Boudreau, was passed by acclamation expressing the group's appreciation, on the one hand, for the fact that parts of the League's technical services have been established in this country and, on the other, for the statements by the President and yourself to the effect that the American Government has cordially cooperated in this technical work and hopes greatly to see it preserved and extended.

~~We only wish, my dear Mr. Secretary, that we might have had the pleasure of having you with us. We spoke several times of inviting you but concluded at the end that it would be a kindness on our part not even to raise the question of one further responsibility in these troubled times. Perhaps, however, Mr. Feis or Mr. Pasvolsky, whom we deeply appreciated having with us, may have the~~

#2

opportunity of saying ~~just~~ a word to you about a group of experts who we feel constitute a real national asset available for future service. Meantime, in the hope that you may have ~~just~~ a minute to glance at them, I attach a copy of the program and a list of those invited.

With constant admiration for the idealism and the skill with which you are daily meeting our incomparably difficult foreign problems, I am, my dear Mr. Secretary,

Yours respectfully,

Frank Hydeotte

April 24, 1941

Memorandum for Mr. Riefler:

Miss Eichelser spoke to me, just as I was taking the train, about the figure of nearly 250 Americans mentioned in Dr. Aydelotte's letter to Mr. Hull.

I think the statement as it stands is quite correct. If you will read it carefully you will see that it says "there were nearly 250 who have cooperated." It does not say that "nearly 250 were invited"; it simply says that that number have been connected with the League. Apart from those actually invited, there were a good many others who might have been, such as former I.L.O. officials, Miss Wilson of the Library and others whose addresses I do not have, Royal Tyler and others in Europe, not to mention certainly a score who "have cooperated" with the League but are now no longer living. I think, therefore, that as the statement is phrased, and as no one is going to examine the letter with any great care, it could perfectly well stand.

I mentioned the matter to Dr. Aydelotte yesterday and he didn't seem to attach much importance to it. However, if you still feel, with this explanation, that it is important, Miss Eichelser could simply re-write page one, using the phrase "over 200."

A. S.

April 21, 1941

Mr. Raymond B. Fosdick
Rockefeller Foundation
New York City

Dear Raymond:

I have been particularly asked by those who organized the meeting of League technicians at Princeton over the weekend to say how extremely sorry we all were that you were prevented, at the last minute, from coming as we know you wanted to come. We missed you not only for yourself but as senior American League officer.

(Repeat parts of draft to Mr. Hull)

I am sure that you would enormously have enjoyed being here, not only from the viewpoint of meeting many old friends from the earliest days, but also from that of getting a real emotional stimulus and pickup in these dark days. Undoubtedly, however, Willits and Kittredge, whom we were extremely happy to have here, will have given you their impressions on their return to New York, as will also Walter Stewart when you next see him.

I hope they will all tell you how frequently and with what appreciation the Foundation's cooperation in this work was mentioned by various speakers. Certainly there was a very real understanding amongst this group of what services the Foundation has rendered in these technical activities, and I am sure that if you had been here to sense the quality of the statements made you would have felt that the cooperation had been very worthwhile.

This appreciation took formal form when at the end of the meeting Mr. Henry Grady, who had come on from San Francisco to speak as chairman of the Economic Committee of the League, proposed a resolution putting on record in its fourth point the group's "agreement with several speakers expressing special appreciation of the cooperation given to such work by the Rockefeller Foundation." This resolution, seconded by Frank Boudreau, was passed by acclamation.

You will also undoubtedly hear further details from Willits and Kittredge regarding the League's financial situation. I wish I could be there to hear the conversation, for I can easily imagine its trend. Once indeed, as Mr. Hambro was speaking, I said to Walter Stewart, who was next to me, what a shame it was that you were not on hand, for I was sure you would be interested in what was said. Stewart smiled in agreement, and I could only think how extremely difficult it is to get a whole picture absolutely balanced in all its perspective.

Hoping that you are now back in good shape again and regretting once more most deeply that you could not be with us this weekend and informing you that that unavoidable absence does not liberate you from any further obligation of coming down here this spring, I am

Yours as ever,

A.S.

April 16, 1941

Miss Mary E. Woolley
Westport, New York

Dear Miss Woolley:

May I send you just this line of the deep appreciation which we all feel for the effort you made in coming to the reunion over the weekend, and for the very high note on which you helped bring the session to a close? Your speech struck just the right note to terminate a meeting which all of us, I think, will long remember as something rather unusual in these days of frequent gatherings.

It occurred to me last night to wonder if you would not like to take this opportunity to acquaint President Roosevelt, in one way or another, with what is certainly in part the follow-up of the suggestion which he made to you for aiding and preserving the League's technical work. It would seem to me that a gathering of this sort would provide a very good occasion for a second contact with him, or, perhaps, even for showing him a small but nevertheless powerful source of strength upon which he might in the future draw.

You would know far better than I whether this could best be done by personal interview or letter. We have thought that somewhat the same opportunity had arisen with Mr. Hull, and Dr. Aydelotte has accordingly written him on behalf of the three inviting institutions. Attached is a copy of that letter, with its enclosures, for any interest or suggestion it may have, in case you agree with me that it might be useful also to keep the President informed.

Again with great appreciation of your visit and your statement,
I am

Yours very truly,

A.S.

Government officials present

State

*Mr. Feis
*Mr. Pasvolsky
Mr. Reber
Mr. de Wolf

Treasury

*Mr. Anslinger
*Mr. Ryder
*Mr. King
Mr. Cochran

Labor

*Miss Faith Williams
*Miss Elsa Castendyck
Mr. Hinrichs

Commerce

*Mr. Domeratzsky
*Mr. Chalmers

Tariff Commission

*Mr. Durand

Social Security Board

*Mr. Schmitter

Federal Reserve, New York

*Mr. Tirana

Federal Housing Administration

*Mr. Fisher

Miss Eichelser:

The three copies of this have
been included with the material which Mr.
Sweetser is sending out.

M.R.

April 21, 1941

The Honorable Cordell Hull
Department of State
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Secretary:

It occurs to me that you might be interested in a personal account of the reunion held at Princeton over the last week-end of American citizens who have in the past participated in the technical work of the League of Nations. The three institutions in Princeton (Princeton University, The Institute for Advanced Study, and the Princeton Department of the Rockefeller Institute) were hosts for this reunion. We spoke several times of inviting you, but decided finally that it would be a kindness on our part not even to raise the question of a further responsibility for you in these troubled times. We did consult Mr. Feis and, through him, Mr. Dunn, as to our plans for the reunion, in order to obtain their approval, and we were delighted that several members of the State Department were present.

We were considerably surprised, at the outset, when in making up the list we found that there were nearly two hundred and fifty of our fellow citizens who have cooperated in one or more of the many branches of the League's technical work, without including large groups of special delegations, such as that which you led to the World Economic Conference, or those which took part in the Disarmament and Labor Conferences. We had not realized that the group of international technicians with direct experience in Geneva was anywhere near so large.

We were next extremely gratified with the very unusual proportion of acceptances. While we had anticipated some forty or fifty people, practically double that number were on hand for the two-day session. Certainly, there is a degree of interest and devotion amongst this group which ought to be a very real national asset in whatever future foreign policy our Government may wish to follow in the immense field of international technical collaboration.

Finally, we were gratified most of all, perhaps, by the quality of those who accepted and by our good fortune in being able to secure practically all the leaders amongst these technicians, including sixteen officials of our own Government Departments. Those who were kind enough to speak represented, as you will see, the ranking American experts

-2-

in most of these activities, including the International Labor Organization and the Court. Certainly, the discussion was one of the most precise and practical that one could imagine.

It is a particular pleasure to tell you that this very special group of American citizens not only did not lose sight but took positive cognizance of both the attitude and the action which you yourself as Secretary of State have so generously taken. At the end of the meeting a resolution, offered by Mr. Henry Grady and seconded by Dr. Frank Boudreau, was passed by acclamation expressing the group's appreciation, on the one hand, for the fact that parts of the League's technical services have been established in this country and, on the other, for the statements by the President and yourself to the effect that the American Government has cordially cooperated in this technical work and hopes greatly to see it preserved and extended.

Perhaps Mr. Feis or Mr. Pasvolsky, whom we deeply appreciated having with us, may have the opportunity of saying a word to you about a group of experts who we feel constitute a real national asset available for future service. Meantime, in the hope that you may have a minute to glance at them, I attach a copy of the program and a list of those invited.

With constant admiration for the idealism and the skill with which you are daily meeting our incomparably difficult foreign problems, I am, my dear Mr. Secretary,

Yours respectfully,

FRANK AYDELOTTE

Conference

SOCIETE DES NATIONS

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

April 24, 1941

Memorandum to Dr. Aydelotte:

Attached herewith as a matter of record in connection with the meeting of League technicians are copies of the following documents:

1. The joint cable to Mr. Lester.
2. Resolution of appreciation to the Princeton authorities.
3. Your letter to Mr. Hull.
4. My letters to Mr. Fosdick and Miss Woolley.

A.S.

Dr. Frank Aydelotte
Fuld Hall
Princeton, N. J.

P.S. I have sent the same documents to Pres Dadds & Mr. Ter Broeck, with appropriate letters

Charge to the account of _____ \$ _____

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED	
DOMESTIC	CABLE
TELEGRAM	ORDINARY
DAY LETTER	URGENT RATE
SERIAL	DEFERRED
NIGHT LETTER	NIGHT LETTER <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
SPECIAL SERVICE	SHIP RADIOGRAM

Patrons should check class of service desired; otherwise the message will be transmitted as a telegram or ordinary cablegram.

WESTERN UNION

1217-B

CHECK
ACCOUNTING INFORMATION
TIME FILED

R. B. WHITE
PRESIDENT

NEWCOMB CARLTON
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

J. C. WILLEVER
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

NLT Lester
Nations
Geneva, (Switzerland)

Group nearly hundred Americans who past twenty years participated technical non-political work associated with League Labor Court meeting on invitation three institutions Princeton expressed warm satisfaction that original invitation last summer accepted ~~in part~~ their hope it might be still further ~~accepted~~ ^{renewed} their faith that whatever future international relations ~~may be~~ these technical non-political activities must be continued as integral part world organization Stop We are particularly anxious extend best warmest wishes to you and colleagues who carrying on so valiantly on frontline

Dodds
Aydelotte
Ten Broeck

April 21, 1941

The Honorable Cordell Hull
Department of State
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Secretary:

It occurs to me that you might be interested in a personal account of the reunion held at Princeton over the last week-end of American citizens who have in the past participated in the technical work of the League of Nations. The three institutions in Princeton (Princeton University, The Institute for Advanced Study, and the Princeton Department of the Rockefeller Institute) were hosts for this reunion. We spoke several times of inviting you, but decided finally that it would be a kindness on our part not even to raise the question of a further responsibility for you in these troubled times. We did consult Mr. Feis and, through him, Mr. Dunn, as to our plans for the reunion, in order to obtain their approval, and we were delighted that several members of the State Department were present.

We were considerably surprised, at the outset, when in making up the list we found that there were nearly two hundred and fifty of our fellow citizens who have cooperated in one or more of the many branches of the League's technical work, without including large groups of special delegations, such as that which you led to the World Economic Conference, or those which took part in the Disarmament and Labor Conferences. We had not realized that the group of international technicians with direct experience in Geneva was anywhere near so large.

We were next extremely gratified with the very unusual proportion of acceptances. While we had anticipated some forty or fifty people, practically double that number were on hand for the two-day session. Certainly, there is a degree of interest and devotion amongst this group which ought to be a very real national asset in whatever future foreign policy our Government may wish to follow in the immense field of international technical collaboration.

Finally, we were gratified most of all, perhaps, by the quality of those who accepted and by our good fortune in being able to secure practically all the leaders amongst these technicians, including sixteen officials of our own Government Departments. Those who were kind enough to speak represented, as you will see, the ranking American experts

-2-

in most of these activities, including the International Labor Organization and the Court. Certainly, the discussion was one of the most precise and practical that one could imagine.

It is a particular pleasure to tell you that this very special group of American citizens not only did not lose sight but took positive cognizance of both the attitude and the action which you yourself as Secretary of State have so generously taken. At the end of the meeting a resolution, offered by Mr. Henry Grady and seconded by Dr. Frank Boudreau, was passed by acclamation expressing the group's appreciation, on the one hand, for the fact that parts of the League's technical services have been established in this country and, on the other, for the statements by the President and yourself to the effect that the American Government has cordially cooperated in this technical work and hopes greatly to see it preserved and extended.

Perhaps Mr. Feis or Mr. Pasvolsky, whom we deeply appreciated having with us, may have the opportunity of saying a word to you about a group of experts who we feel constitute a real national asset available for future service. Meantime, in the hope that you may have a minute to glance at them, I attach a copy of the program and a list of those invited.

With constant admiration for the idealism and the skill with which you are daily meeting our incomparably difficult foreign problems, I am, my dear Mr. Secretary,

Yours respectfully,

FRANK AYDELOTTE

7 Newlin Road, Princeton, New Jersey
April 22, 1941

Dear Raymond:

I have been particularly asked by those who organized the week end meeting of League technicians at Princeton to say how extremely sorry we all were that you were prevented, at the last minute, from coming as we know you wanted to come. We missed you not only for yourself but as senior American League officer.

I was considerably surprised, at the outset, when in making up the list I found there were nearly two hundred and fifty of our fellow citizens who have cooperated in one or more of the many branches of the League's technical work, without including large groups of special delegations, such as those to the Economic, Disarmament and Labor Conferences. Even with my close following of the League, I had not realized that the group of international technicians with direct experience in Geneva was anywhere near so large.

We were all of us extremely gratified with the very unusual proportion of acceptances. While we had anticipated some forty or fifty people, practically double that number were on hand for the two-day session. Certainly there is a degree of interest and devotion amongst this group which ought to be a very real national asset in whatever future foreign policy our Government may wish to follow in the immense field of international technical collaboration.

Most of all, however, we were gratified by the quality of those who accepted and by our good fortune in being able to secure practically all the leaders amongst these technicians, including sixteen officials of our own Government Departments. Those who were good enough to speak represented, as you will see, the ranking American experts in most of these activities, including the International Labor Organization and the Court. Certainly the discussion was one of the most precise and practical that one could imagine.

I am sure that you would enormously have enjoyed being here, not only from the viewpoint of meeting many old friends from the earliest days, but also from that of getting a real emotional stimulus and pickup in these dark days. Undoubtedly, however, Willits and Kittredge, whom we were extremely happy to have, will have given you their impressions on their return to New York, as will also Walter Stewart when you next see him.

I hope they will all tell you how frequently and with what appreciation the Foundation's cooperation in this work was mentioned by various speakers. Certainly there was a very real understanding amongst this group of what services the Foundation has rendered in these technical activities, and I am sure that, if you had been here to sense the quality of the statements made, you would have felt that the cooperation had been very worthwhile.

This appreciation took precise form when, at the end of the meeting, Mr. Henry Grady, who had come on from San Francisco to speak as Chairman of the Economic Committee of the League, proposed a resolution putting on record the group's "agreement with several speakers expressing special appreciation of the cooperation given to such work by the Rockefeller Foundation." This resolution, seconded by Dr. Frank G. Boudreau, was passed by acclamation.

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You will also undoubtedly hear further details from Willits and Kittredge regarding League finances. Once, as Mr. Hambro was speaking, I said to Walter Stewart, who was next to me, what a shame it was that you were not on hand, for I was sure you would be interested in what was said! Stewart smiled in agreement, and I could only think how extremely difficult it is to get a whole picture absolutely balanced in all its perspective.

Hoping that you are now back in good shape again and regretting once more most deeply that you could not be with us this week end and informing you that that unavoidable absence does not liberate you from any further obligation of coming down here this spring, I am

Yours as ever,

Mr. Raymond B. Fosdick
Rockefeller Foundation
New York City

AS:MCH

7 Newlin Road, Princeton, New Jersey
April 22, 1941

Dear Miss Woolley:

May I send you just this line of the deep appreciation which we all feel for the effort you made in coming to the reunion over the week end, and for the very high note on which you helped bring the session to a close? Your speech struck just the right note to terminate a meeting which all of us, I think, will long remember as something rather unusual in these days of frequent gatherings.

It occurred to me last night to wonder if you would not like to take this opportunity to acquaint President Roosevelt, in one way or another, with what is certainly in part the follow-up of the suggestion which he made to you for aiding and preserving the League's technical work. It would seem to me that a gathering of this sort would provide a very good occasion for a second contact with him, or, perhaps, even for showing him a small but nevertheless valuable source of strength upon which he might sometime draw.

You would know far better than I whether this could best be done by personal interview or letter. We have thought that somewhat the same opportunity had arisen with Mr. Hull, and Dr. Aydelotte has accordingly written him on behalf of the three inviting institutions. Attached is a copy of that letter, with its enclosures, for any interest or suggestion it may have, in case you agree with me that it might be useful also to keep the President informed.

Again with great appreciation of your visit and your statement, I am

Yours very truly,

Miss Mary E. Woolley
Westport, New York

AS:MGH

League Conf.

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1941 Apr 24 PM 11 19

NP290 VIA RCA-CD GENEVE 47 24
NLT DODDS AYDELOTTE TENBROECK UNIVERSITY PRINCETON (MJ)

GRATEFUL YOUR TELEGRAM CONVEYING VIEWS MEETING OF
AMERICANS ASSOCIATED LEAGUES NONPOLITICAL WORK STOP
COLLEAGUES AND SELF ENCOURAGED BY THEIR CONFIDENCE
IN FUTURE STOP I GLADLY TAKE NEW OPPORTUNITY EXPRESS
APPRECIATION SPIRIT FRIENDLY HOSPITALITY AND COMRADESHIP
SHOWN MY COLLEAGUES IN PRINCETON

LESTER

REUNION OF AMERICANS
WHO HAVE PARTICIPATED IN THE
TECHNICAL AND NON-POLITICAL ACTIVITIES
ASSOCIATED WITH THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Princeton, New Jersey
April 19 and 20, 1941

Resolution proposed by the Hon. Henry F. Grady, seconded by Dr. Frank G. Boudreau, and accepted by acclamation at the final session:

A group of American citizens who have participated in the technical and non-political work associated with the League of Nations, meeting on April 19 and 20, on the invitation of Princeton University, the Institute for Advanced Study, and the Princeton Department of the Rockefeller Institute in connection with the establishment in Princeton, Washington and Montreal of parts of such work, agreed to express:

1. Their appreciation to the three inviting institutions for arranging the present reunion.
2. Their appreciation of the foresight of these institutions in inviting the League's technical services to establish themselves at Princeton.
3. Their satisfaction that that invitation has been accepted in principle and that some services have reached this country, and its hope that others may follow.
4. Their agreement with several speakers expressing special appreciation of the cooperation given to such work by the Rockefeller Foundation.
5. Their belief that, whatever the precise future of international relations, these technical and non-political activities must be continued as an integral part of world organization.
6. Their warm appreciation of recent statements by the President and the Secretary of State of the United States that the American government has cordially cooperated in such work and hopes greatly to see it preserved and extended.

