

FILES

INSTITUTE GENERAL-----League of Nations, Correspondence with Arthur Sweetser

On Monday, May 1, 1967, Professor James Barros, a research associate at Princeton University's Center of International Studies, examined the file listed above and had made a xerox copy of the following:

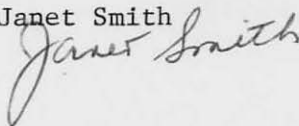
A letter, introduced "Dear Alec:" and dated June 6, 1940

A memorandum to Dr. Aydelotte, Mr. Brakeley and Mr. Riefler, dated June 15, 1940

Professor Barros is writing a book about the Secretaries-General of both the League of Nations and the United Nations. Dr. Kaysen gave his oral permission on April 28, 1967 for Prof. Barros to see the files and to have copies made at the Institute of specific materials he might be interested in. Professor Barros' office was at 118 Corwin, while at Princeton.

May 4, 1967

Janet Smith



COPY

AMERICAN PRESIDENT LINES
311 California Street
San Francisco, California

July 31, 1941

AIR MAIL

My dear Arthur:

Referring again to your letter of June 10th and mine of July 15th, I beg to say that in a general way I had in mind the reestablishment of the Economic Committee with key men from all the free countries. In other words, it seems to me that the Economic Committee can be a rallying point for constructive action in the post-war period, if it can have as members an outstanding man from Great Britain and each of the Dominions, from Free France, and the Dutch East Indies, and from the principal Latin American countries.

I would like to have you talk to Loveday along these lines and he may wish to talk to Hambro.

As you may know, I am being sent on a mission to the Far East which will include the Philippines, the Dutch East Indies, British Malaya, Burma, and, perhaps, Southern China. I may even take a short trip over to Calcutta from Rangoon. My thought is to look around a bit in this area for good material for the Committee. I will not, of course, discuss membership with individuals, but will have the matter in the back of my mind.

In the meantime, if you have an opportunity to write me before I leave here by Clipper, on August 12th, I will be very happy to get yours and Loveday's views.

With very kindest regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

(signed)

Henry F. Grady,
President.

HFG:rb

LH

SOCIETE DES NATIONS

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Dear Frank:

It just occurs to me:wouldn't you want to write a little personal note on behalf of the three institutions to accompany the little check to the three ladies who made the notes of the League meeting? I think they would appreciate it;also it may be just a bit delicate unless explained.

Off tonight to Washington,back Thursday,ready for golf Saturday.

Yours

A.S.

P. S. Also to ask Mrs Bailey to send the checks.

30th July, 1941

Dear Mr. Sweetser:

The pamphlets, as requested in your letter of the 23rd July were mailed day before yesterday to you and to Mrs. Helen Miller and Mr. Mitchell B. Carroll. Professor Kenneth Colegrove, Professor of Political Science of Northwestern University also requested ten or fifteen copies, so we mailed him fifteen.

Your letter to Dr. Aydalotte awaits him at his desk. He will be in the office this Saturday morning.

He and Mrs. Aydalotte are spending the summer at Lynch Homestead, Stockbridge, Mass.

Very truly yours,

Mr. Arthur Sweetser
Perry Park Ranch
Larkspur, Colorado

B. A. M.

SOCIETE DES NATIONS

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

July 23, 1941.

Dear Mrs Miller:

May I thank you very much indeed for your letter of the 19th and for sending out the copies of the Princeton pamphlet? I now have a couple of other letters on the same subject, and would be grateful if you could have the following copies mailed:

wm

✓ 100 to Mrs Helen Hill Miller
National Policy Committee
National Press Club Bldg,
Washington, D C
(as requested by Dr Aydelotte
and with the possibility of
her asking for more)

wm

✓ 50 to Mr Mitchell B Carroll
67 Broad Street
New York City

wm

✓ 20 to me, Perry Park Ranch, Larkspur, Col.

With much appreciation, I am

Yours very truly

Arthur Sweetser

SOCIETE DES NATIONS

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

July 18, 1941

Dear ~~Miss~~ Miller:

I just had a letter from Mrs. Hartz that she is leaving on vacation, but had spoken to you about the keys to my house in case Doctor de Saussure or Mr. Eichelberger want to use it while I am away.

Also I am wondering if, in Mrs. Hartz' absence, you could arrange another matter for me? I just had a letter from Professor Charles E. Martin, asking if he could have six copies of the pamphlet on the Princeton meeting which are in my office sent to him at the University of Michigan and another thirty sent to him at the University of Washington, Seattle? I would be grateful if you could have this done.

I am leaving tomorrow by car for a few weeks at the Perry Park Ranch, Larkspur, Colorado, for two or three weeks stay. If any mail or inquiry should come to the Institute for me, I would appreciate it being forwarded.

Yours very truly,

Arthur Sweetser

ack. 7/19
mailed 7/21/41 -
B.G.M.

19th July, 1941

Dear Mr. Sweetser:

I have your letter of yesterday and I am very glad to send the copies of the pamphlet on the Princeton meeting to Professor Charles E. Martin, six to him at the University of Michigan and thirty to the University of Washington, Seattle.

We have the record of your address for the next two or three weeks and mail and any inquiries will be sent to you.

Very truly yours,

Mr. Arthur Sweetser
Perry Park Ranch
Larkspur, Colorado

B. A. M.

Sweetser

SOCIETE DES NATIONS

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Dear Frank:

What a pleasant surprise to receive your letter of July 16...I thought you had disappeared into the blue for the summer!

Certainly I seem to have. I had a couple of interesting days at the Harris Institute at Chicago and then got into a Packard for a 1000-mile drive to Denver. All the way, as we rolled through these enormously rich agricultural areas I couldn't help thinking that, once our farmers got it into their heads that not only the prices they receive but even the kind of crops they are able to grow depends on events outside their frontiers, they will quickly insist on some sort of organized international life and society. The new farm program apparently requires an enormous reduction of wheat and cotton and a replacement by market gardening and poultry, all because Europe is in chaos.

This is a wonderful spot we have hit upon; it will be hard to leave. But it will help also to sort out my ideas and try to arrive at some kind of program, which I need for the Council on Foreign Affairs and the Institute on World Organization.

About your letter, I have asked Miss Miller to send on 100~~0~~ copies of the Princeton pamphlet to Mrs Helen Hill Miller and could, on pressure, let her have a few more. It's grand for others to take care of the distribution and pay the postage; Mitchell Carroll has also just asked for 50, while the Harris Foundation used 40 at their Institute.

How's your golf? I'm afraid you will get still further ahead of me. All best to yourself and Marie and warmest wishes for the summer:

(not climatic!)

A.S.

February 20, 1941

Dear Arthur:

I should appreciate if you would answer the enclosed. You can certainly do it better than anyone around here.

Yours hastily,

FRANK AYDELOTTE

Mr. Arthur Sweetser
7 Newlin Road
Princeton, New Jersey

FA/mr
Enc.

Dear Frank:
The numbered TP will interest you, I think
A. S.

File under
Arthur Sweetser

January 22, 1941

Dear Alec:

Amidst a perfect cataclysm of lunches, dinners, broadcasts, and newspaper interviews, I still have had chance on this very crowded trip to get ^{to} certain details on matters of our particular Princeton interests;

First, Grady will be very happy, indeed, to participate in a meeting of League experts if it happens to be arranged at a time when he is in the east. He left last Saturday for two weeks in Washington where you can reach him through his apartment, or still, I imagine, through the State Department. He plans to be in the east again around February 15 for a Fortune Round Table, but this date is obviously too early for us. He thinks also that he will be back for the meeting of the American Academy of Political and Social Science in Philadelphia on April 4 and 5, which, again, seems to me from our viewpoint, to be a bit late. He does not contemplate coming on between those dates but may be called upon to do so. In any event he would make every possible effort to be with us.

Now, about the publication on European Trade, which duly reached me in San Francisco and which seems to be most interesting. What I need to know now is the date and conditions of release, but perhaps we can leave that until my return around the end of the month.

As I wrote you before, Henry Wood would be very glad to write an account of the publication for the whole United Press Mail Service with some 1400 newspapers, not only in this country, but in Latin America and in Europe. All that will be necessary there will be for me to write him a personal letter and send him a copy.

Grady has told me that he would gladly cooperate in the publicity in any way that he could, and that he was sure he could get an article ~~review~~ in some of the papers on the Coast. Again it will be necessary to write him and send a copy.

Condliffe is, of course, the most intimately interested of people here, and is sure that he can get a good deal of attention for the publication. I have promised to send him my copy as I leave the Coast, in order that he may have it on hand for study. At the

Page #2

same time he wants to purchase four copies for use at Berkeley so that perhaps you could have Madame Von Ippersum ask the Columbia Press to send them to him with the proper bill. At the same time, Condliffe will be in the East, and very probably at Princeton, for the Fortune Round Table on February 15.

In addition to this, he and I worked out between us a number of publications or individuals to whom the publication should be sent with a note. Amongst newspapers, for instance, where we have personal friends;

San Francisco Chronicle, Mr. Jackson, via Condliffe
Los Angeles Times, Eugene Harley, University of
Southern California, whom I met at Riverside
Portland Oregonian, Bernard Noble, Professor at
Reed College, for whom I spoke yesterday
New York Times, Charles Merz, a personal friend
New York Herald Tribune, Wilbur Forrest (personal
friend)

Christian Science Monitor, Mr. Canhan
Boston Transcript, Reginald Kaufman, who did an
article on my Foreign Affairs article
Washington Post, Barnet Nover, another friend
Chicago Daily News, Paul Scott Mowrer

Condliffe suggested also a number of reviews which amongst us we know personally;

American Economic Review, Professor Paul T. Homan,
Cornell
Journal of Political Economy, Jacob Viner, whom I
shall see in Chicago as an old friend if
I have time
Quarterly Journal of Economics, Haberler
Annals of the American Academy of Political Science,
Professor Patterson, whom I am writing
today on another matter
Journal of Farm Economics (Condliffe)
Columbia Journal of Economics, J. W. Angel
National Economic and Social Planning Association,
E. J. Coyl, Washington
Canadian Journal of Economics, Rasminsky or Vincent
W. Blagden

Page #3

Condliffe also suggested certain regulations, business publications, where he did not have specific name:

Barrons
Analyst
Wall Street Journal
American State Journal
Econometrica

Undoubtedly others will occur to you, but these names can certainly be added to the list, and, if we get our personal letters to the people we know, I am sure we will get a good result.