April 21, 1941

League Conf.

Cablegram to:

Lester
Nations
Geneva, Switzerland

Group nearly hundred Americans who past twenty years participated technical non-political work associated with League Labor Court meeting yesterday on invitation three institutions Princeton expressed warm satisfaction that original invitation last summer accepted in part their hope it might be still further accepted their faith that whatever future international relations may be these technical non-political activities must be continued as integral part world organization and their formal appreciation recent statement by President and Secretary State that American Government has cordially cooperated such work and hopes greatly see it preserved and extended Stop We are particularly anxious at this moment to extend our best and warmest wishes to you and colleagues who carrying on so valiantly on frontline

Dodds
Aydelotte
Ten Broeck

League Conf.



THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

April 28, 1941.

My dear Dr. Aydelotte:

I am very thankful indeed for your interesting letter of April 21, with still more interesting enclosures. I follow your work with keen interest, and am always glad to receive a communication from you.

Sincerely yours,

A large, elegant handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Cordell Hull".

Dr. Frank Aydelotte,
Princeton University,
Princeton, New Jersey.

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League Conf.

April 21, 1941

The Honorable Cordell Hull
Department of State
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Secretary:

It occurs to me that you might be interested in a personal account of the reunion held at Princeton over the last week-end of American citizens who have in the past participated in the technical work of the League of Nations. The three institutions in Princeton (Princeton University, The Institute for Advanced Study, and the Princeton Department of the Rockefeller Institute) were hosts for this reunion. We spoke several times of inviting you, but decided finally that it would be a kindness on our part not even to raise the question of a further responsibility for you in these troubled times. We did consult Mr. Feis and, through him, Mr. Dunning, as to our plans for the reunion, in order to obtain their approval, and we were delighted that several members of the State Department were present.

We were considerably surprised, at the outset, when in making up the list we found that there were nearly two hundred and fifty of our fellow citizens who have cooperated in one or more of the many branches of the League's technical work, without including large groups of special delegations, such as that which you led to the World Economic Conference, or those which took part in the Disarmament and Labor Conferences. We had not realized that the group of international technicians with direct experience in Geneva was anywhere near so large.

We were next extremely gratified with the very unusual proportion of acceptances. While we had anticipated some forty or fifty people, practically double that number were on hand for the two-day session. Certainly, there is a degree of interest and devotion amongst this group which ought to be a very real national asset in whatever future foreign policy our Government may wish to follow in the immense field of international technical collaboration.

Finally, we were gratified most of all, perhaps, by the quality of those who accepted and by our good fortune in being able to secure practically all the leaders amongst these technicians, including sixteen officials of our own Government Departments. Those who were kind enough to speak represented, as you will see, the ranking American experts in most of these activities, including the

- 2 -

International Labor Organization and the Court. Certainly, the discussion was one of the most precise and practical that one could imagine.

It is a particular pleasure to tell you that this very special group of American citizens not only did not lose sight but took positive cognizance of both the attitude and the action which you yourself as Secretary of State have so generously taken. At the end of the meeting a resolution, offered by Mr. Henry Grady and seconded by Dr. Frank Boudreau, was passed by acclamation expressing the group's appreciation, on the one hand, for the fact that parts of the League's technical services have been established in this country and, on the other, for the statements by the President and yourself to the effect that the American Government has cordially cooperated in this technical work and hopes greatly to see it preserved and extended.

Perhaps Mr. Feis or Mr. Pasvolsky, whom we deeply appreciated having with us, may have the opportunity of saying a word to you about a group of experts who we feel constitute a real national asset available for future service. Meantime, in the hope that you may have a minute to glance at them, I attach a copy of the program and a list of those invited.

With constant admiration for the idealism and the skill with which you are daily meeting our incomparably difficult foreign problems, I am, my dear Mr. Secretary,

Yours respectfully,

FRANK AYDELOTTE

League Conf.

April 17, 1941

Dear Arthur:

The draft agenda accompanying your memorandum of April 16th seems to me admirable and I have only two suggestions to make.

The first is that instead of having speakers preside you should designate other individuals so as to have as many people to participate in the program as possible. I think it quite right that Dodds should preside at the dinner, but on Sunday morning I should not use Grady or Boudreau since they are speaking, and for the luncheon I would suggest that someone else preside since I am speaking. Ten Broeck might be drafted as the presiding officer for the luncheon, and it would be a perfectly simple matter to find someone for Sunday morning.

My second suggestion is that for the Sunday morning program you should omit Hagleton and Zook, if possible. The program is pretty long but I believe if these two could be left out it would then be feasible by strict limitation of time to get everything in.

Yours sincerely,

FRANK AYDELOTTE

Mr. Arthur Sweetser
7 Newlin Road
Princeton, New Jersey

FA:MR

April 16, 1941

Memorandum for Dr. Aydelotte

Attached is a revised draft agenda for the meeting of League experts which I would very much appreciate your studying and commenting upon in any way that seems desirable.

I think the arrangements are pretty good; however, the Sunday morning program is certainly very heavily charged. Probably we should omit Professor Eagleton; we also may be able to omit Mr. Zook; and Judge Hudson has not yet accepted. I am wondering, however, if there should not be another subject in the Economic and Financial field, either the Financial Committee or the Demographic work? ^PAs to chairmen, a new possibility has occurred to me. We might ask Mr. Grady to start off on Sunday morning, make his own speech, and then briefly present the other economic and financial people; then ~~Mr.~~ Dr. Boudreau to take over and present the social people, and finally ~~Mr.~~ Dr. Aydelotte officiate for the luncheon and make the closing speech.

Still more acceptances are coming in, so that I should estimate we would have around 80 people. This will include over a dozen Government officials, including 4 from the State Department, and one or more from Labor, Commerce, Treasury, and Tariff Commission. Amongst the interesting recent replies are: acceptances from Miss Faith Williams, Merle Cochran, Henry Chalmers, and Haberler; and regrets from Jefferson Coolidge (in Guatemala), Grosvenor Jones, and Sprague.

Since our meeting on Sunday, I have wired Mr. Grady asking him to lead off Sunday morning, have written Judge Hudson suggesting a brief factual statement Sunday afternoon, and replied to Mr. Zook, who had been prepared to speak Saturday morning. Mr. Hambro has 'phoned that he will be back Saturday, with Mr. Pardo as his house guest and with other suggestions for invitations; Mr. Goodrich has 'phoned as to the program, being delighted with the present arrangements and promising interesting news on present developments; Mr. Phelan has telephoned from Montreal that he may be able to come up from Washington; Mr. Eichelberger has 'phoned with one or two other suggestions and promises of documents.

President Dodds is preparing his opening statement; Dana Durand, Miss Castendyck and others will have advance statements. Mr. Ten Broeck will be back only on the afternoon of the 19th.

I am getting together a certain amount of documentation to make available to those present, including the agenda, list of people invited, list of publications in 1940, statement on the Library, and pamphlets on economics, double taxation, health, etc. Two students of the School of Public and International Affairs will help with the detailed arrangements.

We are to see Mr. Hagenbuckle at the Inn this afternoon to check up on reservations and other arrangements. *(Done and OK)*

A.S.

Arthur Sweetser

SUGGESTED DRAFT AGENDA

Reunion of Americans
Who Have Participated in
the Technical and Non-Political Activities
Associated with the League of Nations

Princeton, New Jersey
April 19 and 20, 1941

April 19

4:30-6:00 P.M. Tea and Reception at the Institute for Advanced Study

7:00 P.M. Reception and dinner at the Princeton Inn, given by the inviting institutions

Greetings by President Harold W. Dodds, President of Princeton University, on behalf of the three inviting institutions

Reply by Mr. Carl J. Hambro, President of the Assembly of the League of Nations

Description of the work of the members of the Economic, Financial and Transit Department on mission at Princeton, by Mr. A. Loveday, Director of the Department

April 20

10:00 A.M.

General Session:

Economic and Financial Activities: Hon. Henry F. Grady, Chairman of Economic Committee, presiding

General considerations, Mr. Grady

The Statistical Committee, Mr. E. Dana Durand

The Fiscal Committee, Mr. Mitchell B. Carroll

The Committee on Economic Depressions, Mr. W. W. Riefler

Social Activities: Dr. Frank G. Boudreau, Chairman of Health Section of the Secretariat, presiding:

The Health Committee, Dr. Boudreau

The Opium Committee, Mr. Herbert May

The Social Committee, Miss Elsa Castendyck

The Committee on Nutrition, Miss Faith Williams

The Committee on Intellectual Cooperation, Mr. George F. Zook

International Organizations unconnected with the League, Professor Clyde Eagleton

1:00 P.M.
(Closing)

Luncheon at the Princeton Inn:

Dr. Frank Aydelotte, Director of the Institute for Advanced Study, presiding

The International Labor Organization, Mr. Carter Goodrich, Chairman of the Governing Body of the International Labor Office

The Permanent Court of International Justice, Judge Manley O. Hudson

General observations: Dr. Mary E. Woolley
Dr. Frank Aydelotte

League Conf.

April 11, 1941

Dear Arthur:

I have just had a visit from Riefler and Loveday, who are very much concerned about the program for the meeting on April 19 and 20. They feel that it is entirely too heavy and that it does not allow enough opportunity for the reunion features. We discussed the matter at some length and arrived at these suggestions, which we wish you would consider:

April 19 Tea as planned
Dinner at 7:00 instead of 6:30, with only three speakers (Dodds, Hambro and Loveday) though you might put Carter Goodrich in at the same time if you wished.

April 20 Morning session: eight ten-minute speeches, covering what is now in your program for Saturday evening and Sunday morning both.

Luncheon and Sunday afternoon as planned.

It seems to us that this would give a little more variety to the program. It would put the emphasis on economics, which is deserved by the fact that we have here the largest group which has moved to the United States, and it might include the I.L.O., which is the other large group that has come across the ocean. There could then be some discussion at the dinner if the atmosphere seemed ripe for it and if the time permitted. The Sunday morning session would be the heavy one. It would be a bird's-eye view, and the fact that there are so many speakers would make all realize the necessity of being brief. If any speaker has dropped out it is perhaps not necessary to have him replaced by a substitute.

We are all a little uncertain about the position of the I.L.O. in the program. It is understood that Carter Goodrich will confine his remarks to the technical and non-political aspects of the I.L.O., together with an explanation of their moving across the water.

I am sending this letter so that you will find it when you get home Sunday and if it suits you the three of us will meet with you Sunday evening to discuss the whole problem. Both Riefler and Loveday are leaving on Monday morning.

Yours sincerely,

Arthur Sweetser, Esq.
Princeton, New Jersey

FRANK AYDELOTTE

April 9, 1941

Dear Bishop:

I appreciate very heartily your kind letter of April 1st about the League of Nations meeting and I should like to say that, while we should love to have you here, I do not feel justified in asking you to give up two days of your vacation in the South. The discussion at the meeting will be entirely on the technical work of the League and there will not be much about the library, in which you were particularly interested.

Incidentally, you will be glad to know that there is now a new librarian, a man by the name of Vigier; that the library is still a great deal used and is in every respect a real live institution.

With kindest regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

FRANK AYDELOTTE

William W. Bishop, Esq., Librarian
General Library
University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, Michigan

FA/MCE

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN
ANN ARBOR
GENERAL LIBRARY

WILLIAM WARNER BISHOP
LIBRARIAN

O. Aydelotte
W
Vigor
New hit
W
etc

April 1, 1941.

My dear Dr. Aydelotte:

I have received the very kind invitation to attend a meeting on the nineteenth and twentieth of Americans who have at various times taken part in the technical and non-political work associated with the League of Nations. It goes without saying that I should be glad to be present.

It happens, however, that those two days are precisely the last two of our spring recess. I have planned to take Mrs. Bishop on a trip to Washington and into North Carolina, coming back by way of the Great Smoky Mountains, and had planned to spend the nineteenth and twentieth crossing Kentucky and Ohio.

If there is to be any discussion of the League of Nations Library and its possible functions, I think I could contribute something from my intimate knowledge of that Library from the day when it was first formed as the Library of "The Inquiry" under the general leadership of our good friend Keogh down to the completion of the structure in Geneva given by Mr. Rockefeller. On the other hand, if there isn't anything on the professional side which I can contribute personally, I think I shall carry out my trip and not cut it short by two days.

I shall be grateful if you will let me know about this matter. It is very kind of the Princeton group to include me in the list of persons invited to attend.

Faithfully yours,

Wm. W. Bishop

Librarian.

Dr. Frank Aydelotte, Director,
Institute for Advanced Study,
Princeton University,
Princeton, New Jersey.

WWB:ML

League

April 8, 1941

Dear Manly:

I am delighted that you are coming to our meeting. I think an invitation has gone to Francis Doyle, but I shall speak to Sweetser about it to make sure.

Looking forward with great pleasure to seeing you, I am

Yours sincerely,

FRANK AYDELOTTE

Hon. Manley O. Hudson
Law School of Harvard University
Cambridge, Massachusetts

League Conf.

Institute for Advanced Study

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DAY LETTER	URGENT RATE
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NIGHT LETTER	NIGHT LETTER
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COPY OF WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

March 24, 1941

Honorable Cordell Hull
~~Department~~ Secretary of State
Washington, D. C.

Could you spare time to see Professor Riefler and me sometime Friday the twenty-eighth We could call at any hour convenient to you and need only a few minutes Wish to consult you about matter connected with technical work of League which is progressing extraordinarily well

Frank Aydelotte, Director
Institute for Advanced Study

54
.03

1201

League of Nations

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

(46)

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

R. B. WHITE
PRESIDENT

NEWCOMB CARLTON
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

J. C. WILLEVER
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

Received at **Lower Pyne Bldg., Princeton, N. J.**

NP168 17 GOVT=SD WASHINGTON DC 24 601P

1941 MAR 24 PM 6 55

FRANK AYDELOTTE=

DIRECTOR INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY PRINCETON NJ=

REFERENCE YOUR TELEGRAM REQUESTING APPOINTMENT. SECRETARY HULL IS ABSENT FROM WASHINGTON POSSIBLY FOR DURATION OF

THE WEEK=

GEORGE W RENCHARD OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY.

TELEPHONE NO. 185

TELEPHONED TO

TIME 8:03 PM

BY TO BE

ATTEMPTS

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

League



February 19th, 1941.

My dear Dr. Aydelotte,

Before leaving for Canada I feel I must write and thank you for your kindly hospitality and for your thoughtfulness. The League of Nations has indeed secured a stalwart friend in you, and I cannot do better than wish you success in your great and valuable effort. I shall always remember my few days in Princeton and the very interesting discussions I was privileged to hear.

Yours very sincerely,

Franklin

D. Jacklin

Dr. F. Aydelotte,
87, Olden Lane,
Princeton, N.J.

League Conf.

December 24, 1940

Dear Arthur:

I have just had a visit from Mr. Hambro who is very eager to have a conference of League officials in Princeton. His idea is perhaps a little less ambitious than your original one, but I take it the plan is substantially the one that you made, and he expects, I think, to depend on you largely for the details of working it out.

He asked me about dates, and I said that I thought that nothing could be done until you had returned and I had returned at the end of January. He thought February 28 and March 1 or March 14 and 15 about the earliest feasible dates. Mr. Hambro would prefer the earlier date. I myself would be rather in favor of the later one, namely, March 14 and 15, though I can manage either.

Some of the Opium people are now in Washington, as you probably know, and Mr. Hambro seems to feel that there is a good chance that some at least of the Health Section may come soon. It would be all to the good to have them here.

Please think the whole matter over and consider what steps should be taken. I think the State Department should be consulted though I should not expect that they would raise any objections. I should be in favor of trying to get Thompson or some member of the Department to attend. All these details, however, you can work out better than I.

Our fourth floor is now proceeding satisfactorily, and we shall have much better facilities for conference by February than we have had hitherto.

With kindest regards, I am

Yours very sincerely,

Arthur Sweetser, Esq.
The Glendale Sanitarium
Los Angeles, California

FRANK AYDELOTTE

FA:ESB

In thanking you on my own behalf and on behalf of my colleagues, Dr. Dodds and Dr. TenBroeck, for the gracious resolutions you have passed, I am sure I can also speak for them in saying that we are delighted that the members of this Conference were willing to come to Princeton and to devote two days to the discussion of work which has been so important in the past and which has the possibility of so much value to the world in the future. I am deeply impressed, if I may say so, by the character of the individuals who are present at this Conference and I feel that the story of the technical activities of the League, the Court and the I.L.O., as it has been told last night, this morning and this afternoon, adds up to something very great and absolutely new in the world. The contribution which these non-political, technical departments of the League and associated institutions have made to human welfare on this planet during the last twenty years has opened a new era in the field of international relations. This contribution has been too little understood, too much taken for granted. Whatever the situation after this war, whatever form of international organization we may have, these activities must be preserved.

It was precisely because we felt the importance of preserving these activities, of holding together the splendid groups of men and women who conduct them, that our three institutions in Princeton last year invited the technical sections of the League to come here from Geneva. Not all were able to come; indeed, it is only by a kind of miracle that those groups which are in the United States were able to escape

from Geneva and to make their way across the Atlantic. I hope that the age of miracles has not passed and that the presence in this country of some representatives of the technical activities of the League may be taken as tangible evidence of the interest of ~~the~~ ^{our} citizens ~~of this country~~ in the problem of world government and may be taken as a harbinger of a new attitude on our part after the war, the end of our policy of isolationism and the beginning of effective American support of a world government, which is necessary if civilization is to survive.

FRANK AYDELOTTE

SOCIETE DES NATIONS

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Dear Frank:

Here's the first proof on the famous pamphlet; almost all the rest of the copy is being set.

I am sending this to you for suggestions on style and cover. I imagine from what you said the other day that you will not like the title very well; I think myself it would be better to omit "Past and Future". But I am bothered about a League title on account of the opposition of the ILO, for which reason I sought a general one. Another might be: "League, Court, Labor", with a descriptive sub-title.

The rest of the copy is exactly paged to give each speaker two pages, except the four principal ones. I hope this will have a cumulative effect.

Looking forward to suggestions,

A. S.

The League of Nations

The League of Nations

Court and the League

League of Nations

President Dodds

Ladies and Gentlemen of the League of Nations (that should be comprehensive enough, I think):

My function is merely, I suppose, - as perhaps the representative of what happens to be the oldest of the institutions which invited you here this evening - to say a word of welcome. It has been a great satisfaction to all of us in Princeton that the Economic and Financial Section of the League saw fit to settle among us and that this reunion should be held here this evening on the campus which Mr. Wilson once ruled over and whose name is not completely dissociated from the League of Nations. Whatever some may have thought of Mr. Wilson when he was President of Princeton, certainly there is no disagreement here today as to Mr. Wilson's place in history and his accomplishments here and abroad.

Now, this is, I presume, in a sense a reunion. To us of the University who have become rather case-hardened to reunions in the Spring, the character of this one is a little unusual. I have seen no bizarre costumes. I have seen no marching with slogans or banners criticizing the New Deal. I have seen no tents with free beer. This will come upon us a little later in the Spring. I have to visit them for my sins. I admit that I enjoy them somewhat, but this evening is for you an even more intense reunion of the spirit and for those of us who are permitted to sit in with you it is a real opportunity and pleasure. It has occurred to some of us and particularly, I think, to Mr. Sweetser, who has really written all the good parts of this address, or at least is responsible for all of them, that it may be interesting at this point to read to you the telegram of invitation which went last summer to the League office in Geneva from the Institute for Advanced Study, the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research, and Princeton University. I think that telegram of invitation explains

Dodds 2

better than I could tell you in any words why we wanted the technical sections of the League to come to Princeton and why we are so happy that the Economic Section has come. A telegram to the Secretary General of the League of Nations went forward from Princeton on June 11th last. It was as follows:

After a further exchange of cablegrams the League Secretariat accepted this invitation in respect to the Economic and Financial Section, over which Mr. Loveday presides, and Mr. Loveday and his colleagues are now in Princeton. I hope they feel that the three cooperating institutions have in some measure at least fulfilled their promises to them. We hope they are as happy here as we are happy in them. They have promptly won a place for themselves in this community. They have promptly earned the respect and support of the community. I suppose that in this reunion affair the wisdom of the old adage "In time ~~fx~~ of peace prepare for war" is being reversed. Of course, it is still left for the United States to discuss the objects of the war and the terms of peace and the sort of world that we want after the war. We are still able to do that here, and those of you who have been associated as co-workers in the greatest experiment of international collaboration that the world has ever seen are here tonight primarily to try together to consider some of these problems. It would be indeed presumptuous for me as a layman to undertake to review the work of the League or analyze it or dissect it. I have told Miss Woolley, who has expressed some similar trepidation about her talk to you tomorrow that I understood exactly how she ~~fx~~ felt. If you would like to listen to some good talk about public administration or discipline of undergraduates or how to raise endowment, I could talk at some length with considerable ardor and a good deal of authority,

Dodds 3

but it would ill become me to analyze for you the work of the League or the future of the League. That would be laboring the obvious, and while it is always pleasant to preach to the converted or to those who are already pious and agree with you, I must resist that temptation. But certainly any layman can understand that no plans for the future of America and of the world can afford to neglect or ignore the experience lodged in the minds and memories of the people right here in this room. Had your experience and your wisdom today been available in 1918 we might at this moment be living in an entirely different situation.

In respect to the one section of the League which is located at Princeton (the Economics Section), I think it is fair to say that most Americans know more about its work than about that of the other technical sections. We are, I think, more familiar with the intelligence work and the reporting of the Economics Section and know more of how thoroughly that has been done and how helpful it is than some of the other activities. Certainly we ought to know enough by this time to know that, like disease and drugs, business cycles do not follow pre-established political boundaries, and it seems to me that the Economics Section along with other sections (International Health Section, Committee on Cooperation, and that sort of thing) has succeeded, and if you measure historic progress in proper units it is safe, I think, to say that this section has succeeded most encouragingly and satisfactorily in the period of its existence in educating many of us in something of which certain Americans knew very little before, and that is the fact that even in the economic life of the American nation and the individual the political boundary lines were all but dissolved. When it comes to the matter of increasing international cooperation I think we have also learned as laymen how difficult

Dodds 4

international cooperation at the economic level is, how easy it is, as in the case perhaps of some of the other non-economic considerations, how easy it is to draft blueprints or charts in the economic sphere that ~~for~~^{by} some curious twist in human nature just won't march. In health, of course, the abstract issue is clearer. Everybody agrees that social welfare is a good thing. These activities created and centered at Geneva have been conspicuously successful. Certainly the experience in public welfare and in health, gained from the specific accomplishments and responsibilities which this section of the League assumed and executed in the past, cannot be ignored in any consideration of a post-war reconstruction. The League's attack upon the drug trade, its experimentation with mandates - I might even say its experience with plebiscites - all that represents certainly a fund not only of precedent but also a fund of experience in administration that will be most valuable for the future and cannot be allowed to lapse. There are many other aspects of the League work with which you are more familiar * than I, which I might have recounted, but just from the standpoint of a layman who has watched the League of Nations, who has realized, I think, its limitations and the difficulties under which it operated, one who has never been happy about our own official relation to the League of Nations, there is a tremendous amount of experience that can be salvaged from individual impressions and knowledge such as in the minds of people like yourselves. And I repeat then in conclusion how happy we are at Princeton to take some small part not in salvaging but in perpetuating an important section of the League and in enabling it, we hope, to continue its service for a very difficult time ahead when in our judgment its services will be most badly needed. So, not only is this section of the League welcome here, but I repeat again a triangular word of welcome to

Dodds 5

you, of gratitude and appreciation that so many of you have accepted the invitation and have come here to spend two days on these important matters. You are indeed welcome.

The first important speaker of the evening - we have two - is Mr. Carl Hambro, who has also come to Princeton; at least, I suppose he has become a taxpayer of Princeton and this might be termed his residence. I don't know whether he is eligible to run for Mayor or Town Council; he is not if it is measured by the number of days he spends in Princeton. One of the nice things about the Economic and Financial Section coming here is the fact that it attracted Mr. Hambro also. You, of course, know that Mr. Hambro is President of the Assembly of the League of Nations and President of the Norwegian Parliament, so well known to you that I won't undertake to guild the lily in your presence, but express my own pleasure and delight in presenting Mr. Hambro to you now.

Dr. Aydelotte

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: The Chairman has given me instructions he didn't repeat to you. What he said to me privately was, "Whatever I may say in introducing you, don't speak more than five minutes."

I appreciate very warmly these gracious resolutions you have passed. Since the Chairman^{is} of a dictatorial _____ probably dictated these resolutions he could not say that the principal credit went to him and to Mr. Riefler who did most of the work. So far as your coming together is concerned, I am sure I express the opinion shared by my colleagues, Dr. Dodds and Dr. TenBroeck, in saying that we are grateful to you for coming here. We are grateful that so impressive a group of men should be willing to come here and testify to this cause, which we feel is so important, and I feel that all of us in Princeton would say that our life here has been greatly enriched by the coming of the members of the Economic Section of the League, Mr. and Mrs. Hambro and Mr. and Mrs. Sweetser. They make wonderful colleagues and they give a breadth and interest to our life which makes me look forward with some dismay to the time when they will have to go back to Geneva. I feel that the group who has attended this conference is an impressive group of individuals and that story as it was told last night, this morning and this afternoon, of the technical activities, seemed to add up to something great and new in the world. I don't know what feeling it leaves in your minds, but it leaves in mine the strong feeling that this work must now be allowed to die - that it must be preserved.

It was a kind of miracle getting the technical sections of the League over to the United States. When Mr. Riefler first came

to me with this proposal last June I was enthusiastic about it, but I wondered how it could be accomplished, whether it could be done or not. We had a lot of hurdles to jump. We had to get hold of the Trustees of our institutions. I remember we got one of them on the telephone out of a meeting at St. Louis. I still marvel that he did it. Then we had to go down to Washington and deal with the State Department. It sounded very new to them. There was an election on and we didn't know how we were coming out with it. We had a letter written, but when we eventually got Mr. Hull's consent, we decided the mails were too slow, went down to the telegraph office and telegraphed this communication to Mr. Avenol at Geneva. We wanted to have the die cast before anybody could change his mind. And then we had some difficulties with Mr. Avenol, but that it is perhaps just as well not to go into. After that and everything else was fixed there was the question of transportation, and you probably know that Mr. Loveday and his party had an accident with their bus. They finally got another bus and got to Lisbon and it was a long and arduous time before they finally arrived in Princeton. All the way through I felt there was something miraculous about it. I am a believer in miracles and I believe the presence of this group here will help^{us to} accomplish another miracle. I hope[?] and because they do their work so well, that the influence of their presence will have an effect in assisting us to bring about a change in American public opinion in regard to international responsibilities in the United States and that when it becomes time to consider after-war problems the attitude of the United States will be different from what it was last time, or at least what the Senate represented it to be. Meanwhile our three institutions here

in Princeton consider it a great privilege to have some small part in keeping them intact and keeping them going against the time when they will be needed for some international organization.

We love to have them here, but we hope it will not be too long until they will have to go away again, back to some newly and better organized international organization. I for one think that if there is a chance ~~choice~~ to improve the League Covenant, we had better tackle that job first. I hope when the time comes we can send them back intact to become officers in a new and better organization which will be strengthened by having the United States as a member.

The assignment requests you see us
to summarize the proceedings of the
conference held at our house for which
I hope that there is not the time or
the place to do that. I would like to
present myself less committed. In
debating for, on that, my colleagues
Dr. Dodd & Dr. Van Dusen (myself)
for a previous resolution we have
passed at our house & can do
best of them in saying that we
are delighted that you were willing
to come to & leave us day 4

The discussion of world what has been
so important in the past & what
in the present you must refer
to the world in the future. I am
deeply impressed by the character,
the independence also & power
of the conference, and I feel that
it shows a new level of
higher & a new level
world, the nations & the common
adds up to something great &
new in the world. The contribution
which this conference has achieved

department, the budget for work
to be done under the present
system is less so year is smaller
and the part of the budget is not
adequate. It has been too little
interest, too much taken
for granted, and now the
situation of the war, which
forms, is not acceptable in the
case some form of new law
(a complete & a review) then
considered must be provided.

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Mr. Hambro

Ladies and Gentlemen: I am not in the fortunate position of Dr. Dodds that Mr. Sweetser has done his duty and prepared a speech for me. When I arrived here this morning I asked him if he had not done so, but he said he had not because he had been working too hard for President Dodds. I am very happy indeed to be allowed to speak here tonight some words for the League. I happened to be in London when the invitation from Princeton was extended. Nothing came in the newspapers, but on the same day when the cablegram came from Princeton I was asked by Mr. Bevin of the British Cabinet to come up and see him. He told me that Lord Lothian had cabled that such an invitation would come and he had asked the British government to advise acceptance as promptly as possible. He asked me to look at the telegram that was going to be sent from Princeton that day and see if I could do anything about it. I got in touch with Mr. Makins of the Foreign Office and asked him to communicate to me the text of the cable. He was astounded (he is, of course, very foreign-officey) and said, "How can you imagine that we could let any foreigner look at a dispatch from His Majesty's Ambassador? So I went to my friend from Australia, Mr. Bruce, a great supporter of the League, and told him that such a message had been sent but I could not get the facts on it. He immediately got Mr. Butler on the telephone and he said, "Why hasn't Mr. Hambro got that telegram?" He kept on in this way for a long time, while raising hell in every department, and in that way I got the text and got in touch with Mr. Avenol and the result of all the various talks and exchange of telegrams was that the League accepted the invitation and that those who felt most strongly for the League were very happy about it. Not

Hambro 2

only did the section of which Mr. Loveday is the Director come to Princeton, but, as you know, later on Washington caught something of the broad-minded spirit of Princeton, and the people of the Opium Section are now, as you all know, in Washington, and I think they are very happy to be there and trying to do their work at Washington. ¶ And we have practically the whole Labor Office working at Montreal, doing most important work, as you will hear tomorrow.

The invitation from this side came at a moment when some moral encouragement was sorely needed in this work, and personally I think I took a greater interest in this invitation than most people connected with the League, because I had so often advocated the opinion that there are two ways of making the League the sort of organization that it ought to be. One was to kick out the great powers and reform the League and let them in again one by one if they gave evidence that they could behave, and the other was to get the United States in. The latter solution seemed to me to be the more difficult. Events have done a great deal more than we hoped, although in an entirely different way. But it really is one of the important facts in League history today that certain ideas for which many of us have been fighting for years but had never been able to get accepted by the great powers, seem absolutely natural today and they have been accepted without a word by all the Members of the League.

The idea that it was necessary for the great powers to have a Secretary General, an Under-Secretary General and Deputy Secretary-Generals has completely vanished. The Acting Secretary-General is an Irishman from the Irish Free State; the Director of the Labour Office is an Irishman, and not even a telegram from Ulster has arrived, not a voice has been raised against this in the British Parliament or elsewhere protesting against such a thing. Not a single Member of the League has hinted that it would be wiser

Hambro 3

to have a Head from one of the great powers. For years some of us had been advocating the idea that the functionaries of the League should have an international status and not be citizens of any other country and not be in a position to be called up for mobilization at a time when their help would be most needed. All the great powers were shocked at such an idea; today it seems a natural idea to everybody. And the Labour Office, the Labour Conference, the Governing Body have taken active interest in this problem which seemed politically impossible some years ago. We have practically no diplomats left in the service of the League. I cannot tell you how much that means. I have always entirely agreed with the wise words of Edmund Burke in his famous speech on conciliation with the colonies in 1775: "Refined policy has always been and will always be the parent of confusion." I have also always agreed with Kipling in his saying, "The fool will seek his friends among diplomats and politicians and he will be deserted in the hour of need. The wise man will seek his friends among waiters and coopers and will be defended in the most dangerous moments of his career."

Now, I won't claim that Mr. Loveday and his Section and Mr. Phelan belong to the category of waiters and coopers, but they certainly belong to those who render service and who look upon services they might render as the reason for their cooperation with the League.

We feel it also to be of great importance that the headquarters of the Secretariat on this side should be established at an educational centre. We had hoped that it might become a valuable centre of contribution to American education if they were given that opportunity to do what they wanted to do here and we see an evidence of the possibility of getting that hope fulfilled here today. So many prominent Americans have been cooperating with the League, but always with the feeling of self-consciousness. They have been rather shy about

Hambro 4

it until the United States entered the International Labour Office and we got some genuine Americans who were quite x proud to represent America and their institutions. All the Americans rather whispered about that representation of the League; they were afraid of public opinion in parts of their country. In Washington there was a great fear of mentioning the League of Nations. Even after the death of Senator Borah it was practically unknown, as a matter of fact, to so many members of the Senate; and we never succeeded in getting the Americans working for the League to meet in the same room or in the same building, conscious that they were doing teamwork for an international organization.

It is a great day. We have here a prominent member of the Permanent Court of Justice, the President of the Governing Body of the Labour Organization; we have members of a good many League committees. They meet in the same room. They sit around the same table. They try to look each other squarely in the face without being ashamed to let the world know that they have something to do with the League. I hope some important results will come out of this gathering here today which will be beneficial not only to the League but to the world at large. There was a dispatch from Vichy in the New York Times today, and having read it I can understand that Charles Mertz excuses himself and did not like to come here today. The headline said that France is leaving the moribund League. Now I should like to mention some words about it because I have the impression that few people realize what the League is even today. Forty-eight States are members of the League today and I think the present state of the League gives proof that something very important and something very good has been done at Geneva. That organizations of the League have been able to survive, that nations are supporting them at this moment is proof of a very strong vitality. Now, the League is self-supporting today, as it has always been. From the first year until the end of 1939 the League budgets

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totalled \$120,000,000. Of those \$120,000,000 that should have been paid by all the States Members of the League 93.13 per cent have been paid cash into the Treasury of the League. I wonder if there are many States where more than 93 per cent of all taxes and all duties mentioned in the revenue budget has been paid in cash and where there has been so little defaulting. Of the rest 1.64 per cent has been consolidated as debts on which installments are still paid every year. 0.88 per cent are outstanding debts (a good deal will be paid this year). 4.33 per cent of the contributions have been cancelled. And I will mention - I hope not too tactlessly here - that all the debts of the League which have been cancelled are debts in the western hemisphere. In Europe it is practically nothing - a fraction of one per cent - and very little in Asia. It has all been cancelled in the western hemisphere, which might give some of you cause for some reflection. And you may be interested in knowing that last year all the States at war paid their contributions - not all of them in full. Every single State in the British Empire paid in full. Holland paid in full before the invasion. Belgium paid one quarter. So did France. Norway paid one-third and some States invaded paid a fraction of their contribution as a token of their good will. In the budget for the present year the Supervisory Committee at a meeting in Lisbon, to which, unfortunately, I could not go, acted in a spirit of, shall I say, charity very foreign to my mind and put in the budget that they did not expect any invaded State to pay its contribution for 1941. When such a thing has been printed and circulated to all States Members, it does not make it easy for the Chairman of the Committee on Contributions - a post which I have filled for a number of years - to get treasuries to pay. In spite of that paragraph the Norwegian government has been willing to pay two units as a token of good will.

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Holland has paid one-half its contribution for 1941. I hope every State invaded will pay some part of its contribution. They all feel that way and desire to do it. I think it is of some interest to mention here (although it is not for publication today) that the French government in Vichy, in spite of this message, has asked the United States to be permitted to use part of their frozen funds in the United States to pay in full their contribution to the League for 1940 and have intimated also that they would pay for 1941. When it was hinted it might be reasonable if France demanded a reduction it was made known from France that they did not want any reduction. It was against French honor and their belief in the future. Brazil, not a member of the League of Nations but a member of the I.L.O., has already paid in full its contribution for 1941. The Brazilian government to show its valuation of the Permanent Court of Justice sent in a contribution covering their part of the expenses of the Permanent Court of Justice. That they had been members ~~of the League~~ for three years is evidence that they felt the Permanent Court of Justice was of some importance for the future. Of course, the League is passing through a very difficult period. It is impossible for anybody to disguise that fact. Maybe if there had been more moral courage among statesmen and among Presidents of committees some things might have been done even last year and this year that would have been of some importance. Great powers are discussing Syria and Palestine as if Syria and Palestine belonged to France and England. They are mandated territories and their only legal authority is the Mandates Commission, and they are governed under documents relating to that system. The Chairman of the Mandates Commission is a Swiss citizen and everybody can understand that Switzerland is in a difficult position and it might be rather explosive to call a meeting of the Mandates Commission to Geneva these days to discuss what should be done with Syria. And still I think it has been ~~an~~ a misfortune that

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nothing was done in a legal constitutional way last year to make it possible internationally to keep up the idea that these territories were in a very peculiar position. Now most statesmen certainly have had at Geneva a feeling, very eloquently put by an Indian delegate two years ago when he said to me, "When moral courage is the only asset of a State I think it ought to be most careful in spending any of it." Certainly most States have been very careful in spending any of their moral courage at Geneva. But as President Dodds said in his speech, the international experience of these twenty years is of tremendous value to international collaboration. All facts that have been collected, all traditions that had been built up in the only organization, excepting local organizations like the mixed courts of Egypt and the administration in China (the only experiences in international administration on a big scale) are to be found in the organizations of the League and the Labor Office, and it would be a tremendous loss if they should be allowed to disappear. And whatever will be the future of the world, if we continue to have an international civilization the need for intelligent cooperation between States will be greater than it has ever been. There is no doubt about that, and it has been of interest to note these last years that whenever there has been any important discussion on the League (I am thinking most specifically of all the discussions on alterations of the Covenant) - of separating the Covenant from the Peace Treaties) it has been stressed by nearly every speaker that the weakness of the League had been its lack of universality. Every State that did not fulfil thoroughly its obligations claimed that it was because the League was not universal enough to permit the States to do so. First, of course, the United States were not in the League, and when Italy quit and Japan and Germany, and later Russia, everybody can understand that the League was not universal in the way in which it had been intended to be and that it

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was much more difficult for States Members of the League to live up to all obligations than it would have been if there had been universal cooperation. In the discussions in the committee, called the Committee of Twenty-eight, and in the Sixth Commission of the League, in the last few years, you will find as a leit motif for every failure during those years that the League was not universal, and if you will look at some work that was interesting the attempts to create an international criminal court to pass sentence on certain kinds of crime endangering international peaceful life, they originated with the assassination of the King of Yugoslavia in France as the result of foreign agitation; and such an international criminal court would perhaps have been of some interest today in a good many countries, including the United States. It is a great problem what can be done. It could not be ratified in Geneva because of the lack of universality. It has always been the excuse used at any time when the League did not live up to its idea or ideals, and people have too often forgotten that the League was only an instrument created for the use of constructive statesmen or for governments following a constructive line of policy, and an instrument is not operative in itself and when minds and the ends for which that instrument had been created were entirely unwilling to use it, it could not be used. It was not the fault of the instrument, it was the fault of those who were lacking moral courage and will power to make use of the instrument.