In addition other individual names will certainly occur to us, for instance, Moulton of the Brookings Institute, or Douglas Miller, who you remember used to be American Commercial Attache in Berlin, and who is to be the other speaker with myself tonight at Tacoma and tomorrow at Seattle.

I think the best thing to do will be for me to write a series of brief notes just as soon as I get back, assuming the release has been fixed by then, for Condliffe to write others when he gets on in mid February, and for any names not thus covered to be added to the general list. In any case I send on these suggestions for you to think over and work in however seems to you to be best.

All best wishes,

Arthur Sweetser

Fairmont Hotel
Nob Hill
San Francisco

Dear Frank:

I know how outraged you will be
by this but I think you ought to
see it, if you haven't already.
The Post is becoming incredibly
bad — see also its cartoon of
the President —

See you soon:

A.S.

Jan 16, 1941

P. S. No reply yet from Morley or Mowman

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Man of Britain

LORD LOTHIAN played out a noble tragedy. Fate seldom observes the rules of dramatic composition and is most careless about endings, even in great cases, leaving the story to end itself; but in this case the ending, too, had perfect form. On the newsstands two boldface headlines lay side by side. One: **LOTHIAN SAYS GREAT BRITAIN CANNOT WIN WITHOUT AMERICA.** The other: **LOTHIAN IS DEAD.**

Seized with a sudden illness, he sent his last speech to Baltimore to be read. At the end of it he had written: "I have done. . . . If you back us you will not be backing a quitter."

The next morning he was dead.

A kind of prescience was his gift and affliction. One who can see the shape of oncoming disaster, as it were a ship looming out of the fog, and is yet powerless to avert it because he cannot make others see it in time or compel them to believe what they cannot see, must live a nightmare through.

Not only did he see the war from afar; he foretold the very design of it. Beginning with Hitler's rise to power, which his keen political mind clearly understood, and thereafter without cease until war was an inevitable thing, he exhorted Great Britain to let it alone. It was Europe's business, not England's.

In a speech at Chatham House, June 5, 1934—On the Place of Britain in the Collective System—he established the thesis which he never modified—namely, that Great Britain belonged not to the European System but to the World System. "If only we do not interfere," he said, "Europe will rapidly establish a regional security system of its own, which may well prevent war and lead both to appeasement and to some measure of limitation of armaments in a system of balance." Speaking at Chatham House again, April 2, 1936, he said: "I do not believe we are prepared to go to war for questions in Eastern Europe, and therefore the sooner we make that clear to Europe the better for us. Otherwise war will come and we shall be dragged into it exactly as we were in 1914. That is the real danger. . . . I am inclined to think that Europe will never make peace within herself until we leave her to do her own work."

In a speech—On Preventing a World War—at the Reform Club in Manchester, Feb. 24, 1937, he

said: "If the theory of collective security got us into another European war, what should we be fighting for? We should be fighting to maintain the anarchy of Europe, which is Europe's fundamental bane." And in a speech in the House of Lords, March 2, 1937: "It is Europe which is the main focus, the main center from which the threat of war throughout the world now springs, and the fundamental reason for that is not the ambition or the malignity of any particular race or people; it is the fact that today it is divided into twenty-six sovereign states."

That "old anarchy of multitudinous national sovereignties" was going to dissolve. "It is going to disappear," he said, "either through federation, which is the democratic way, or through an integration consequent on the rise of the great totalitarian powers. We can see the process going on in Europe and Asia under our eyes, whereby the great military powers, either by compulsion or by the magnetic attraction of their own strength, consolidate a group of otherwise autonomous units to whom they promise peace, security and prosperity in return for entering their orbit and for accepting mutually satisfactory arrangements for trade. World unity is, of course, at present entirely out of sight. But that the world is going to fall into four or five main political and economic groups, each in great measure self-supporting, each under the leadership of a great state equipped with modern military and air power, at any rate for a time, seems certain. Nothing that we can do can prevent it."

The World War of 1914-1918 was fought for self-determination, and yet at the end of it (Speech at Chatham House, June 29, 1937) "not only were certain groups of Germans, like the Austrians, forbidden to unite with Germany, but considerable numbers of Germans just outside the German frontiers were united with other countries. . . . Now, if the principle of self-determination were applied on behalf of Germany in the way in which it was applied against her, it would mean the re-entry of Austria into Germany, the union of the Sudeten Deutsch, Danzig, and possibly Memel, with Germany; and certain adjustments with Poland in Silesia and the Corridor. Then, on the economic side, there is a certain natural balance between the various countries of Southeastern Europe and Germany. If political antagonism could be eliminated, economic arrangements could be made between the various states which would give to all of them a higher standard of living and far greater economic stability. And provided it was done by agreement, I cannot see that vast Russia to the east or the satisfied colonial powers to the west ought to object. On the contrary, their greatest need is that Central Europe should settle down, and that is only possible, in my view, under German leadership."