I think it is essential to remember in the future that, weak as the Covenant may have been in a good many ways, it is not the fault of the Covenant that the League has been dormant for years; it is the fault of those who did not dare to make use of the Covenant. They were not perhaps far-sighted enough. They were living under certain illusions that have disappeared. Maybe we started work on the League on top, with certain vague and general ideas instead of starting at the bottom, ~~and I entertain great hopes for the future~~ I entertain great hopes

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for the future of international work today. In Norway we have a saying that every good business is started during the bad years. We are trying now to cement the foundations of the League work, making it possible for the average man with keen intelligence but with no background of profound knowledge to see the League as a tangible reality, and any person who learns and is informed what has been the result of the work of Mr. Loveday's Section, what has been attained by the Opium Section and by the Health Section of the League, who learns about the work being done at Montreal today will have a great and keen interest in it, but most people must see the tangible thing before they can understand the use or the general idea. In Sweden in the old days they used to illustrate it with an anecdote. One hundred and thirty years ago the Crown Prince of Sweden fell in love with the Crown Princess of Russia and wanted to marry her. In Russia they had stipulated that the children should be brought up in the Orthodox Church. The Crown Prince said he did not mind in what religion the children were brought up; it was all the same to him. One evening he was walking in the streets of St. Petersburg when he heard the chimes. In front of him was walking an ordinary Russian laborer, who took out of his pocket an icon, spat on it, put it on the pavement, and made a prayer to it. The Crown Prince, who observed this, turned to his aid and said, "That is a damned dirty religion and my children will never be brought up in it." Unless you can show what it actually means, for most people it is hard to grasp the utility of working on certain principles and following certain ideas. ~~Examination of the things~~

I mentioned that some of the things we have been fighting for in the League have come without any difficulty now. In the old days we had (this is certainly not for publication and this is not the right way of putting it) we had a certain number of functionaries who were no good. Every nation

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was determined to have some nationals in the League. It was the tendency if they wanted to get rid of a young diplomat to come to Geneva and say they had a wonderful candidate for the Political Section. These have all disappeared. The people working for the League today are really what was intended by the Covenant when it stated that the League should have the best available candidates irrespective of nationality or sex. In the official edition of the Covenant there is put in a foot note the marvelous words, known to everybody at Geneva, "In all the paragraphs of this Covenant ~~men~~ embraces woman."

Those who are now working for the League are people who really want to do the work and have been faithful because they saw against the horizon of the future what ~~the~~ international cooperation meant, and the fact that the League has been financially capable of standing the strain of the last year is, I think, the greatest compliment to those who have been responsible for the finances of the League, the Treasurer of the League (we have the chief accountant here today) and the Treasurer of the League. The Pensions Fund of the League in the course of the last year paid out in cash to people quitting the service 3.66 million dollars, because we still kept up the option given to the functionaries of the League to capitalize their pensions when quitting the League. I wonder how many national pension schemes would be able to pay out in cash the capital sums if 75 per cent of their staff suddenly quit. There was a deficit over the League budget last year for the first time - for the second time; we had a small deficit in 1939, but we have been able to meet that deficit from the funds of the League that had been stored in the days when we had a surplus on the League and when we fought the idea of the States which did not pay their contributions that the League should be a societe anonyme and should pay a dividend to the

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shareholders when there was a surplus. They got some of the surplus but we saved and built up certain ~~RESERVES~~ reserves and were able to meet the deficit last year, thanks more than anything else to the efforts made by the members of the Secretariat and the International Labor Organization, where they all understood the difficulties and where they agreed not to spend the money that had been voted in the budget but to spend what we expected to get put into the Treasury of the League. This year will probably be a difficult year, but we have some indications that, give us what a British war communique called a sober amount of optimism, some States that have not paid their contributions for the last few years have showed a desire to pay for more than one year now, but States who should pay by annual installments their consolidated arrears have been endeavoring to do so. I mentioned, for instance, that China, even during these years of warfare and tremendous difficulty, has continued to pay the annual installment until 1939, when the Assembly of the League decided that that payment should be postponed until the difficulties of China had passed away. Hungary, for instance, continued to pay until 1940 its installment on consolidated arrears. And in most States we have found a willingness to fulfil international obligations in these days.

I just received today the first printed copies of the report from the special committee on contributions which met in Canada last month. If anybody is interested, I will put at their disposal a number of copies of it tomorrow, because it is unlike most recent League documents, since it is the first report of any committee published during the entire difficult period. We have included in that report what in ordinary circumstances would have been found in the annual report of the Secretary General on the activities of the League and the report made by the Director of the Labour Office. We have

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included a special report from the Health Organization of the League for the work accomplished last year, and for the first time in League history we decided to publish this document also in Spanish, because all the defaulting States ~~xxxx~~ are speaking Spanish and we wanted to give them the opportunity of studying the real League document, not trusting to any translation. We have no doubt that it will favorably impress them.

The opportunities given on this side of the Atlantic to do the useful, constructive, and necessary work of the League may mean more for the future than any of us can understand today. The more I have seen of the work that is being done now and the studies being undertaken and the program of work we can set up, the more I feel the importance of it and the more I feel it is essential. No Peace Treaty can be prepared in any satisfactory way unless the necessary documentation of facts is at hand. The last great peace was concluded without any expert advice in any field outside the field of politics and of the military sciences. No preparation had been made to meet the terrible difficulties resulting from demobilization of millions of men or readjusting wartime production to peacetime production. No industrialists, no economists were sitting at the conference peace table giving the advice that would have been necessary if the peace had had that character which we all should like it to have had. All the work being done by the different sections of the League may seem very modest. It is always modest to collect facts rather than write feature articles, but facts retain a certain value - even statistical facts. For the peace conference to meet one day that work is of the most far-reaching importance. It will be essential that every delegate of every State coming to such a conference should study the factual documentation set before him before peace conditions are discussed. It is not an accident that it was from a peace conference that a famous Swedish Chancellor, Oxenstierna, wrote to his son in 1648: "My son, thou dost not know with how little wisdom the

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world is governed." The son is reported to have said that this was not news to him. We hope and trust that in the future sons will not be tempted to say these words in the same spirit.

For the whole upbuilding of the post-war world the work that can be done by the various section of the League with the generous help being given them on this side of the ocean will be fundamental and we hope that they will be spurred along all the time and that any meeting such as the meeting which has been arranged here by the hospitality of the triangular institutions at Princeton will be most helpful and will give to those doing the daily work of the League the incitement and stimulus that they need, and when one day the history of international cooperation during these days of war will be written I have no doubt that great homage will be rendered to the Princeton institutions for the far-reaching understanding and broad-mindedness they have shown when they invited the League to come here. I should like all of you to look upon the League section here now as you would look upon a favorite baby and that you will all recall the lines of Tagore: "Nothing brings with it more hope for the future, more far-reaching and essential hopes for the future than a child." And we hope that the League on this side of the sea will be felt to be such a child. We have the most far-reaching hopes for it. We feel that in this hour of so much darkness it is of more essential importance than it has ever been not to give up doing the constructive work but to try to build in the firm belief that the future of mankind is a construction as that for which we are all trying to lay the foundation. We are deeply grateful to you, President Dodds, to Dr. Aydelotte, and to the men not only of the Rockefeller Institute here but to all those members of the Rockefeller institutions who have shown by action their understanding of the international needs of the moment and their willingness to cooperate. We trust that one day they will really find that every contribution they have given to further international work has been bread thrown upon the waters which will come back after many days and repay them many a fold.

Mr. Loveday

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:

Dr. Hambro has given expression to the gratitude which the League feels to our hosts tonight for the action which they took last summer in inviting the technical services of the League to come to this country and to this town. I would like, if I may, to preface my remarks by one word of personal gratitude on behalf of my colleagues and myself to our hosts, to those who surround them and above all to the ladies of Princeton for the constant kindness and kindness which they have shown us since the very first day of our arrival in Princeton. They have all shown such unremitting helpfulness and hospitality that it seemed almost as if they could have no concern in life except to make us comfortable and make us happy.

I should find it much easier to describe what they have done for us and our feelings about it, if I were addressing a foreign audience and not an audience consisting mainly of American citizens. For in that case, after giving in my halting and inadequate manner, a description of what had been done for us and of what we felt, and having failed to convey my feeling, I would simply say, "Well, you know what the Americans are like." A foreign audience would have known what I meant. But you ladies and gentlemen here are, if I may say so, more or less in the position of prophets, each to the other, very much saved by being in your own country.

But, even if my audience had been that imaginary foreign audience I visualize, I do not believe they could have guessed half of what has been done for us; for instance, the readiness with which

you, Mr. Chairman, agreed to allow a distinguished member of your University to take charge of a very important part of the work we are planning to do here, a part of the work dealing with demographic questions; or the endless time and trouble Dr. Aydelotte has devoted to getting us over here, providing accommodations - actually building accommodations for us - arranging for the books we need, for telephone facilities - looking after every detail himself; or the patience with which Dr. TenBroeck has waited for a definitive answer to the kind invitation extended by his Institute to the Health Section of the League, a definitive answer which I hope may be forthcoming before too long.

All this we have been, unfortunately, - all this kindness and hospitality - wholly unable to requite. Speaking for myself, I feel that I have done nothing whatever, except possibly give to Dr. Aydelotte a certain number of quite unsolicited and gratuitous lessons in the meaning of certain economic terms. For instance, I can assure you that he has now acquired a more profound and realistic understanding of the meaning of the term "inelasticity of demand" than he could ever have obtained from the most lucid exposition of the learned professors that surround him.

You may think that in the presence of Dr. Willits and Mr. Kittridge I am making a mistake in imagining I have only one pupil. I haven't and I will tell you why. Both these gentlemen, alas, have had so much experience and have acquired such a profound knowledge of human nature that there is nothing in the world I or anyone else could teach them about this "inelasticity of

demands." If you go to visit Dr. Willits on the 64th or 65th floor of his building he will quite likely take you to a window and show you the beauties of the scene from this extremely elevated position. If you are polite you will admire it, but if you have a sense of humor you will wink at the waste paper basket at the same time and know that he is not really enamoured by the view but is a disillusioned man gloating over the fact that up in his 64th floor he is far separated from his fellow men and persons like myself.

But seriously, I owe so much to the Rockefeller Foundation that it is impossible for me to express my feelings in that connection, and because I cannot express them I will tell you a story instead. About nine months ago I was sitting in my office in Geneva feeling very disconsolate and wondering how far it would be possible to preserve my department and to continue the work we had been doing for over twenty years, when came into the room a messenger boy, who placed a cablegram in my hands, and that cablegram read somewhat as follows: "Is there anything which we can do for you in the way of helping to preserve your records; for instance, by having them microfilmed? - Signed, Willits." It was a great inspiration to me to know that someone so far away was thinking so actively about us and about the difficulties (and they were very real difficulties) that I shall never forget that moment nor the inspiration I felt when that telegram was laid before me. Throughout my - rather one-sided - dealings with the Rockefeller Foundation they have showed exactly that spirit of helpfulness and thoughtfulness. I should like to add that exactly the same spirit has been shown by Dr. Boudreau of the Milbank Fund, who,

quite unbeknownst to myself, made recently a grant to help in the work on demographic questions, of which I have just spoken.

Now, with all this help and good will what are we doing and what can we do? Before answering that question let me say, Mr. Chairman, quite honestly, that I would much prefer to have spoken last and not first. When I have the good fortune to have the backbone of almost all of my committees here before me tonight, Dr. Grady, President of the Economic Committee; Dr. Dana Durand, who is one of the oldest members of the Committee of Statistical Experts; Professor Carter Goodrich, who is a member of two committees - the Committee on Demographic Questions and the Committee on Economic Depressions; Mr. Carroll, Acting President of the Fiscal Committee; Professor Riefler, whom I mention last because he is always with us when his energy permits him to be in Princeton, it seems absurd that I who am itching to hear what you all have to say must wait, to my regret, until tomorrow.

However, I must do what I am told and I will therefore try to carry out my instructions to give you some sort of a picture of what we are trying to do here in Princeton. I shall not carry out my instructions precisely, but deal with my department as a whole.

I have part of my department here and part in Geneva, but the department remains a unit. It is really impossible to describe the work of the department, cutting it arbitrarily in two. What is allocated to one center or another varies from time to time.

We have, alas, only one committee which is active today and that is the Fiscal Committee. Its acting and active Chairman is going to talk on that subject tomorrow and he will give you a much more vivid description of its work than I could possibly hope to do. As for the rest, I could summarize what we are doing in two words. We are trying to follow the economic developments and tendencies in the world today, both because of their importance to us today and because the world which will be when peace breaks out will be the world which results from all these changes which are going on now and not the world which we knew when the war started. We are trying to follow economic tendencies, trying to collect the essential data with reference to those tendencies. We are trying to think about those problems which will inevitably present themselves to statesmen when once the war is over.

I think it is of real importance that one should follow what the economic tendencies in the world today are. I remember very well how the whole of this work of ours in the League actually started. It started in fact with a telegram which was sent to me from the Supreme Economic Council in the early days of the Peace Conference, asking me to go out to Paris and try to organize a service of the Supreme Economic Council. Being at that time young and innocent, I imagined any body with so glamorous a name as the Supreme Economic Council would have at its disposition every sort of facility for obtaining information and a more than adequate staff. I found, in fact, when I got to Paris that I was allotted two young ladies whose knowledge of economic conditions of the world, so far as I could find out, was confined wholly to the bills

which they had to pay in the better restaurants in Paris. Since that experience I have never been in any way surprised that it was necessary for Mr. Keynes to write the Economic Consequences of the Peace. In fact, we did do something. A certain amount of dust was stirred up. We did in the end organize a very small bulletin giving such essential figures relating to what was going on as were available, and we published that, and that was the first bulletin of statistics, which was taken over later by the League. It still continues, as does the Year Book, and as long as it is humanly possible it will continue. In addition to these two publications we are at the moment engaged upon the preparation of a World Economic Survey, in which I hope we shall be able to summarize the major tendencies which have taken place since the outbreak of war and are taking place today. Now, to do that seems to me all the more important because the problems which will present themselves to statesmen when the time comes will prove enormously more difficult than the problems which presented themselves to statesmen a century and a quarter ago at the conclusion of the Treaty of Vienna or just under a quarter of a century ago at the Conference of Paris. The statesmen will have a task of formidable magnitude, because they will have no foundation on which to build. When this war broke out the economic system of the world had quite simply broken down. There was no general trading system throughout the world, but fragments of a trading system which had been smashed by the depression of 1929. There was no currency system; there was no world system whatever; there was no common purpose and no common wish to create a system. When statesmen are presented, therefore, with the task

of trying to formulate a peace they will have to build anew without foundations on which to build, and if you are going to do that it seems to me absolutely imperative that you should think in advance. And then comes the obvious difficulty; how can one think in advance today? What do we know about what the world will be like at this unknown time when the problems of making a peace will arise? What do we know about the state of mind of the world at that date? Those are the difficulties, but the more I see of what is actually going on in the world today the more afraid I become that the shape of the world, the economic organization of the world after the war may result not from any real thought about that problem but from a miscellany of uncoordinated decisions - many in the form of hard fought bargains - taken for the purpose of the conduct of the war, and with that end only in mind. But after all it is true that life never breaks off, that every day you are creating your future and therefore it is inevitable that the decisions taken today as war decisions will have an influence - and a very important influence - on the future. But that influence is likely to be disastrous, in my opinion, unless at the same time when these necessary decisions for the conduct of war are being taken, you think of their implications with regard to the future and you think out as far as possible what can be done in the future.

How can you do that in the face of the difficulties which I have mentioned, namely, first, that you have no past on which you can build, and, secondly, that you have no future of which you can be assured. I think, despite these difficulties,

there are some useful things which you should do and which can be done. Obviously, in a situation of that sort you have got to organize your work with very great care and you have got to have certain guiding principles on which that work should be conducted. I personally have three: First, that it is wholly useful to try to learn the lessons of the past. The world, as I say, broke down mainly as a result of the depression of 1929; but it broke down also as the result of a whole series of mistakes which we made prior and subsequently to 1929. Let us be clear about what we must not do, before planning what we should do. That is one side of the work which it seems to me is important and which we are attempting to carry out. The next is that whatever happens you can, I think, be certain that those having the responsibility for policy will require when the time comes certain aggregations of facts, certain analyses of facts. Perhaps I can explain what I mean by simply giving an example. We have since we came here printed one volume. That volume is on The Trade of Europe. The object of that volume is to consider what the position of Europe was in the trade of the world - how far dependent on other continents; what was the part which Europe played in the whole transfer of funds from one part of the world to another; what was the interdependence of one part of Europe upon another. I am going to follow up this work with one on the trade of the rest of the world and more especially, the dollar-sterling-peso area. Now you can be quite certain that information of that sort analyzed properly will be wanted and demanded. And it seems to me wholly desirable that one should begin now to collect that information, to make that analysis. Now I come to my third principle, which is much the

most important. There is one assumption that I think you can safely make, that there are imbedded in our history and in our social organism certain forces that are so strong that they are likely to survive all the destruction and all the upheaval of war. There are two such forces of which one can feel quite sure: (1) That set of forces which emanate from our general demographic pattern and from the behavior of people in that demographic pattern; (2) that group of forces which lead to those violent fluctuations in economic activity which have characterized the whole of the last two centuries and which lead to the tragedy of depressions and unemployment and the loss resulting from unemployment. I think myself, looking back, that in Geneva we neglected unduly the demographic issues. I think that if the statesmen of the world and if our technical committees had attempted to pursue a policy of relieving the demographic pressure in Eastern Europe by, for instance, trying to industrialize that area instead of saying in a somewhat professorial way that all tariffs should be reduced, the state of Eastern Europe might possibly be less tragic than it is today and less unhappy than it was when this war broke out. However, I must not pre-judge our work. I merely make these remarks to indicate that this range of demographic questions has a real economic implication, and the center of our work must be the essential dynamism of our economic life, whether that dynamism be demographic force or purely economic forces. Now, as I have said, throughout the nineteenth century we have had these wild fluctuations of economic activity and the whole period has been be-spattered by these periods of depression which have controlled

our destinies and which society and governments have been wholly unable to control - depressions which from time to time have involved real disaster. The last disaster was so grave, so great and is so recent that it is unnecessary for me to enlarge upon it. We know that the depression of 1929 led to a decade of chaos and was largely responsible for the present war, for the misery we all suffer and for the devastation that is taking place in the world. We have got to face up to the issue. We know that these factors of instability exist, that we failed to control them, that they survive wars and that indeed wars accentuate them. And we know too that this war is bringing about changes which will quite certainly render our whole economic machine more unstable than it was in 1939. To quote one example, it is patent that the industrialization of countries which were previously the markets for the industrial goods of Europe and the large-scale sale of European securities must lead to strains and stresses on the whole trading system of the world which will accentuate the instability of the world and render it worse and not better fitted to resist forces leading to depression than it was before the war began. At the same time it was patent that the world will be psychologically more unstable than it was. Quite apart from the obvious psychopathic effects of a war in which every woman and child in the area of a war is on the front line, quite apart from that, it is clear that the undermining of habit with the inevitable ruin in many countries of the middle classes which lend a stolidity and a solidity to any social organization, that these and similar factors must render societies psychologically less stable than before and therefore psychologically less able to stand up to the perils of depression.