What of the moral case—the case for law, for the sanctity of treaties, for freedom against autocracy? In a letter to *The London Times*, July 13, 1938, he wrote: "We have had experience of one vast war fought by a collection of democracies from 1914 to 1918 to defend freedom against autocracy and to maintain the sanctity of treaties. Most people now feel that while the cause was just, the remedy was almost as fatal as the disease."

There was a crusading morality and there was a morality of realism, taking the world to be what it is, with the fatal enigma of people in it.

"It is quite certain," he said, "that morality does not require us to call upon our countrymen or other people to pay the price of world war to prevent relatively minor atrocities or breaches of justice. Mankind is not going to be benefited by multiplying carnage and destruction a thousandfold for the sake of questions that will immediately be swallowed up in the vast and catastrophic issues of general war."

And if it was democracy that people were thinking about, a total war to defend it would be bound to destroy it. "Democracy itself," he said, "will

not be able to stand another world war. To fight it you will have to abandon your parliamentary system, and the financial needs could not be met by ordinary democratic methods."

And this is the man Great Britain sent as her ambassador to Washington to persuade the American people that a European war which he believed was none of England's business had become America's war, too, because England had got into it.

In such an undertaking there were elements of impossibility, especially for him. In a speech at Chatham House, April 2, 1936, he had said: "The United States has made up her mind, once and for all, that her intervention in Europe in 1917 was a waste of effort, that somehow or other Europe must solve her own problems and that she is not going to be associated in any way with European commitments." And in *The Observer*, on *America After Munich*, February 26, 1939, referring to Quincy Howe's book, entitled, *England Expects Every American to Do His Duty*, he had said: "This represents the inveterate suspicion in the United States that every British proposal is designed to induce the United States to underwrite British interests—a suspicion which rests on the fact that Anglo-American co-operation obviously operates to the benefit of the British Commonwealth and not so obviously to the benefit of the United States." That was a pure example of his ruthless frankness.

But Great Britain knows her men better than they know themselves. If the United States should now adopt the European war in a total manner and save England, the claim of Lord Lothian to the highest niche in Great Britain's gallery of diplomats could hardly be disputed. As a propagandist he had the art to make people intellectually grateful. They were obliged to him for putting their thoughts in order—their own thoughts, as it seemed to them, returned to them in historical perspective. This was owing partly to the clarity of the thoughts he himself happened to be thinking at the time, and partly, of course, to the sincerity of his immediate purpose. He could make Americans believe their Monroe Doctrine was a borrowed plume, and that for a century of success, freedom and security they were indebted to the British navy and to a ring of benign fortresses, named Britain, Gibraltar, Cape Town, Suez, Singapore and Australia.

To mark the discrepancy between what the British ambassador was saying to the American people and what he had been saying before that to his own countrymen, the late Senator Lundeen spread upon the pages of the *Congressional Record* various excerpts from his writings and speeches during the six years preceding the war, and said: "Of the two souls in his lordly bosom, one was evidently very friendly to Germany."

We think that was unfair and that Senator Lundeen would wish to have his words back. It is true that Lord Lothian did say, in 1938, that if the war came and the history of it were ever written, no dispassionate historian would blame Germany alone, even though she had struck the first blow. Here one must remember what his passion was. To confine the war to Continental Europe, to let Europe find her own balance, in any case to keep England out of it—that was his passion, and it was founded on the fear, or the vision, that the policy England was pursuing, and did still pursue, would bring to pass her own downfall.

He was neither a pacifist nor an appeaser. His one soul was British. His mind and his way of seeing were his own. A nature of tougher mental fabric—a Lloyd George, for example, who was his early mentor in statecraft—might have survived the strain. Lord Lothian lived only to put forth his supreme effort. His Baltimore speech, read to the American people as he lay dying, is the incomparable classic of propaganda.

out, "we all could use a cup of tea. Every place I go they die from laughing. Tea is nice, if you are gonna die from laughing." He was convinced now, for the sake of Dorothy, he should have stayed away.

The newsmen knew him. They were pleased to have him. Harry made the nicest pictures, said the brightest things. They walked into the suite. More flowers. Gifts. A busy telephone. The big-time stuff. The ready money. Harry knew about these things because they had been his one time. Not long ago. Not more than just a few long years ago.

"Hello, Harry. . . . Hello, champ." Press-agent guy named Douglas, slapping Harry on the back. "You look all right." He lit a cigarette. "All right." He said it slowly, rubbed a finger underneath his nose. "You fightin', Harry? You fightin' soon? You gonna take that kid—that What's 'is Name?" "You mean McCarthy?" Harry knew exactly whom he meant.

"McCarthy. Yeah."

"Dunno," said Harry. "Fighting's such a vulgar trade. You get punched right in the snoot."