As I see it, we shall be faced by a world which intellectually and emotionally is going to react much more intensely to these phenomena of depressions, to the particular phenomenon of unemployment than the society with which we have been familiar. I think that the industrial worker, whether man or woman, is going to say after this war, if we could all work for destruction, why can't we all work to produce what we ourselves require. I don't believe myself that men and women are going to accept an organization of society as God-ordained in which for no reason that they can understand, for no cause for which they are responsible, those who are anxious and willing to work are prevented from working. I believe that in one way or another they are going to demand something equivalent to the right to work. And that means that the social pressure brought upon governments after the war at any moment when unemployment becomes really serious will be far more grave and will bring with it greater risks to the government, risk of revolution, and that they will have somehow or another to face up to the peril. Now, what will they do? What will the smaller countries in the world do which cannot of their own power and weight pull the world out of depression? As I see it, they can do two things. They can wait for the great powers to act or they can say, well, we are going to isolate ourselves from these evils which come from abroad and behind these barriers which we set up, we are going to conduct our own social policy. And I have no doubt that between these two choices, after some period of waiting, the smaller powers of the world will adopt the latter course. And I am therefore driven to the conclusion that seems to me quite

inescapable that either the great powers of the world - the powers which have dominant markets and who determine the degree of economic activity throughout the world - either these great powers must find a way out or we are in for a world of autarchy. And how can they find a way out? Quite obviously if they do what they did before and one deflates its currency and another inflates its currency, and another controls its exchange and no single one of them takes the slightest notice of what the other is doing - if that is repeated, then it is clear that you will create a chaos of price levels and that you will drive one country after another to shut itself out of what is really a mad world. The only solution is a joint international and constructive anti-depression policy pursued between those powers who desire to stand for freedom and between those powers which have a dominant enough position in the markets of the world really to determine the degree of activity in the world, - those powers which are few - which if a depression does occur, might in fact save the situation.

But I apologize, Mr. Chairman, I am preaching a sermon when I ought to be talking about what my department is doing. Well, that is the sort of problem we are studying. In fact, we have a wide program of studies and question after question centers round this central problem of the essential dynamism of economic life - commercial policy, raw materials, currency, - all center round this one crucial issue.

Now there is in our work one thing which is lacking and that is the clash of mind, the clash of interests, the sort of friction out of which light comes with which we were familiar

in our committee work in Geneva. It is true that in Geneva we had set up about a year ago - were in the process of setting up about a year ago - a Central Committee, as it was called, the object of which was really to determine a program of study on these various questions on which I have touched tonight and which held one preliminary meeting. I did have occasion then to discuss my program with those members of that Committee who had by that time been appointed, and since coming over here I have, of course, established a large number of new contacts and reestablished a certain number of old ones. But for all that I must confess I lack the aroma of Geneva which you bring with you here tonight and I lack this clash of ideas which one finds in every committee which is a real committee. And if therefore I welcome you tonight as friends, as I do welcome you, I shall welcome you just as sincerely tomorrow as critics.

Mr. Carter Goodrich - 1

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:-

I am grateful to those who have invited me to be present on this happy occasion. As an American who has the privilege of taking part in the work of the International Labor Organization, I should like to bring fraternal greetings and to talk as a sort of fraternal delegate from the new ILO center at Montreal, which was established through the foresight and decisive action of Mr. Winant, and made possible by the generosity of the Canadian Government, which has given it welcome and full status, and by the hospitality of McGill University, extended in the same gracious spirit as that of the Princeton Institutions whose guests we are today.

The term we use for the Montreal Office -- a rather happy one, invented, I believe by the Acting Director, Mr. Phelan who is here today -- is working center. I should like to emphasize both words in the title. It is certainly center rather than branch. Policy as well as research functions are concentrated there. Mr. Phelan has under his direction in Montreal some fifty staff members of seventeen nationalities. Most of the technical services are grouped in the sections devoted to Social Insurance; Labor Conditions, Employment, and Migration; Economics and Statistics, and in the Safety Service. Though the staff is much smaller and the administrative structure simpler than in the old days at Geneva, there are at Montreal officials carrying on each of the characteristic lines of the Office's work. In this they are aided by a far-flung network of colleagues in other countries. A small staff has been maintained at Geneva; the branch offices at Washington and London and Delhi have been strengthened; and the number of national correspondents has been increased since the war began. On the basis of regular

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reports from its officials in twenty-four countries, the Labor Office, even short-handed as it is, is continuing to function as the world center of information on labor questions.

It goes without saying, then, that it is a working center. From my own frequent visits I can testify that it is a most hard-working one. I cannot attempt to describe all its activities. May I begin by telling what was going on when I was last there a week ago yesterday. The occasion was that of a meeting of government representatives, workers, and employers of the United States and Canada. The team from this side of the border included the three American citizens who are members of the Governing Body of the I.L.O. and Dr. Lubin, the United States Commissioner of Labor Statistics, who had left his heavy duties in the O.F.M. in order to attend. The Canadian team, also tripartite -- who Mr. Hambro once called "a three-headed trol^l" -- included the Deputy Minister of Labor and the Canadian member of the Governing Body as well as officials from the Department of Munitions and Supply, the president of the Canadian Trades Union Congress, and several Canadian employers. What they were discussing was the organization of the labor supply to meet the imperious requirements of the defense programs. I cite this case for two reasons, -- first, because it indicates the desire of the I.L.O. to serve here and now, in the present emergency; and second, because the circumstances under which the discussion was held illustrate the characteristic methods of the Organization in their application to the American Hemisphere. Substantially the same group of men had met two months before for an exchange of views on the same question. At that time they requested the Office to make use of its knowledge of the methods by which labor supply has been organized in various countries to prepare a report which should focus this experience on the problems now being encountered in the United States and

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Canada. Last Saturday a draft of this report was before the group, and the day was spent in examining the text, and discussing the conclusions to be drawn from it. The discussion developed certain significant differences. There were, for example, the technical and geographical contrasts between the problems of the two countries. "You work in a square," said one of the Canadians, anxiously. "We have to work in a rectangle a hundred miles high and three thousand miles long." There was also the "clash of spirits" to which Mr. Loveday referred last night. Differences came to the surface between those responsible for munitions supply, concerned to make sure that no labor and no raw materials needed for defense should be wasted on non-essentials, and labor spokesmen, anxious to see that men should not be thrown out of their ordinary occupations until their plants or they themselves could be brought into the defense effort. Yet as the discussion continued the group reached a substantial degree of agreement and formulated a set of policy conclusions, and as it adjourned, decided at its next meeting to discuss the problem of labor conditions in defence contracts. Because of this procedure, the I.L.O.'s report on Labor Supply and National Defence, which will be issued shortly, will therefore represent the results of study by an international staff corrected by discussion with experienced government officials, employers and workers who have heavy responsibilities in the application of labor policy in the two countries. In such combination of policy discussion with the research activity lies the unique opportunity and function of an international organization based on the representation not only of governments but also of employers and workers.

Another activity which has been facilitated by the transfer to this side of the ocean has been the provision of technical and expert advice to various Latin American governments. Since the Havana Conference late in 1939, which quickened the interest of the Americas in the work of the Organization, an increasing number of governments have requested the services of experts from the Office

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staff in the drafting of labor legislation and in the improvement of administration in the social field. At the request of the Bolivian Government the chief of the Office's Social Insurance section drafted a complete new social security code which was introduced as part of the program of the incoming President. Similar assistance has been given to the governments of Venezuela, Ecuador, Peru and Chile. The Assistant Director of the I.L.O., Monsieur Tixier, is now on a mission of this sort in Mexico. Much of this work has been in the field of social security. The growing interest in the subject, partly stimulated by Mr. Winant's visit to Peru last December, has led to the creation under I.L.O. auspices of an Inter-American Committee to forward Social Security, for whose first meeting preparations are now in process. Perhaps all this sounds prosaic and technical, but you will not miss the significance of the fact that it is from an organization dedicated to democratic principles that these nations are seeking advice and assistance.

These increased activities in the Americas are real and important. Emphasis on them, however, should not obscure the essential continuity of the ILO's work as an international organization. In publication, for example, continuity has been well maintained. The International Labor Review has been issued from Montreal each month since last October. To the international influence of this journal, the Germans have recently paid the dangerous tribute of imitation by issuing the first number of their own "Neuer Rundschau", perhaps the first step in the creation of an Ersatz ILO. Among other publications the ILO's Legislative Series, whose history runs well back of the Organization itself, is being continued and the Industrial Safety Survey has been resumed. Several additions have been recently made to the series of Studies and Reports. In these, as in the Review itself, special attention is naturally given to the problems raised by the war in belligerent and neutral

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countries. Examples are the volume entitled "Studies in War Economics," and a brief report on the labor situation in Great Britain, prepared in the ILO's London Office, describing the adjustments in labor policy made in the critical months between June and October, 1940.

But the continuity goes deeper than that of files of publications. It is a continuity of subject matter and fundamental purpose as well. This spirit is movingly expressed in Mr. Winant's report of his stewardship addressed to the "Governments, Employers and Workers of Member States" and issued on the day of his resignation.

I should like to illustrate it by talking of one interrupted activity that points ahead toward the major social problems of the war and of the peace to come. The principal subject on the program for the Labor Conference that was to have been held in Geneva last June was that of methods of collaboration between governments and the associations of employers and workers. The Office's 350 page report on the subject came to my desk in Geneva on the third of May. Just a week later the great invasion began. The whole setting of the problem was changed. The Conference could not be held. Yet everything that has happened since -- the fall of France, the magnificent stand of Great Britain -- has served to demonstrate the increased urgency of the problem, and to make it clear that the democracies cannot arm themselves strongly enough and rapidly enough to survive unless they can secure and maintain effective cooperation between governments and organized industry and organized labor.

An important element in the national strength and unity displayed by the British people has been the extension of the practice of collaboration further and further into the day to day problems of industry. Every deepening of the emergency

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has been met by the strengthening of the processes of economic democracy. Thus all the restrictions accepted by British employers, and all the heavy sacrifices made by British workmen, have been made by consent and after full consultation with their representative organizations which have taken an increased power and responsibility in the national life.

This theme of collaboration, therefore, will be maintained as the principal subject of discussion at the next ILO Conference which will be held at the earliest practicable moment. The Office is accordingly preparing for the Conference a supplementary Report which will indicate the ways in which the responsible cooperation of employers and workers' organizations with government can strengthen the war and defense efforts of the democracies.

Moreover, I hope that this report and discussion in this Conference will go still further and apply this same lesson of cooperation to the period that will follow after war and defense programs have given way to a victorious peace. Collaboration will be no less needed for the social and economic problems of reconstruction. The demobilization of the armed forces and of the still greater armies of workers in the defense industries, their transfer and reabsorption in the work of peace, the weaving together again of the broken strands of that world commerce whose complexity you in the Economic and Financial Sections of the League know so well, the restoration of devastated areas, the rebuilding of an economic system to feed and clothe and shelter what may well be a continent in utter chaos, the re-creation on a sounder basis of a democratic way of life where democracy has been shattered -- all these will be tasks calling for the fullest cooperation between governments, trade unions and employers' associations.

Carter Goodrich - 7

As last night's speeches indicated, this will be no time for mere return to normalcy. All this complex readjustment, all this essential new creation, cannot be left to the processes of business as usual. The problems will not be solved merely by dropping of controls by governments alone. Certainly it cannot be carried out effectively by one or two governments acting alone. In this group I do not need to insist on the importance of international organization. May I add the point that the more definite and specific the administrative functions that can be exercised by international agencies in the period of reconstruction, the better are the chances of a lasting structure of international organization. In this way, the ordinary man is most likely, in Mr. Hambro's magnificent phrase, "to see international organization as a concrete reality." I therefore want to second most heartily the plea made by Mr. Riefler ^{this morning} for joint bodies in this period. But even that is not enough. If the rebuilding is to be effective, if it is really to create a democratic world, the task goes beyond purely intergovernmental organizations. There must be full place for the functional associations of workers and employers. They must do their share of the work of planning and preparation, and of thinking out what it is we really want to build, and they must have their part in the agencies of international administration. Here is one of the special functions of the International Labor Conference. This is a significant aspect of the fundamental challenge which the International Labor Organization must meet. To this like the Secretariat, it brings the experience of 21 years of international activity. The I.L.O. offers in the service of the democratic peoples the unique equipment of structure and practice which embody the effective cooperation between governments and the free associations of employers and workers.

Judge Hudson

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I suppose that wherever one turns in human history he must be prepared to find striking paradoxes. We now look back on the decade which preceded 1939, or perhaps, if you like, the two decades which preceded 1939, as ~~x~~ the period of the gestation of ~~law~~ a world war. But it was also a period outstanding in human history as the period of the greatest development of international law that we have ever known. Never before in any one or any two decades has any comparable effort been made in the development of international law. And when I speak of international law I don't speak of something in a remote part of the world existing at a remote time in the future of a vague continent which may be of use merely to the legal theoretician; I speak of the here and the now; I speak of an international law of every day life. I speak of the international law which matters to you and me today and tomorrow and the next day. In this period we developed as never before in human history a great volume of international legislation. I have collected that volume down to 1935, in six volumes which I entitled International Legislation and I am now publishing a large volume dealing with the developments of 1935-36-37, a most remarkable achievement along with a phenomenal development of a law concerning the pacific settlement of international disputes. The labor conventions form a large part of that volume and most of the international conventions are more effective because they contain a standard stock article relating to the settlement of disputes which may arise in the interpretation or application of their provisions, and most of those stock articles provide for the one great agency for the application of law that the world has ever known: the functioning of the Permanent Court of Justice. That court represents to my mind the fruition of a whole

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half century of international effort. We came in 1899 to an effort at creating that kind of an institution and it failed. We again came in 1907 and that effort failed. In 1920, due in my judgment to the existence of the League of Nations, that effort was successful. And what were the difficulties which were overcome? They seemed almost insuperable in 1899 and in 1907. They seem, now that we have passed the period of their successful meeting, they seem so very simple. There was, first of all, difficulty in getting States to support an institution of this kind. This World Court has been supported by 58 States of the world - some 48 support it today. There was then the great difficulty on which the 1907 Hague Conference went to wreck. In the course of these years we have held successfully eleven ~~eleven~~ elections of the judges without difficulty. We did not succeed in holding the general election of judges which was to have taken place in 1939. We did not succeed partly because of the difficulties of a meeting in 1939, partly because there was ~~an~~ ⁱⁿ the background of everybody's mind the idea that an election held at that time would be bound to ~~lead~~ lead to the accusation that the judges had all come from three or four of the great powers of the world. But the elections have ceased to be a difficulty. We know now that we can pull off an election successfully. We have also surmounted the difficulty of personnel. We have had that great Italian judge, Judge Ansellotti(?). We have been very fortunate to have had there two great judges and . Today we have a most excellent President of the Court; we could not have a better judge if we searched the world over than Judge . We also have an excellent man as Registrar to succeed the geniuses that the Court produced a former Spanish Ambassador. How fortunate we have been during this period to have as President a man knowing Europe and America and how fortunate we have

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People said, "You will never get jurisdiction," and when the Assembly of the League of Nations acted in 1920

They drew up an optional clause. Some 40 States have been parties to that optional clause, accepting compulsory ~~justa~~ jurisdiction of the Court for twelve or fifteen years. Some 35 or 36 States (that is only a small part of the Court's jurisdiction, the greater part being embodied in some 560 international treaties and conventions) 30, 40, 50 States party

560 international treaties provided in some way for the jurisdiction of this court during a period of twenty years. ~~Thinking of the effort~~

Even the United States is a party to certain instruments which confer on the Court a compulsory jurisdiction. Even they said we would have difficulty with the procedure. We have got along extremely well indeed. There are always difficulties with ad hoc mixed claim clauses. We have had no such difficulties in these years, though the Court has two or three times revised its procedure. The difficulties were real. They prove the success of this effort in 1899 and in 1907. They loomed big on the horizon in 1920. Today in the light of history they seem simple indeed. What have been the contributions of this Court? It has made some contribution. In the first place it has handled about 60 international disputes in the course of the period. It has handed down 27 30 judgments and a large number of orders in these cases. It has had 10 cases in the last four years, since I have been a member of the bench. Two cases are now pending: a case between Belgium and Bulgaria and one between Lichtenstein and Hungary, and possibly a third case now - a northern European State in the act of referring a case to the Court. In handling these 60 international disputes during this period I am thankful to say, and I say it with a sigh of relief, there has

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been no flouting of the authority of the Court. We have come dangerously near on two or three occasions, but, fortunately, we are able to say that in all this period there has been no flouting of this authority. But that is by no means the most important contribution. The Courts are important not so much because of the cases that come before them, but because of the cases that are settled because the Courts exist, even though the cases never get into Court. There have been many cases in the course of these years settled the more easily because the Court existed. Perhaps one party to a dispute suggested that it might go to the Court and the other party came along and settled the dispute. There is a second contribution and then I think one can say a third. I spoke of a law concerning the pacific settlement of disputes. It has been far easier to make treaties because the Court existed.

I believe the Court has made in these years a very significant contribution. Perhaps it is not the most important agency in our scheme of international organization. It does not make the most important contribution, but it is something you can't do without. That raises the question of what to do about its future. People say, "Of course, nobody would think of trying to get along without the Court; of course, this Court is going to live." Very easily said indeed. It is also easy to see that if the Court did not live we should have a very difficult job indeed to recreate it. It is much easier to deal with an existing institution. I think that in 150 years the Congress of the United States has served quite a useful purpose, but I don't dare to think what would happen if we had before us the problem of creating the Congress of the United States. I think the Supreme Court of the United States has served a most useful purpose, but I don't dare to think what would happen if we had before us in this country today the problem of creating the Court of the United States. I am very fearful indeed to think of what might happen if we had before us today the

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if we had before us today the problem of creating under present conditions a Permanent Court of International Justice.

We held a meeting at the Hague last year. We were to have had a meeting again on May 16 of last year. On May 15 it became clear that that meeting could not be held. Following the arrival of the Germans at the Hague, the officers of the Court placed themselves at the disposal of the occupying authority. They were assured they would not be disturbed in any way. But it was later announced that on June 18 the diplomatic missions were invited to leave. When the President and Registrar asked the occupying authority what it meant they were told that it meant that the diplomatic status of the judges of the Court would end on July 18. The President said then he wished to arrange the departure for that day and the occupying authority gave a special train for the purpose. Since that day the President and the Registrar are at Geneva ready to do the business of the Court, carrying on the correspondence with governments, but first of all keeping together this institution which represents such a long period of effort. Will we succeed in keeping this Court together? Well, these things can depend on very small things. It may depend on a few thousand dollars. We don't have money enough. We don't have money now. Mr. Hambro was not present at the meeting last Fall at Lisbon which drew up the budget, but the Court came out of that meeting with just about one tenth of its previous budget. Of course, there is no question of paying salaries. The judges had given up their jobs elsewhere; they find themselves without salaries, and in some cases it is very difficult indeed. It is a very serious thing and it may react unfavorably in the future. They are paid no salaries because there is no money. Instead of salary they are told that they may have maybe 500 francs a month. But that is not paid. I say that the future of an Institution of this kind may be a matter of a small amount of money. And yet

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you will say and I will say and all of us will say, "Surely, we are not going to let an institution which represents the fruition of all this effort, which has succeeded in overcoming difficulty, which has made very concrete contributions in the past and stands ready to make contributions in the future, an institution imbedded in 560 instruments of the world treaty - you can say and I can say, "Of course, we are not going to allow an institution of that kind to die." But I wonder if you and I mean it when we say it.

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opportunity offers. I was impressed by an expression used by a friend not long ago when she spoke in congratulation of the work and said, "It has saved itself from the danger and mistake of doing busy work." I ^{had} never heard that expression. In these days of many demands and great crises, it seems to me that this is one of the things which we should avoid. We should be ready to help when opportunity offers, but not to do busy work for the sake of being engaged in something. Well, my confession of faith goes toward the future as well as reviewing some of the past. I must confess, as Mr. Hambro said last evening, that it was rather terrifying to think of standing up and being audacious enough to talk about the League of Nations, however devoted one might be, to talk about the League of Nations in the presence of this group, where practically everyone ^{except the one speaking now} is an expert in some line or field. And as I thought about it in preparation, it seemed to me that there was, or there is, another line of opportunity which opens to us, which (I have noticed with interest,) I think, has not been mentioned in these hours. And that is to make real to the people the significance of the League of Nations. What it is, 130,000,000 of us in this country -- something like that or more. How many millions do you suppose are blissfully ignorant of ~~that~~ all that you have been giving us non-experts during these last hours? Much might be said with regard to the work which lies in the scope of the non-experts in the days to come. After all, our failure to go into the League was due at least in part to a lack of public understanding in regard to it. If I am not mistaken, there was a majority in the Senate in regard to our going into the League when we needed ^{only} a 2/3 ~~when~~ ~~with~~ vote. I am perfectly sure that that was true on one or two occasions ~~of~~ ^{when} a vote ~~with~~ ^{with} regard to the World Court came up. Misinformation, lack of knowledge with regard to what the League might mean for the future, with regard to what the World Court has meant and we hope may continue to mean to humanity, certainly in a republic, it is of tremendous importance that some of us who cannot claim the distinction of expert

Miss Wooley - 4

knowledge and investigation in these lines, may have some work to do that will count for the future. That, of course, might be elaborated along many lines. I want to emphasize briefly three.

First, the ~~inevitably~~ inevitability of a League, unless, as Robert Sherwood says in his preface to "There Shall Be No Night," unless we are prepared to go back and have forgetfulness and peace in the primitive ooze from which we came." General Smut said at the close of the First World War, "In times of international difficulty, let us substitute for the old slogan, 'to the battlefield', the new slogan 'to the conference table.'" And one of the tragedies of today is the fact that we cannot substitute it because the conference table means the sanctity of treaties and reliance on the pledged word. As *S* said, "Unless there be faith, there can be no human relations." And we know today there can be no faith with the totalitarian powers. The conference table, from my point of view, is an inevitability, but many people in the United States do not think ~~it~~ so. The report speaking of the moribund body at Geneva, from Vichy/to which Mr. Hambro referred last evening, also said something of the "token League" as if the League had already gone out of existence. And there are thousands, possibly millions, of people in the United States who think that that is the condition. They do not realize that there must be either a resort to armed force or to the conference table, ~~that~~ there must be either reason or the fist. There is great work to be done in the framing, and rousing, and stimulating of public opinion in regard to the fact that the history of the League is not only in the past tense; it will be also in the future tense unless humanity is to recede from the civilization to which it had obtained. There is a second point and that is that ^{this} happy outcome and others which are in the minds of many of you are not to be attained without effort. What is it, ^{that} the old hymn says about "being wafted to Heaven on flowery beds of ease?" Most of us realize that we do not reach Heaven

Miss Woolley 3

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Miss Woolley 4

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Miss Woolley 4a

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LIST OF THOSE INVITED
TO THE REUNION OF AMERICANS
WHO HAVE PARTICIPATED IN THE
TECHNICAL AND NON-POLITICAL ACTIVITIES
ASSOCIATED WITH THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

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Princeton, New Jersey
April 19 and 20, 1941

Alvord, Charles, Fiscal Committee
Anderson, Miss Mary, International Labour Organization
Anslinger, Harry J., Opium Advisory Committee
Armstrong, Hamilton Fish, Intellectual Cooperation; Woodrow Wilson Foundation
Atwater, Dr. R. M., Commission on Physical Education
Aydelotte, Dr. Frank, Director, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton
Baker, Ray Stannard, Peace Conference and Drafting of the Covenant
Barber, Dr. M. A., Malaria Commission
Bates, Dr. R. W., Health Committee
Bell, Bryan, School of Public and International Affairs, Princeton
Beyer, Mrs. Clara, International Labour Organization
Bidwell, Percy W., Economic Conference
Bishop, William Warner, Intellectual Cooperation; Library Planning Committee
Blackfan, Dr. Kenneth D., Conference on Effects of Crises on Public Health
Blaine, Mrs. Emma, World Citizens Association
Blakeslee, Prof. George, Lytton Commission
Bocher, Dr. Lela, Nutrition Committee
Booth, William H., International Chamber of Commerce
Boudreau, Dr. Frank G., Health Section of the Secretariat
Bowman, President Isaiah, Peace Conference: Intellectual Cooperation
— Brakeley, George A., Financial Vice-President, Princeton University
Bruere, Robert W., International Labor Conferences
Buell, Raymond Leslie, Geneva Research Centre
Burgess, Randolph W., Economic Conference
Carroll, Mitchell B., Financial Section Secretariat; Chairman Fiscal Committee
Carter, E. G., Institute of Pacific Relations
Castendyck, Miss Elsa, Advisory Committee on Social Questions
Chalmers, Henry, World Economic Conference
Chamberlain, Prof. Joseph P., International Labour Office: Migration: Refugees
Chapman, J. H., Economic, Financial and Transit Department at Princeton
Cherrington, Dr. Ben, Intellectual Cooperation
Clark, Prof. J. M., Inquiry into Economic Cycles
Clark, Reuben, International Loan Contracts
Cochran, H. Merie, 1927 World Economic Conference
Condliffe, Prof. J. B., Economic Intelligence Service of the Secretariat
Cook, Dr. E. Fullerton, Biological Standardization Conference
Coolidge, T. Jefferson, Financial Committee
Cooper, Kent, Conference of Press Experts
Cumming, Dr. Hugh S., Vice-Chairman of the Health Committee

Cumming, Hugh S., Jr., Geneva Consulate, World Economic Conference
Dale, Dr. Edgar, Child Welfare Committee
Darlington, Charles, Jr., Financial Section of the Secretariat
Davis, Mrs. Harvey W., Education of Youth in the Ideals of International Cooperation
Davis, Malcolm W., Commission on Intellectual Cooperation: International Studies
Conference
Davis, Norman H., Chairman, Memel Commission, 1927 World Economic Conference
World Disarmament Conference, Financial Committee
Davison, Robert L., Committee on Housing
Day, President Edmund E., 1927 World Economic Conference
Delano, Frederick A., Chairman, Persian Opium Inquiry
Dennison, Henry S., International Labour Office
Deperon, P., Economic, Financial and Transit Department at Princeton
Dewhurst, James F., 1928 Conference on Economic Statistics
de Wolf, Francis Colt, Disarmament Section of the Secretariat
Dill, Dr. D. B., Health Committee
← Dodds, President Harold W., President, Princeton University
Doisy, Dr. Edward A., Commission for the Standardization of Sexual Hormones
Domeratzsky, Louis, 1927 World Economic Conference
Dorfman, Dr. Ben D., Adviser, Lytton Commission
Doyle, Michael Francis, Chairman, American Committee, Geneva
Duffey, Joseph, League Publications: Columbia University Press
Duggan, Dr. Stephen P., Commission on Intellectual Cooperation
Dulles, Allen W., World Disarmament Conference
Dunn, James Clement, World Disarmament Conference, World Economic Conference
Durand, M. Dana, Chairman, Committee of Statistical Experts
Eagleton, Prof. Clyde, Non-League technical organizations
← Earle, Prof. Edward M., Institute for Advanced Study
Eastman, Lucius R., Economic Committee
Eichelberger, Clark, Director of American Committee the League's technical work
Eliot, Dr. Martha M., Social Committee
Emeny, Brooks, Intellectual Cooperation
Emerson, Dr. Haven, Committee on Nomenclature of Diseases
Evans, Dr. Herbert McLean, Health Committee
Feis, Herbert, International Labour Office, World Economic Conference
Felkin, E., Secretary, Opium Central Board, Washington Branch Office
Fisher, Ernest M., Committee of Housing Experts
Fosdick, Raymond B., Under-Secretary-General
Fraser, Leon, International Bank: Economic Conferences
Gamow, Prof. G., Intellectual Cooperation
Gay, E. F., Intellectual Cooperation
Gerig, Dr. Benjamin, Information Section of the Secretariat; Commissioner of
League's Pavilion at the New York World's Fair
Gilchrist, Huntington, Mandates Section of the Secretariat
Goldenweiser, E. A., Conference of Research Departments of Central Banks
Goodrich, Carter, Chairman, Governing Body, International Labour Office
Grady, Hon. Henry F., Chairman, Economic Committee
Green, Roger S., Intellectual Cooperation
Gregg, Dr. Alan, Rockefeller Foundation
Haberler, Prof. A., Economic Intelligence Service of the Secretariat
Hambro, Carl J., President of the Assembly of the League of Nations
Hamilton, Dr. Alice, Health Committee
Hansen, Prof. Alvin H., Consultative Commission on Prosperity and Depressions
Hargrave, Alexander, School of Public and International Affairs, Princeton
Harriman, Henry I., International Labour Office

Harrison, Dr. W. T., Health Committee
Haskell, Henry S., Carnegie Endowment
Haskins, Halford L., Intellectual Cooperation
Hazard, Henry B., Refugees and Indigent Foreigners
Hedges, Marion H., International Labour Office
Hilgerdt, F., Economic, Financial and Transit Department at Princeton
Hinrichs, Ford, International Labour Organization
Hobson, Asher N., International Institute of Agriculture, Economic Conferences
Howell, Dr. William Henry, Health Committee
Hudson, Judge Manley O., Judge of the Permanent Court of International Justice
Hunt, E. E., Economic Conference
Hurlbutt, Miss Mary E., Committee on Indigent Foreigners
Huston, Howard R., Chief, Internal Services of the Secretariat
Ives, Dr. James E., Health Committee
Jacklin, S., Treasurer of the League of Nations
Jay, Nelson D., Investment Committee, Library Endowment Fund
Jessup, Prof. Philip C., International Studies Conference
Johnson, Major Bascom, Committee on the Traffic in Women and Children
Johnson, Miss Ethel M., Director Washington office, International Labour Organization
Jones, Grosvenor, 1927 World Economic Conference, Member of American Delegation
Kellogg, Vernon, Intellectual Cooperation
Kenyon, Miss Dorothy, Committee on the Legal Status of Women
~~Keppel, Fred, Committee on Arts and Letters~~
King, Eldon P., Fiscal Committee
Kittredge, Tracy B., Rockefeller Foundation: International Studies Conference
Klein, Julius, Economic Conference
Krans, Dr. H., Intellectual Cooperation
Laidlaw, Mrs. James L., League Pavilion, New York World's Fair
Leland, Dr. W. G., Commission on Intellectual Cooperation
Lenroot, Miss Katharine F., Social Committee
Lindberg, J., Economic, Financial and Transit Department at Princeton
Lindsay, Prof. Samuel McCune, International Labour Office
Lockwood, William W., American Committee for International Studies
Lorwin, Louis, International Labour Office
Loveday, A., Director, Economic, Financial and Transit Department at Princeton
Lubin, Isidor, International Labour Office
MacGuire, C. F., Economic, Financial and Transit Department at Princeton
Manship, Paul, Woodrow Wilson Memorial
May, Herbert L., Central Opium Board and Opium Supervisory Committee
McCollum, Dr. E. V., Committee on the Physiological Bases of Health
McCoy, General Frank R., Member, Lytton Commission
McCoy, Dr. George W., Biological Standardization Commission
McDavitt, Clarence G., International Labour Office
McDonald, James G., High Commissioner for Refugees
McLaughlin, Hon. Charles V., International Labour Office
Menke, William, International Labour Office
Merz, Charles
Miller, Prof. Douglas, Committee of Agricultural Experts
Miller, Miss Frieda S., International Labour Office
Miller, Harry, Intellectual Cooperation
Millikan, President R. A., Commission on Intellectual Cooperation
Moorhead, Mrs. Howell, Opium Committee, Foreign Policy Association
Morgan, Mrs. Laura Puffer, Geneva Research Centre
Morgenstern, Prof. Oskar, Delegation on Economic Depressions
Morgenthau, Henry, Chairman, Greek Refugee Settlement Commission

Morley, Felix, Geneva Research Centre
Munro, Prof. Dana G., School of Public and International Affairs, Princeton
Nelson, Dr. E. M., Conference on the Standardization of Vitamins
Notestein, Dr. F. W., Committee of Demographic Experts
Nourse, E. G., Nutrition Committee
Nurkse, R., Economic, Financial and Transit Department at Princeton
Parran, Dr. Thomas, Health Committee
Pasvolsky, Leo, Economic Conferences
Patterson, Prof. Ernest Minor, Economic
Pell, Robert T., World Disarmament Conference
Perkins, Hon. Frances, Chairman, American Delegation International Labor Conference
Perkins, Prof. James A., School of Public and International Affairs, Princeton
Phelan, E. J., International Labour Office
Polak, J., Economic, Financial and Transit Department at Princeton
Polk, Frank, Peace Conference; Woodrow Wilson Foundation
Proffitt, Charles G., League Publications: Columbia University Press
Putnam, George R., Conference on Buoyage and Lighting of Coasts
Rasminsky, Louis, Economic, Financial and Transit Department
Reber, S., Liberia Committee: World Disarmament Conference
Renborg, Bertil, Chief, Opium Section of the Secretariat
Rice, Prof. William G., International Labour Office
Riddle, Dr. Oscar, International Hormones Conference
Riefler, Winfield W., Financial Committee: Committee on Economic Depressions
Riegelman, Miss Carol, Intellectual Cooperation: International Labour Office
Roberts, George E., Gold Delegation
Roberts, George E., Jr., Gold Delegation
Roche, Miss Josephine, Health Committee
Rockefeller, John D. III, Information Section of the Secretariat
Roosevelt, Nicholas
Rosenberg, A., Economic, Financial and Transit Department at Princeton
Rowe, Dr. Harold B., Nutrition Committee
Howe, Dr. Leó S., Director, Pan American Union
Rublee, George, Refugees
Ryder, Oscar B., Inquiry into Clearing Agreements
Sawyer, Dr. Wilbur A., Conference of African Health Offices
Schmitter, L. L., Financial Section of the Secretariat
Sebrell, Dr. W. H., Jr., Committee on the Physiological Bases of Health
Seidell, Dr. Atherton, Health Committee
Shepardson, Whitney, Secretary, League of Nations Commission, Peace Conference
Shotwell, Dr. James T., Commission on Intellectual Cooperation
Small, Dr. Lyndon Frederick, Health Committee
Smith, Dr. Philip E., International Hormones Conference
Smith, Miss Sybil L., Nutrition Committee
Snow, Dr. William F., Committee on Traffic in Women and Children
Snyder, Dr. Carl, Statistical Experts Committee
Somervell, Col. Brebon E., Transit Commission, Danube Inquiry
Sprague, O. M. W., Gold Delegation of Financial Committee
Steenboch, Prof. Harry, Conference on the Standardization of Vitamins
Steinig, L., Opium Section of the Secretariat, Washington Branch Office
Stewart, Walter, Institute for Advanced Study
Stiebeling, Dr. Hazel K., Nutrition Committee
Stimson, Hon. Henry L., World Disarmament Conference
Stokes, Dr. John H., Health Committee
Strong, Dr. Richard Pearson, Health Committee
Stuebaker, John, Intellectual Cooperation

Sweetser, Arthur, Director Attached to the Principal Officers of the Secretariat
Taylor, Alonso E., Economic Conference
Taylor, Amos, Committee on Balance of Payments (Statistical Experts)
Ten Broeck, Dr. Carl, Princeton Department, Rockefeller Institute
Tirana, Rifat, Economic Intelligence Service of the Secretariat
Turkel, Harry E., Fiscal Committee
Tyler, Royal, Economic, Financial and Transit Department
van Ittersum, Mrs. P. W., Economic, Financial and Transit Department at Princeton
Viner, Prof. Jacob, International Studies Conference
Voegtlin, Dr. C., Health Committee
Wadsworth, Eliot, International Chamber of Commerce
Waite, Prof. Warren G., Nutrition Committee
Wallace, Hon. Henry A.
Wambaugh, Miss Sarah, Minority Section of the Secretariat: Technical Counsellor
Saar Plebiscite Commission
Warren, George L., Committee on Indigent Foreigners
Watt, Royce J., International Labour Office
Watterson, P. G., Economic, Financial and Transit Department at Princeton
Whittaker, Dr. H. A., Committee of Housing Experts
Whitton, Prof. John B., International Studies Conference
Wigmore, Dean John, Commission on Intellectual Cooperation
Williams, Dr. C. L., Health Committee
Williams, Miss Faith, Nutrition Committee
Williams, Prof. J. H., 1927 World Economic Conference
Williams, Dr. L. H., Jr., Commission on Fumigation of Ships
Willits, Prof. Joseph H., World Economic Conference
Wilson Hugh R., American Minister to Switzerland: World Disarmament Conference
Wilson, Miss M. Elinor, League Publications, Columbia University Press
Winlock, Herbert E., International Museums Office
Winslow, Prof. C. M. A., Committee of Housing Experts
Woolley, Dr. Mary E., Chairman, American National Committee to Aid the League's
Technical and Non-Political Activities
Wright, Prof. Quincy, Intellectual Cooperation
Young, Arthur N., World Economic Conference
Zimmer, Verne, International Labour Organization
Zook, George F., Intellectual Cooperation

THE PRESIDENT OF PRINCETON UNIVERSITY
THE DIRECTOR OF THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY
THE DIRECTOR OF THE PRINCETON DEPARTMENT
OF THE ROCKEFELLER INSTITUTE
HAVE THE HONOR TO INVITE

Mr. Frank Aydelotte

TO ATTEND A MEETING AT PRINCETON
ON APRIL 19 AND 20
OF AMERICANS WHO HAVE AT VARIOUS TIMES
TAKEN PART IN THE TECHNICAL AND NON-POLITICAL
WORK ASSOCIATED WITH THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

At the invitation of our three institutions, part of the Economic, Financial and Transit Department of the League is now on mission in Princeton. A Branch Office of the Permanent Central Opium Board and of the Opium Supervisory Committee has recently been established in Washington. The International Labour Office has transferred most of its staff from Geneva to Montreal. Other technical officers may subsequently come to this side.