He didn't care to talk about a brawl with young McCarthy, nor to think about one, either. He left the man and went to look for Dorothy, still holding his package in his hand. She was involved. Too

him and they wished to see him broken open, like a bag of sand. For that's the way they are about the foolish lads like Harry. But Harry didn't like that situation any more. He had grown up. He had some brains. He wished to keep them. He could see, in his maturity, that Dorothy'd been right. It isn't very civilized to stand before the public in a slender pair of tights and beat another man until he bleeds, falls down, or does the same to you. Besides, he was afraid of McCarthy. He'd seen him fight—this Edward James McCarthy, pride and joy of all the Irish clientele, a strong, determined, rather hateful youth who carried hatchets in his hands.

So Harry said, "Nothing doing. I'll get the thirty grand some other way. Just between you and me, Hymie, I would rather jump under a street-car. Except that's not for the records. You understand? I think I've got some other things lined up."

The things that Harry had lined up were in his mind, in wishful thoughts, in his imagination. They were nothing more. There was a time when he could do a hundred fruitful things, could referee some mediocre fights for fancy fees, could go in vaudeville, could sign his name to advertising articles—all the things that come with prominence, success.

open wide, so you couldn't see that there were buttons missing. This was easy, if you used your elbows properly. Fancy dresser, Harry was. Renowned for that. No winter season ever came around in which he didn't have two hundred dollars for a brand-new coat. Sort of a trademark—very special camel's hair—until this year came along and he would have to show his chin to Edward James McCarthy for the price of such an article as that.

The crowd thinned out a bit, and while he sat there thinking, Dorothy and Milton Dorn came over. Dorothy was tired. Harry made her take the big chair for herself. He sat on one arm of the chair, while Milton Dorn sat on the other.

"Chummy, huh? All pals," said Harry. It was funny, sitting there with the divorce proceedings folded in his pocket. Funny enough to break his heart up like a dish.

Milton was embarrassed. *Don't be embarrassed, will ya?* Harry thought. *Why, lookit—she's not been my wife for almost four years, Milton. You're a nice guy. You're all right. You're the kind of gent she ought to have. It was my fault that we've been separated. Not her fault. Relax.*

Harry asked them—though he knew the answer well—"What's the play? A job by Sherwell, isn't



The rosin dust was in the air. His head was full of thunder. His vision came back slowly.

many people shaking hands. He found a big fat chair and settled into it, his overcoat still on. He thought about some things.

Fight McCarthy? No, Harry knew too much about his trade. In the morning, at the Garden, they had told him, "It's thirty thousand dollars. You can't laugh off thirty thousand dollars, champ."

They used the word "champ" when they talked to him. Affection and esteem, or just a gag. He'd been a champ, but that was quite a while ago. There was a brown man, very strong and serious, and better with his hands than Harry. Harry had not been champ since then. But he'd been close. He'd fought the best and beaten them, all but the brown man. Harry was a lot of laughs, box office. People loved him or they hated him. They liked the way he clowned around, or else they couldn't abide

But that had passed him by. A rusty year of doing nothing, sitting on his hands and thinking of the better life that Dorothy had once outlined for him, did not bring bread or cake or new prestige. If he could lick McCarthy, it would all be different. Except that he couldn't lick McCarthy. Not one side of him. He was resolved he couldn't lick McCarthy. He was through.

Hymie said he understood. He said he couldn't figure out why anyone should want to mess with this McCarthy, either, but a fight was just a fight to Hymie; it was people in the seats and money in the bank and no blood out of Hymie's nose. "You think it over, Harry," the promoter said. "You think it over; lemme know. It's there for you if you want it."

That was in the morning. Harry sat now with his big hands folded on his stomach, with his overcoat

it?" That's what it was, they told him. "When's the opening?" he asked them. His questions seemed to acknowledge that it was a dual affair for Dorothy and Milton. "February twenty-second," was the answer.

They talked of things. They talked of him. "Oh, there's lots of things I've got lined up," said Harry. "Really, Harry?" Dorothy said that, warmly and enthusiastically. Somebody snapped their picture all together, for the seventh time. Somebody heard him say he had a lot of things lined up.

"What things?" they wished to know. "Oh, so that's it. Nosy, eh? Well, Minsky wants me, for one thing. With or without my tights. Presenting Mr. Dorothy Downing, with sixty beautiful girls. Sixty. You can count them, left to right. That's Harry in the (Continued on Page 64)

SELF-DISCIPLINE OR SLAVERY

"No Great Nation Has Ever Been Overcome Until it Has Destroyed Itself"

By Will Durant

WAR is no time for philosophy. Reflection should precede action, not impede it; once the die is cast the thinker should hold his tongue until a lull in action invites and pardons thought. In these weeks of hesitation we may for the last time look upon the world as students rather than as combatants. Now—not later—we may try to view the historic process of our age in a spacious perspective, to discover the secret and basic currents underlying events, and to seek some practicable compromise between these currents and our dreams. Soon we shall all be thinking with our blood. Even now the student himself, beneath his pretensions to detachment, finds his emotions deeply involved in his judgments, and, while struggling to think as an American, feels his European heritage coursing and clamoring in his veins. Let us, like unembattled Martians, contemplate our time.

I. When Liberty Was King

THE basic current of our age is a return from liberty to discipline. Order, authority, discipline, are fundamental and usual in states and in history. Liberty is a luxury, and comes only when economic power outweighs political and military power, when those who are engaged in agriculture, industry, trade or finance have greater influence in determining custom, law and policy than those who drill the army or think they govern the state. This ascendancy of the productive classes, and this consequent flourishing of freedom, come most often in times and scenes of military security, as in the Athens of Pericles before 432 B.C., Rome between Sulla and Caesar, England under Victoria, and America in our sheltered youth. The commercial and industrial revolutions in England, France and the United States generated modern liberty, because mercantile and manufacturing development required freedom in enterprise, investment, management, transport and trade. When the power of the purse seized control of Parliament in 1689, when French merchants cried out against feudal tolls in 1750, when American businessmen rebelled against Tory landowners and tax collectors in 1776, liberty entered upon its Golden Age. Now that that age is ending we may with some perspective summarize its glories and its faults.

First and above all, freedom was fertile in the economic field. It lured adventurous initiative to explore the resources of the earth, and promised unchecked gains to those who would risk their savings or their lives to develop them. It summoned a million inventors to the task of easing and transforming the physical toil of mankind. It multiplied, year by year, the productivity of human muscle and brain. Under its encouragement the soil became more

bountiful than ever before; for the second time in history men became poor because food was plentiful. Factories poured forth, for all but the lowliest, comforts and luxuries undreamed of by ancient or medieval aristocrats and kings. Money ran through the hands of men as never since Lucullus, Pompey and Octavius brought to Rome the accumulated gold and silver of Egypt and the Near East. Workers who, in the days of antiquity, would have grown old in slavery, or who, when knighthood was in flower, would have been bound for generations to some feudal farm, chose the place and nature of their work, toiled half as long as their ancestors, clothed themselves in silk shirts, took vacation tours across a thousand miles in miraculous chariots equipped with miraculous ears, and—within

limits—voted their friends and desires into the offices and policies of the state.

For the greatest achievement of liberty was democracy. It was not government that freed industry, it was industry that freed government, that broke down one after another of the restrictive powers of government until men were free beyond any precedent. Democracy was a reflex and result of the Industrial Revolution, of the rise of businessmen to wealth and influence. These men made liberty the principle of government because they had found it to be the first requirement of progress. Some civil rights—like those of Magna Charta—had been born with expanding commerce, and had antedated machine industry; but those rights had been confined within

(Continued on Page 46)

HERBERT JOHNSON'S CARTOON



The blank check.

POST

SCRIPTS

Love Comes to Hollywood

Cinema Romance Stages Comeback to Woo Cash Customers.—Hollywood trade note.

FROM RKO to MGM
They're whipping up some cushy gem;
From quickie dive to Fox or Para
The cry is Moonlight and Mascara.
Balconies are standard props;
The pour-it-on technique is tops;
Ye close-up of ye cloying clinch
Takes every Hays-permitted inch.
Once-murderous Mad Scientists
Are plighting troths and keeping trysts
While Charlie Chan and Tugboat Annie
Both outlanguish Sweet Leilani.

The vogue for zany gals has died.
The wacky gents are stopped in stride.
No more grapefruit's smartly smacked
In any lady's puss; in fact
The least *galant* of gangdom's clucks
Don't kick one's teeth in just for ducks.
A Higher, Nobler Force has gripped us—
Desire Under the Eucalyptus;
The paying public, white and darky,
Hanker for Dat Ol' Mullarkey.
Ah, Love, could you and I conspire,
We'd set the Box Office on fire!
With truly Goldwynesque complacence
We could premeer your smash renaissance
Whilst Donald Duck doth soft unfold
The Sweetest Story Ever Told.

—ETHEL JACOBSON.

Came the Dawn

THE eggnog holidays are past,
The festive turkey's gone at last,
Which means that we can celebrate
With steak and spinach, tête-à-tête.

And oh, my darling, what a blessing
To have you minus guests and dressing!
—MARGARET FISHBACK.



"I'm starting a neighborhood poll.
Now what do you think of Mrs. Katz?"



"The prices you guys charge, I don't blame you for wearing masks!"

Danse Un-Macabre

THIS is the witching hour of noon;
Bedlam breaks upon us soon.
When the stroke of twelve has tolled
What a pageant doth unfold.
Drawers slam on pads of notes,
Eager fingers clutch at coats;
Compact, lipstick, comb and hat,
Here a dab and there a pat.
The vital letter just begun
Can slum on the machine till one.
Stenographers on clicking heels
Scurry forth in quest of meals;
Secretaries arm in arm
Fill the corridors with charm;
The stolid air with scent grows heavy
As bevy scuttles after bevy,
Like the pipers on the beach,
Calling shrilly each to each,
Sure as arrows, swift as skaters,
Converging at the elevators.
From the crowded lift they scatter,
Bursting still with turbulent chatter.
The revolving door in rapture whirls,
Its quarters full of pretty girls.
Soignée, comme il faut and *chic*
On twelve to twenty-three a week.
When One upon the dial looms
They hurry to their office tombs,
There to bide in dust till five,
When they come again alive.

—OGDEN NASH.

I WENT to the movies,
And what did I see?
The hat on the woman
In front of me. —FIGENSHU.