The authorities of the three Princeton institutions feel that, with these international activities now functioning in considerable degree in the Americas, it would be interesting and valuable to bring together as many as possible of those Americans who are or have been associated with the various technical activities initiated by the League during the previous twenty-one years, in order to renew past contacts, take stock of the present situation, and consider possible future international collaboration in the technical fields. They believe that those who have cooperated in these diverse activities have been in a position to secure a special insight into problems which are not ephemeral but rather a permanent part of international life, and that they have, therefore, a special contribution to make at this moment of assessment and inquiry.

The meeting has been arranged to take account of the many demands and pressure of time. It will open with an informal tea, from 4:30 to 6:00 o'clock, at the Institute for Advanced Study, to meet members of the League's technical sections now in this country. In the evening the members of the group will be guests at a dinner given by the three inviting institutions at the Princeton Inn, with an address of welcome by President Dodds of Princeton University, and a reply by Mr. Carl J. Hambro, President of the Assembly of the League of Nations now resident at Princeton. General sessions will follow that evening and the next morning, at which various Americans who have participated in the League's technical work will discuss the development of such work and its possible contribution to future international relations. At luncheon that noon, observations will be made by Dr. Mary C. Woolley, Chairman of the American National Committee to preserve and aid the League's technical work, and by Dr. Frank Aydelotte, Director of the Institute for Advanced Study, to be followed by a brief general discussion.

A reply as early as possible, addressed to Mr. W. W. Riefler, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, New Jersey, would be greatly appreciated. For those so desiring, reservations can be made at the Princeton Inn for room, breakfast and lunch at \$5 per person.

H E A L T H

"A glorious adventure in peaceful progress and social benefit" was the description of the League's health work given by Dr. Frank G. Boudreau, Member of the League's Health Section for twelve years and now Director of the Milbank Memorial Fund.

"The League's first task in the early twenties," Dr. Boudreau said, "was to deal with the pestilence which spring from war. A tragic situation prevailed in Eastern Europe; no single government could cope with the mass of disease-ridden refugees fleeing in panic from their homes. The League persuaded those governments, several recent enemies, to work together, and the epidemics were soon conquered.

"Shortly afterwards, a system of epidemiological intelligence was set up in Geneva to do for epidemics what a fire-alarm system does for fire-prevention. Later, a rapid alarm-system was set up in Singapore, a cross-roads of disease. That Bureau, though obviously handicapped by the war, is still receiving daily and weekly epidemic news from nearly all the ports in the Far East and is broadcasting it over a dozen stations to port health officers, ships at sea and ~~passenger~~ planes in the air. So useful has it been that it has been supported not only by the League but by special contribution from Eastern countries.

"Biological standardization was also one of the Health Section's earliest activities. Vitamin strength is often expressed in International Units, that is to say, League of Nations Units, which means that, as far as these preparations are concerned, a universal language has been achieved. This is also true for some thirty substances essential to public health such as sera, vaccines, and other therapeutic substances.

"Time does not permit describing the League's health work in malaria, leprosy, public health training, and rural sanitation. But I must speak of two special enterprises. Around 1926-8, governments began to feel that this new international agency could help them without trespassing on their national sovereignty. First Persia, then Corsica asked for assistance in control of a

single disease, malaria. Yugo-Slavia went a step further and Greece further still. An influenza-like disease called dengue, which had stricken Prime Minister Venizelos and nearly all his government, drew attention to the grave deficiencies in the Greek health services. The League was asked to help, calling in experts from many countries, dividing the country into districts, and training health officers in a new school established with the help of the Rockefeller Foundation. This, with the rehabilitation of some million and a half refugees from Asia Minor whom the League helped settle, makes me feel that at least some of the fortitude displayed in the present war derives from this first experience in technical international cooperation.

"It was China, however, which took fullest advantage of the League's technical opportunities. The League Health Organization had helped China establish health services, institutues, rural centers and hospitals and make a beginning against epidemic diseases. But China was not content with this alone. She needed roads, railroads, banks, new farming methods and the modernizing of her whole economic structure. She called on the League, which provided experts in every imaginable field, at one time as many as 35. Rapid progress was made; the resistance the Chinese have offered to unprovoked aggression shows they built soundly and well.

"Thus the League's work was not to be found wholly or even mainly in Geneva. It was in the different countries, in Greece, China, and Yugo-Slavia, in Chile, Brazil and Spain. National committees on housing, for instance, were established at League instigation in a series of countries; national nutrition committees were also set up in over a score of countries, including two in this country. It is our task to save all we can of this work so that it may be available for the future reconstruction of the world."

N U T R I T I O N

The League's work in nutrition not only has already made a great contribution to thinking in the United States and other countries but has an even larger opportunity ahead, Miss Faith Williams, member of the Nutrition Committee and member of the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the Department of Labor said. Its achievements in the past are but a promise of its future.

"At the beginning of the first World War, work in nutrition had progressed to a point where there was general agreement as to its value. It would have been possible, if the war had not interfered in 1914, to undertake a large-scale nutrition campaign which might well have changed the course of human developments. But research in the chemistry of nutrition continued despite the war, and at its close, it was possible to resume progress. Improvements in agricultural production technique and in the transportation of fresh vegetables and fruit effected great changes in food consumption habits. The depression, however, produced an almost impossible dilemma, with enormous surpluses on the one hand and starvation in the cities on the other.

"At first, no one could think of anything better to do than to restrict agricultural production. By 1934, however, discontent with this procedure led to proposals at League meetings for studies of the dilemma. The nutrition work at Geneva began with a resolution introduced into the Governing Body of the International Labor Office by the delegates of Australia and New Zealand, supported by British labor delegates and American social workers. An advisory committee was created, composed of bi-^achemists and specialists in the economics of consumption and in consumer cooperation, who issued a most useful report. Shortly after, the League created the Mix/^{ed}Committee on Nutrition which brought together the foremost authorities of many countries and drew up the first international/nutritional standards. Its work not only was greatly aided by contributions from the United States

but in its turn made a striking contribution in the United States through the reinforcement of American workers who received a better hearing when supported by an international authority.

"An immense task remains to be done by international agencies. So far, work in the League and the Labor Office committees has demonstrated the economic and social reasons and the extent of malnutrition, but we have had neither the time nor the staff to elaborate solutions or make blueprints essential for future economic planning. With the present emergency, the necessity for such blueprints is far greater than it was in 1937-38, when the reports were issued. There is a widespread feeling amongst labor groups in this country, for instance, that, whatever Germany's attitude towards the nutrition of the occupied territories, may be there is much to be said for its attitude towards the nutrition problems of its own people, where inequalities are less than in many other parts of the world. The development of a nutrition policy for the United States is very urgent at the present time.

The work already done by the League is a great contribution to this vital question. In the period immediately following the war, we will have to know far more than we do at present of the nutritional needs of the whole world. To do this will require the collaboration of many agencies. Much material is available but by no means enough. It is my hope that we may soon plan for such an economic and bio-chemical analysis of future needs."

D R U G S

International drug control was pictured by Mr. Herbert L. May, member of the Opium Central Board and the Opium Supervisory Body, as one of the few pieces of world-wide international machinery which remains active today.

"Last May," he said, "while Holland and Belgium were being invaded, the Opium Advisory Committee held its annual meeting in Geneva and the Drug Supervisory Committee was present with full membership. In December, the latter issued its annual statement fixing the totals of manufacture, import, and export of drugs for 1941 on the basis of estimates from 53 nations and 44 territories, including 8 under enemy occupation. In January, the Opium Central Board issued its usual report and subsequently, with the authorization of the State Department, a branch office was opened in Washington, where it is hoped to exercise control over the world with the possible exception of Central and Southern Europe. I should like to express our appreciation to Mr. Stewart J. Fuller and other members of the State Department and to Mr. Harry J. Anslinger, head of the Narcotics Bureau, for their help in making this possible.

"The League's interest in drug control began at the very start in 1920. An Opium Advisory Committee was set up composed of government representatives, as well as an Opium Section in the Secretariat. In 1925, the Permanent Central Opium Board, and in 1931, the Drug Supervisory Body, were established, both under new conventions further extending the anti-drug work. These four bodies are markedly different both in origin and in function. The first two are distinctly League bodies, whereas the last two are based on separate conventions drafted, however, under League auspices.

"The Advisory Committee is a kind of general staff, which deserves credit for a great part of the progress made. The Supervisory Body is a statistical agency for fixing the estimates for the coming year. The Central Board is a regulating body which has the very responsible power of embargoing a country exceeding the limitations set upon it. When that limit has been reached, the Board notifies all other states which are then bound not to export

to it until a new estimate has been sent and a full reason given. This is a very strong sanction which has been accepted by all countries and which has worked for 7 years without complaint.

"Now as to results. Between 1925 and 1929 something like 100 tons of narcotic drugs went into illicit traffic, often from reputable factories and representing a money value of several hundreds of millions of dollars and an economic loss even greater. From 1929 to 1931 those factories were largely brought under control, and about 58 tons of narcotic drugs manufactured. In 1935, as a result of new machinery fixing accurate totals of the world's legitimate needs, that total was reduced to 29 tons. Today, as a result of war necessities, the figure is up to about 40 tons.

"We do not, however, have to depend entirely on sanctions for control of this trade. That control is even more effectively exercised by pressure brought on the national administrations. The Central Board has constantly urged better national administration and has met with very real success. There are countries interested in this control which are not members of the League; of those who have left the League, at least eight are continuing their collaboration.

"The technique developed over a period of years has been of interest to other committees seeking to establish international control, notably the Armaments Committee, and it is possible that its method may be widely used elsewhere. The future, however, represents a grave problem. The close of the last war saw a great increase in drug addiction because of the large surpluses available and the high tension prevailing; the close of the present war is likely to see the same thing unless stringent control is exercised. The drug problem will not end with the war; it is a problem which will always be with us, and a problem which, fortunately, it is to every nation's interest to solve.

S O C I A L W E L F A R E An analysis of the League's work in social welfare
Miss Elsa Castendyck and an outline of what will be desirable in the
future was given by Miss Elsa Castendyck, of the Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor and United States government representative on the League's Advisory Committee on Social questions.

"The object of the League," Miss Castendyck said, "is stated in the Covenant to be the establishment of peace based upon social justice. Recognizing that states are interdependent and that widespread privation, hardship and injustice in any nations threatens peace and harmony in the world, the League sought to establish a framework within which these political and social handicaps could be considered and measures taken to combat them, particularly in the field of labor through the International Labor Organization, in that of health and nutrition through the Health Committee, and in that of social problems by the Advisory Committee on Social Questions.

"The first problem to be attacked was the oldest and most difficult of all social problems, traffic in women. Effort here led to a new convention in 1921, a permanent Advisory Committee meeting annually, a world-wide series of studies in Europe, the Americas, and the East, a special regional conference in Java, a series of reports issued on immigration, rehabilitation of prostitutes, and control of souteneurs, and a continuous and steady attack on this vicious practise. The child welfare work, which developed later, involved the assembling of information from all over the world, the making of special investigations and studies, a system of annual reports from governments on legislative and administrative measures, and the establishment of a Child Welfare Information Center to provide data on trends throughout the world. Other subjects also were taken up in this broad field.

"Several suggestions emerge from this work. While very real results were achieved, the major weakness was that the inquiries dealt with isolated subjects without a broad framework or a sharp focus. The permanent staff was too small and too limited in authority; the Committee was not always effective;

funds were insufficient. But the work is an increasingly essential part of any international order seeking to promote the welfare of the individual and the progress of democracy; it might well find guidance in the Children's Bureau in the United States which has had to solve similar problems amongst our 48 states.

"While immediate international action is necessarily restricted in present circumstances, certain social and health problems involving European and American nations are susceptible of cooperative action, notably those involved in the establishment of American bases in British territory or in the care of European refugees, particularly children, in the United States, towards the study of which League social welfare experts might make a valuable contribution. A long-range collaboration for post-war problems is even more important. There will be thousands of orphaned children, hosts of displaced people, depressed racial minorities, and health and nutritional problems on an unprecedented scale. The rapid development of public responsibility for social welfare indicates that such problems will increasingly be the concern of public, tax-supported organizations. There will be a need for an international body with a staff of highly trained and authoritative civil servants, a budget making possible travel, conference and research, grants-in-aid for special responsibilities as in devastated or mandated areas, and closest cooperation with cognate agencies in the fields of labor and health. A partnership based on broad acceptance of common values is essential if insecurity, degradation and bitterness ^{are} ~~ix~~ to be avoided."

L A B O R The present status of the International Labor Office
Mr. Carter Goodrich and its essential contribution, both to the winning of
the war and the consolidation of the peace, were described by Mr. Carter
Goodrich, United States Government Representative to and present Chairman
of the Governing Body.

"As an American privileged to take part in the work of the International Labor Organization, I bring you fraternal greetings from the new ILO center at Montreal, which was established through the foresight of Mr. Winant, the generosity of the Canadian Government, which has given it welcome and full status, and the hospitality of McGill University, extended in the same gracious spirit as that of the Princeton institutions whose guest we are today.

"The Montreal Office is rather happily known as a working center. Both words are important. It is certainly center rather than branch, for policy as well as research functions are concentrated there. Though the staff is smaller, some fifty members of 17 nationalities, and the administrative structure simpler than at Geneva, there are officials carrying on each of the characteristic lines of the Office's work, in sections devoted to Social Insurance, Labor Conditions, Employment, Migration, Economic Statistics, and Safety. They are aided by a far-flung network of colleagues in other countries. A small staff has been maintained at Geneva; the branch offices at Washington, London and Delhi have been strengthened; and the number of national correspondents has been increased. On the basis of regular reports from officials in twenty-four countries, the Labor Office, even short-handed as it is, is continuing to function as the world center of information on labor questions.

"And it is also most hard working. When I was last there a week ago, a meeting of government representatives, workers, and employers of the United States and Canada was under way. The group from this side included the three American members of the Governing Body of the ILO and Dr. Lubin, the United States Commissioner of Labor Statistics. The group from Canada included the Deputy Minister of Labor, the Canadian member of the Governing

Body, officials of the Department of Munitions and Supply, the president of the Canadian Trades Union Congress, and several Canadian employers. Their subject was the organization of the labor supply to meet the imperious requirements of the defense programs. I cite this case, first, because it indicates the desire of the ILO to serve here and now in the present emergency; and second, because the circumstances under which the discussion was held illustrate the characteristic methods of the Organization. Some two months before, the same group had requested the Office to make a report focusing its knowledge of the methods by which labor supply has been organized in various countries on the problems now being encountered in the United States and Canada. This report was before the group, and the discussion developed certain significant differences, not only technical and geographical as between the two countries but also internal as between those responsible for munitions supply, concerned to make sure that no labor and no raw materials needed for defense should be wasted on non-essentials, and labor spokesmen, anxious to see that men should not be thrown out of their ordinary occupations until they could be brought into the defense effort. Yet the group reached a substantial degree of agreement and formulated a set of policy conclusions which will be amplified at its next meeting. The forthcoming report on Labor Supply and National Defence will thus represent the results of study by an international staff corrected by discussion with experienced government officials, employers and workers who have heavy responsibilities in the application of labor policy in the two countries, and demonstrating the unique opportunity and function of an international organization based on the representation not only of governments but also of employers and workers.

"Another activity facilitated by the transfer to this side has been the provision of technical and expert advice to various Latin American governments. Since the 1939 Havana Conference an increasing number of governments have requested the services of experts in the drafting of labor legislation

and the improvement of social administration. At Bolivia's request, the chief of the Office's Social Insurance section drafted a complete new social security code which was introduced as part of the program of the incoming President. Similar assistance has been given to the governments of Venezuela, Ecuador, Peru and Chile. The Assistant Director of the Office is now on mission in Mexico. Much of this work has been in the field of social security. The growing interest in the subject has led to the creation under ILO auspices of an Inter-American Committee to forward Social Security, for whose first meeting preparations are now in process. It is significant that it is from an organization dedicated to democratic principles that these nations are seeking advice and assistance.

"Emphasis on these increased activities in the Americas should not, however, obscure the essential continuity of the ILO's work as a universal agency. In publication, for example, continuity has been well maintained. The International Labor Review has been issued from Montreal each month since last October, the Germans recently paying it the dangerous tribute of imitation by issuing the first number of their own "Neuer Rundschau", perhaps the first step in the creation of an Ersatz ILO. The Legislative Series is being continued and the Industrial Safety Survey has been resumed. Several additions have been recently made to the series of Studies and Reports, with special attention naturally given to the problems raised by the war in belligerent and neutral countries, as in the volume "Studies in War Economics", or the brief report prepared in the London Office on the adjustments in labor policy during the critical months between June and October, 1940.

"But the continuity goes deeper. It involves subject matter and fundamental purpose as well, as movingly expressed in Mr. Winant's report addressed to the "Governments, Employers and Workers of Member States" on the day of his resignation.

"This may be illustrated by mention of one interrupted activity that

points ahead toward the major social problems of the war and of the peace to come. The principal subject scheduled for the Labor Conference last June was to have been that of methods of collaboration between governments and the associations of employers and workers. The Office's 350-page report was issued on the third of May; on the tenth the great invasion began, and the Conference had to be adjourned. Yet everything that has happened since has served to demonstrate the urgency of the problem, and to make clear that the democracies cannot arm themselves strongly and rapidly enough to survive unless they can secure and maintain effective cooperation between governments, organized industry, and organized labor.