Spoilage

WHERE children's parties were simple
They are now becoming cults
With costly prizes and presents—
And what are the net results?
They are often as formal and stilted
And dull as those of adults.

—W. E. FARBSTAIN.

More Than One Bottleneck

IT ISN'T only our defense program that is adversely affected by bottlenecks. Our research has uncovered these additional fields where bottlenecks slow up the American way of life:

Women's pocketbooks: The time lost by men who have to wait in line behind women who are trying to get small change out of or into their pocketbooks, could easily, we estimate, be employed to build four new superdreadnoughts or a thousand pursuit planes. If some contemporary Edison can devise a system whereby a woman can (a) get hold of (b) let go of a nickel in a hurry, one of America's most vicious bottlenecks will be eliminated.

Feminine telephone conversations: Our statistics show that at least 50 per cent more potential customers could get into phone booths if the women already occupying them didn't take so long to say good-by. Our research further shows that 80 per cent of the average woman's telephone conversation takes place *after* the first time she has said good-by, and that she says good-by seven times before actually terminating the conversation. If these good-by's could be reduced to two or three—let's not be too hard-boiled—this bottleneck would be practically eliminated.

—C. J. HARPER.



LAURENCE REYNOLDS

"Just follow those horseshoe tracks. You can't miss it."

The Ladies

LIKING their looks
But not their notions,
I view the sex
With mixed emotions.
—RICHARD ARMOUR.

No Parking

IF YOU'RE fretting at your lot,
Think how weary Noah got,
Cruising five months in the Ark,
Looking for a place to park!
—JAMES ALEXANDER BLACK.

January 7, 1941

Arthur Sweetser, Esq.
Glendale Sanitarium
Glendale, California

Dear Arthur:

I hope this letter reaches you before you leave Glendale. I appreciate very much your remarks about my article on Lord Lothian, and look forward with eagerness to your return to Princeton to take the lead in the organization of the League of Nations meeting. Might it not be possible to get Grady to attend even though he has left the State Department? I see no reason why the meeting should not be held at as early a date as possible in view of the time needed to organize it.

I think you are dead right about the nebulous quality of our thinking about peace. Something the President said the other day makes me hope that he is reflecting on the problem. Mrs. Roosevelt wrote me that she was showing him my article about Lord Lothian and I have been hoping that the last paragraph struck a responsive note.

Yours sincerely

Frank Aydelotte

FA/db

Adresse télégraphique: NATIONS GENEVE

SOCIETE DES NATIONS

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

DANS LA RÉPONSE PRIÈRE DE RAPPELER:

PLEASE QUOTE REF. NO. IN REPLY:

NO.

NO.

Glendale, California
January 3, 1941

Doctor Frank Aydelotte
The Institute for Advanced Study
Princeton, New Jersey

Dear Frank:

I think your article on Lord Lothian is absolutely first class. It gives a clear, vivid, sympathetic, and constructive impression of his personality and work, and should be most serviceable in having him understood. I hope you are giving it a wide distribution.

I was particularly interested, naturally, in the conclusion, which, is, I think the biggest thing you could have said about him. Surely, unless this war also is going to be fought in vain, we have to come out in a grim and determined effort ^{of} these lines.

What strikes me most of all perhaps in my trip out here is that we are thinking almost exclusively in negative terms; arms, airplanes, naval bases, and a defeat of something we do not like, rather than in terms of positive values which might prevent our having to do it all over again a third time. I am just about coming to the conclusion that the thinking that is going on in connection with world peace, if you can call it thinking, is about the mushiest thing we have today.

Your article is also a perfect reply to Felix Morley. I am delighted that you agree with my letter to him; it is interesting that I have not yet had a reply, either to this letter or to the other letter to Edgar Mowrier.

I will try to see Olmstead, Judy, and Griffiths, if I possibly can. My time here, however, is almost ended, but I shall have more time in San Francisco.

I hope that you and Marie have a grand time in Florida; and with the warmest of season's greetings to you both, I am

Yours sincerely,

A.S.

Adresse télégraphique: NATIONS GENEVE

SOCIETE DES NATIONS

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

DANS LA RÉPONSE PRIÈRE DE RAPELER:

PLEASE QUOTE REF. NO. IN REPLY:

NO.

NO.

Glendale Sanitarium
Glendale, California
January 3, 1941

Doctor Frank Aydelotte
The Institute for Advanced Study
Princeton
New Jersey

Dear Frank:

I am indeed interested to read in your letter of December 24 of your discussion with Mr. Hambro regarding the suggested conference of League people at Princeton. I am, of course, more than happy to cooperate in every possible way and personally inclined rather towards the larger than the smaller meeting. I think the time has come when we can move a little more firmly than before and believe that, if we have the meeting at all, we ought to have a good one.

As regards dates, I haven't any strong feeling, but would rather incline toward the earlier meeting as I do not feel that, with things going as fast as they are in the world, there is any too much time at best; however, all these details we can discuss when we both get back.

One thing, however, is somewhat sad; namely, we have lost our two best friends in the State Department, Mr. Thompson, who has been transferred to Moscow; and Henry Grady, who has just accepted the Presidency of the American Presidents Line. We will consequently have to begin again there.