"An important element in the national strength and unity displayed by the British has been the extension of collaboration further and further into the day-to-day problems of industry. Every deepening of the emergency has been met by the strengthening of the processes of economic democracy. All the restrictions accepted by British employers and all the heavy sacrifices made by British workingmen, have been made by consent, after full consultation with their representative organizations, which have taken an increased power and responsibility in the national life.

"This theme of collaboration, therefore, will be maintained as the principal subject of discussion at the next ILO Conference which will be held at the earliest practicable moment. The Office is preparing a supplementary Report which will indicate the ways in which the responsible cooperation of employers' and workers' organizations with government can strengthen the war and defense efforts of the democracies.

"Moreover, I hope that this will go still further and carry over into the period that will follow the war. The demobilization of the armed forces and of the still greater armies of workers in the defense industries, their transfer and reabsorption in the work of peace, the weaving together again of the broken strands of world commerce, the restoration of devastated

areas, the rebuilding of an economic system to feed and clothe and shelter what may well be a continent in utter chaos, the re-creation on a sounder basis of a democratic way of life where democracy has been shattered--all these will be tasks calling for the fullest cooperation between governments, trade unions and employers' associations."

J U S T I C E The importance and present status of the
Judge Manley O. Hudson Permanent Court of International Justice
were set forth by Judge Manley O. Hudson, fourth judge of American
nationality following John Bassett Moore, Charles Evans Hughes, and
Frank B. Kellogg.

"Wherever one turns in human history," Judge Hudson said,
"he must be prepared to find striking paradoxes. We now look back
on the two decades which preceded 1939 as the period of the gestation
of a world war, and yet at the same time as the period of the greatest
development in international law that we have ever known. Never be-
fore in any one or two decades has any comparable effort been made
in this field. And when I speak of international law, I do not speak
of something remote or far removed and of use merely to the legal
theoretician; I speak of an international law of everyday life, of
an international law which matters to you and to me, today, tomorrow,
and the next day.

"During this period we have developed an unprecedented mass
of international legislation. That legislation down to 1935 I have
collected in six volumes, to which it is necessary to add a seventh
for the period through 1937. Most of that law has been given added
effectiveness because the Conventions embodying it contain a standard
article relating to the settlement of disputes which may arise in the
interpretation or application of their provisions, and most of those
standard articles confer jurisdiction on the one great agency for the
application of law which the world has ever known: the Permanent Court
of International Justice.

"That Court represents the fruition of a whole half century

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of international effort. The attempt to create an agency of that sort began in 1899 but failed. Another attempt was made in 1907 but failed a second time. A third attempt was made in 1920, and this time, due in my judgement to the existence of the League of Nations, the attempt succeeded.

"What were the difficulties which were insuperable in 1899 and 1907 but overcome in 1920? There was first of all that of getting states to support an agency of this sort. That this difficulty has been met is shown by the fact that 58 states in all and 48 states at the present moment have supported the present World Court. Next was the difficulty on which the 1907 Hague Conference was wrecked, namely how to elect the judges. This difficulty also was met; in the course of the years since 1920, we have held eleven elections without difficulty and would have held the general election due in 1939 if it had not been for the fact that there was in the background of everyone's mind the feeling that an election held at that time might lead to the accusation that the judges all came from a limited number of powers.

"Then there was the difficulty of personnel. That, too, has been surmounted. During these 18 years we have had the fortune to have on the bench a great Italian judge, Judge Anzilotti, as well as other judges of world eminence. Today we have a most excellent President of the Court; we could not find a better if we searched the world over than Judge Geurerro of Salvador. The Court was fortunate also, in having as its first registrar a man who was almost a genius, M. Hammarskjold of Sweden, who has been followed by a most able Spaniard, Señor Lopez Olivan.

"Then it was said that the Court would never be given adequate jurisdiction. The League Assembly in 1920, however, drew up what was

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called the Optional Clause, entrusting compulsory jurisdiction to the Court in a wide variety of cases. Some 40 nations have become parties to that Clause and thus given the Court a jurisdiction such as never before accepted by sovereign nations. But that is only a part of the Court's jurisdiction, an even larger part being embodied in no less than 560 international treaties or conventions providing in one way or another for the jurisdiction of the Court.

"Finally it was said that there would be difficulty as to procedure. That fear also has proved unfounded. The Court has two or three times revised or improved its procedure but it has never encountered a substantial difficulty from it.

"What, it may be asked, have been the contributions which the Court has made? In the first place, it has handled about 60 international disputes during its life-time, handing down 27 opinions, 30 judgements, and a large number of orders, and has two further cases pending with perhaps a third in process of reference. In handling these 60 disputes, I am thankful to say that there has been no flouting of the Court's authority. We have come dangerously near it on two or three occasions but fortunately have avoided it.

"But that is by no means the greatest contribution. Courts are often important not because of the cases which come before them but because of the cases which are settled because they exist, even though the cases never get into Court. Finally, the existence of the Court has greatly facilitated the making of the treaties and the general development of international law and orderly processes amongst nations.

"The Court held its most recent meeting at its seat at the Hague last year. It was to have held another session on May 16, but it

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soon became clear that that meeting could not take place. Following the arrival of the Germans at The Hague, the officers of the Court established contact with them and were assured they would not be disturbed in any way. But it was later announced that the diplomatic missions would be invited to leave on June 18 and the Court's officers were informed on enquiry that the diplomatic status of the judges would ~~end~~ ^{then} end. ~~on that day~~. The President stated that he wished to arrange for the departure of the Court that same day, and the occupying authorities provided a special train for the purpose. Since then, the President and Registrar are at Geneva ready to do the business of the Court, carry on correspondence, and do what they can to keep together an institution which represents such a long period of effort.

"Will this aim be achieved? The Court is not the most important agency in our scheme of international organization but it is one which the world can hardly do without. People say that of course the Court must live, that it would be impossible to be without it. Easily said, indeed, and also easy to see that if the Court did not survive, it would be very difficult to reconstruct it. The Congress of the United States has served a most useful purpose these past 150 years, yet I hesitate to think what would happen if we had before us now the problem of creating the Congress anew. The Supreme Court of the United States has also served a most useful purpose, but again I hesitate to think what would happen if we had before us the problem of re-creating that Court. In the same way, I am fearful indeed to think what might happen if we had to re-create the Permanent Court of International Justice.

"The fate of such great movements often depend on very small things, even on a few thousand dollars. Last fall, the League's financial

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authorities meeting at Lisbon felt constrained to reduce the Court's budget to one-tenth its previous figure. That meant that there is now no payment of the judges' salaries, though the judges have given up their positions elsewhere, a procedure which may react very unfavorably in the future. Instead, the judges are told they may receive 500 francs a month, but even that is not paid. The future of an agency of this sort may come down to a very small sum of money, and yet you will say, and I will say, and we all will say that we cannot allow to perish an institution which represents the fruition of so many years effort, which has made very concrete contributions to international life, and which is embedded in 560 international treaties and conventions. I wonder if we mean it when we say it?"

P U B L I C

A profession of faith and a program of support were outlined by Dr. Mary E. Woolley, President Emeritus of Mt. Holyoke College and Chairman of the American National Committee to Aid and Preserve the Technical and Non-political Activities of the League.

"The genesis of this Committee," Dr. Woolley said, "lay in a note from a non-official American group in Geneva, received through Mrs. Laura Puffer Morgan, who is here today, asking whether I would suggest to President Roosevelt that Congress make an appropriation for the support of the League's non-political activities with which the United States was cooperating. I confess I was not very sanguine, but had the privilege of presenting the idea to the President. He suggested instead the creation of an unofficial committee of Americans interested to help this work, and, after consulting the State Department, the Committee was launched. The response by those invited to serve on it was most gratifying.

"I should greatly like to make to you a profession of faith. I was first fired with the idea of a federation, or a society, or a league of nations as far back as 1912. Then came the great days in 1915-16 of the League to Enforce Peace, leading up to that final day in 1919 when it was formally announced that there was in fact going to be a League. But it is rather the future that I would stress.

"As I have listened to the wide variety of subjects discussed here, it has struck me that there is one which has not been mentioned at all, namely, how to make real to the public the significance of the League of Nations. How many millions of our countrymen do you suppose are ignorant of all the many vital things you have been saying these past hours? Our failure to join the League was certainly ^{due} in part to a lack of public understanding of what the League might mean for the future of humanity.

"Our first task seems to me to be to stress the inevitability of the League as an international conference center. That conference center is

to my mind a necessity unless humanity is to recede from the civilization it has attained, but many people in the United States do not think so. There are thousands, probably millions, who think the League has already gone out of existence; they must be shown that the League is not only in the past but in the future.

"Our next task is to act on the fact that no great result can be achieved without great effort. We face a contest which will be hard; with all our development in education, I doubt if the development of our thinking has kept pace with that of curricula and endowments, much less these greater developments outside. I have seen opportunities missed at Geneva not for lack of machinery but for lack of spirit, have heard Mr. Titulesco say it was not the Covenant but humanity that needs reforming. It is our task to convince the greatest public opinion on earth that something like the League is inevitable if we would progress, that it will not come of and by itself, but that it means constant, ceaseless effort for which we must equip ourselves ethically and spiritually. I recall a remark of Woodrow Wilson's most appropriate to the Princeton campus and a League of Nations group: "America first? Yes," said the President, "first in moral leadership." That is the task before us."

The President of Princeton University
The Director of the Institute for Advanced Study
The Director of the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research
have the honor to invite

to attend a meeting at Princeton on March 14th and 15th of Americans who have at various times taken part in the technical activities of the League of Nations.

At the invitation of our three institutions, the Economics and Financial Section of the League is now established in Princeton, certain parts of the Opium Section have recently come to Washington and have established branch offices of the Permanent Central Opium Board and the Opium Supervisory Committee. The International Labor Office has recently transferred its headquarters from Geneva to Montreal, and it is hoped that other technical activities of the League will eventually be able to come to the United States.

The authorities of the Princeton institutions above mentioned feel that, with these international activities now established in the Americas, it would be useful and important to bring together at this time as many as possible of those Americans who are or have been associated with the various phases of the League's technical work during the previous twenty-one years, in order to renew past contacts, take stock of the present situation, and consider the possible future of international

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collaboration in the technical fields. They venture to feel that those who have cooperated in these manifold and diverse activities have been in a position to secure an unusual insight into problems which are neither passing nor ephemeral but rather a permanent part of international life, and that they have, therefore, a special contribution to make at this moment of uncertainty and inquiry.

The meeting has been arranged to take account of the many demands and pressure of time. It will open with a dinner given by the three inviting institutions at the Princeton Inn, followed by an address of welcome by President Dodds of Princeton University, and a reply by Mr. Carl J. Hambro, President of the Assembly of the League of Nations and now resident at Princeton. General sessions will follow that evening and the next morning when various Americans who have participated in the League's technical work will discuss the development of such work and its possible contribution to better future international relations. A luncheon will be given that noon, with summary observations by Dr. Mary C. Woolley, Chairman of the American National Committee to preserve and aid the League's technical work, and by Dr. Frank Aydelotte, Director of the Institute for Advanced Study, to be followed by brief general discussion.

The courtesy of as early a reply as possible, addressed to Mr. W. W. Riefler, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, New Jersey, would be greatly appreciated. For those so desiring, reservations can be made at the Princeton Inn for room and breakfast at \$4.00 per person.

TENTATIVE PROGRAM
FOR THE
MEETING OF AMERICANS ASSOCIATED WITH
THE TECHNICAL WORK OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS,
PRINCETON, MARCH 14 AND 15, 1941

- March 14 6:00 P.M. Assemblage at the Princeton Inn.
- 6:30 P.M. Dinner given by the inviting institutions:
Greetings by President Dodds on behalf
of the three inviting institutions.
Reply by Mr. Carl J. Hambro, President
of the Assembly of the League of Nations.
- 8:00-10:00 P.M. General session:
Work of the members of the Economic and
Financial Department on mission at
Princeton: Mr. A. Loveday, Director.
The Economic Committee: Mr. Henry Grady.
The Financial Committee: Mr. W. W. Riefler.
The Fiscal Committee: Mr. Mitchell Carroll.
The Statistical Committee: Mr. Dana Durand.
- March 15
10:00-12:00 A.M. Continuation
Work of the International Labour Organization
at Montreal: McCarter Goodrich, chairman of
the Governing Body.
The Anti-drug work: Mr. Herbert May.
The Health Work: Dr. Frank G. Boudreau.
The Social Work: Miss Katharine Lenroot.
The Cultural Field: Dr. James T. Shotwell.
- 12:30 P.M. Luncheon given by the meeting institutions:
General observations:
Dr. Mary C. Woolley, Chairman of the
American Committee for the League's Techni-
cal Activities.
Dr. Frank Aydelotte, Director of the
Institute for Advanced Study.
General discussion.
- 5:00 P.M. Close of Meeting.

Dear Dr Aydelotte:

I hope you will forgive me by greeting you at once on your return with a somewhat immediate problem, but I have just had the good news from Mr Hambro that, if we wish to organize the gathering of League officials and friends which you and I have discussed, he would be able, if he heard sufficiently in advance, to arrange his schedule to come on for it on Armistice Day, November 11. This would seem to me grand; it would provide a symbolic day, give us time for preparation, and assure the presence of the President of the Assembly. What do you think?

We ought, of course, to let Mr Hambro know at once, for he will have quite a job at best adjusting his schedule. Also, I assume that, if we invite him to come on from the West, we could take care of the travel expenses necessary? I attach a list of people which I ran off in connection with the reception at the League's Pavilion; we could also now add Henri Bonnet, Director of the Institute of Intellectual Cooperation, who could cover a whole field of work... Hambro, Loveday, Bonnet, Norwegian, British, French, would be a good combination on the foreign side.

Just had a few fine days in Washington with Loveday. Thompson had a cable that the Deperons, Nirkse, and van Ittersum also sailed on Sept 4 with the Rosenborgs and the Chapmans, so that the group will be almost complete by the end of next week..

Hoping you had a good vacation, I am

Yours most cordially

Sept 8, 1940.

A.S.

*P.S. Don't mention at Marion for a few days - Phone 100.
I may try to reach Hambro by phone
Tuesday - would it be worth while over
discussing this a bit in advance?*

THE
CURTIS



HOTEL

p. t. Minneapolis, Sept. 4.

My dear Arthur:

I have been turning over in my mind the idea of making Armistice Day a great League day at Princeton. And I have succeeded in making such arrangements that I could be at Princeton on November 11th if it would be of any importance. But I must know as soon as possible because it will make necessary some rearrangements of my lecture-tour.

I must also make the very prosaic remark that I could hardly do this without finding a way to get some institution to pay my fare by air from Des Moines, Iowa to Princeton and back again to Sioux Falls, S.D. I have a discount of 15 per cent on all the airlines but it would, of course, still be a good deal of money which I am not now in a position to provide myself. I might even make an arrangement to go by train from Des Moines if that should be cheaper.

I put this to you and would be glad to have your reply either to the Norwegian Consulate, Chicago where I will be Sept. 11 or the consulate in Fargo, N.D. where I will be Sept. 13-14.

With best personal regards
yours sincerely

C. J. Hammer

MINNESOTA... THE 1940 SUMMER PLAYGROUND OF THE NATION

TENTATIVE LIST

LEAGUE OF NATIONS OFFICIALS IN THE USA

SECRETARIAT:

Present officials:

Arthur Sweetser, Director attached to the Principal Officers
Benjamin Gerig, Commissioner-General, New York World's Fair.

Former officials:

Raymond B Fosdick, Under-Secretary-General, 1919.
Whitney H Shepardson, his assistant
Manley O Hudson, Legal Section
Howard Huston, Establishment Officer
Huntington Gilchrist, Mandates Section
Miss Sarah Wambaugh, Minorities Section
Mitchell Carroll, Financial Section
Charles Darlington, " "
Francis de Wolf, Disarmament Section
Milo Gibbs, Distribution,
John D Rockefeller, III, Information

Dr Frank G Boudreau
Duncan-Hall

Foreign Members:

Max Habicht, Legal Section, Swiss
Rifaat Tirana, Financial Section, Albanian
Lindbergh, " " Swedish
Mrs Lehmann, Transit Section, Swedish

Dr B Andliffe
& Rajahman

COMMITTEE MEMBERS:

Present:

Henry F Grady, Chairman, Economic Committee
W W Riefler, Financial Committee
Mitchell B Carroll, Chairman, Fiscal Committee
T Jefferson Coolidge, Financial Committee
Katherine Lenroot, Social Committee
Elsa Castendyck, " "
Former Surgeon-General Hugh S Cumming, Vice-chairman, Health Cttee
Dana Durand, Statistics Committee { Prof Frederick J Ada
E M Fisher, Housing Committee { Prof C E A Winslow,
Herbert May, Opium Central Board and Supervisory Body
Stewart Fuller, Opium Advisory Committee
Dorothy Kenyon, Status of Women Committee
James T Shotwell, Intellectual Cooperation Committee
Dr G F Zook, " " "
Frederick Keppel, Committee on Arts and Letters
Prof W Harrison, Biological Standardization
Dr G W McCoy, " "
Dr L W Hackett, Malaria
Prof E W McCollum, Nutrition
DR W H Sebrell "
Dr Mary Schwartz Rose "
Prof E Fullerton Cook, Pharmacoepia
Prof J Dill, Physical Education
~~Health Indices~~ Dr R M Atwater, Health Indices
Dr Hazel K Stiebeling, Nutrition
Reuben Clark, International Loan Contracts

Henry J. Andliffe

Former members:

Norman H Davis, Financial
Henry Morgenthau, Greek Refugee Commission
James G McDonald, High Commissioner for Refugees
Lucius J Eastman, Economic
Mrs Hamilton Wright, Opium
Col Snow, Traffic in Women
Bascom Johnson " " "
Frederick J Delano, Opium Inquiry in Persia

PERMANENT COURT:

Present Judge:

Manley O Hudson

Former Judges:

John Bassett Moore

Charles Evans Hughes

American National Group: Hudson, Moore, Henry L Stimson, Michael Fra
Doyle

ILO:

Present officials:

...Wilson

~~Major Wright, Norwegian (or Danish)~~

Former officials:

Herbert Feis,

Lewis Lorwin,

etc etc

Committee Members:

A long list

Former Geneva Diplomats:

Ambassador Najera

Minister Procope

" Fotitch

" Loudon

British Embassy: Lord Lothian, Butler

French " Bon-Corr

Australian Legation, Officer

State Department Officials:

Henry Grady, Assistant Sec of State

Jammes Dunn, Political Adviser,

Stewart Fuller, Opium

L Thompson, Geneva Consulate

Robert Pell, Disarmament

Herbert Feis, Economic Adviser

Francis de Wolf, Secretariat

Department of Labor:

Secretary Perkins

Isodor Lubin, etc,

Treasury:

W W Riefler, Dana Durand, E M Fisher

Red Cross

Norman Davis

Washington Post: Eugene Meyer, Felix Morley