With all best wishes, I am

Yours sincerely,

Arthur Sweetser

Dear Frank:

Just a little card, a bit late
I fear, to wish you and Marie
the happiest of Christmases
and to thank you again for
all you have done both for
the interest we have at heart
and for ourselves personally.
I never dreamed, when we got
started in this, that it would
lead to an association so
happy, and I am deeply

grateful to you for it.

But I think I ought to tell you earnestly that if I do not like the daylight's view of you the next time we meet on the links it won't be for not having the best medical advice in the world. I have retired, in fact, to the Glendale Sanitarium to get rid of this arthritis business and prepare for the second half of my trip. The first was formidable but I think successful.

See you both to the end of January
Most cordially yours
Arthur Sweetser

*File under
Arthur Sweetser*

"We had a Secretariat lunch in London yesterday -- 85 people! All full of loyal feelings to the old Maison. It really was rather moving. You will have received, I hope a telegram of greeting, for we decided to send one through you to our Princeton branch and one through Lester to our Geneva branch! being proudly convinced that London now is the real centre of the battle for the League. What is more, there is in my belief a growing acceptance of the view that post-war re-construction, both social and political, should, if possible, follow lines marked out by the League Organizations and the Covenant respectively, though adjusted to avoid old pitfalls so far as possible. Of course it is recognised that in both fields the presence or absence of the U. S. will make all the difference both to what can be done and to what can be attempted. Personally I have not at all lost hope that the creative urge of 1917-18, which flowed most strongly in America, may re-appear, and if America takes sides more completely than she has yet done -- even without becoming a belligerent -- it seems to me not only possible but probable that that will happen. If so, we might see a new Covenant based on effective economic sanctions, instead of the watering-down which inevitably followed in 1921 from America's withdrawal in 1920. And if this time the reconstruction work can be done by the League or at least by a genuinely international organization using the League sections as a nucleus for the enormous expansion which will be needed anyway, so that the credit for what is done, with all the sentiment and political benefits that would flow from it, would go to the New League and not to individual Governments, that might prove the best road to the building of the political structure. I regret in a way that Loveday's economic section is there and not here. I always believed it should come here, as you will remember: I've no doubt he has better sources of information and opportunities of keeping up the standard of his publications etc. in Princeton than he would have in England, but if the war ends in such a way that international life can be restarted with a big impetus, the first push must come from this country and the geographical centre of work must at first be here -- or so it seems to me.

"However there's a lot of ground to be covered before then and there will be plenty of time to review the whole field. Anyway I hope -- I am confident -- that he is keeping in mind that the essential thing will be the reconstruction work in Europe itself, feeding, health, re-organization of economic life, restoration of millions of deported people, re-housing, etc. etc. and that if the new League is going off to a better start than the old one, it must be ready for work on a big scale the moment the war ends.

London, December 20, 1940

- 2 -

"Meanwhile this country is in good heart and turning to face what will be a dramatic New Year with the feeling that at least we stand more firmly in the breach than we could have counted on doing five or six months ago. But the strain is tremendous and we know very well that the Nazis are going to give us some hellish times. The Atlantic sinkings are very serious (I am sure our figures are strictly accurate but of course they are only the sinkings). While we have to spend a tremendous amount of effort for the Mediterranean battles, the Nazis can concentrate on Britain and the Atlantic. Of course this means that a terrific amount depends on American help in machines and ships and consequently money! The President seems to be resolved to do all that is possible but sometimes, when I read your papers, which I now do a great deal, I wonder whether it is not going to need some big British catastrophe to bring an effective national opinion solidly and actively - violently, is what's really needed - behind him, and whether that might not be too late for us and perhaps even for you. However, this is a thing that America must settle for itself. (But don't be kidded by people (even ex-Ambassadors!) who say we'd prefer you not to declare war on Germany. Of course we would not, though we don't want a second A. E. F. - Apart from the naval and air action which will follow - and I know your navy is magnificent, and am sure your fliers would show the world something worth seeing, even if they haven't yet got enough modern mechanics -- apart from that, I am convinced the effect in Germany would be decisive in the long run - perhaps not so very long, either. They would know then that they must give in sooner or later. So why not sooner. It is in men's minds that wars are won.

"I don't want to seem ungrateful, and I am not so. You have done a hell of a lot and are doing more - only (like us in the past) you are perhaps lagging a bit behind the pace of the game. It's a hell of a pace, even when there's nothing in the headlines. And if America believes our cause is also hers - - - but as I say this is for you to settle, and I will say no more.

* * * * *

"We have a meeting this evening with Spaak to talk about post-war organisation. I shall be interested to hear what he says in view of past events! We've had Benes, Zaleski, van Kleffens, Koht, Quo-Tai-Chi and others. Of course quite privately - besides some British and French, I should like a good American now - shall try also for de Brouchere who arrived recently in London. By the way, could you have a few copies of the report of Shotwell's Committee sent to me? I saw a summary of it in the N. Y. Times. It seemed to be not so far from the Covenant in essentials, though the bit I saw touched on the economic and social work and mentioned the success of the B. I. T. in this field, not of the League, which I thought rather hard!

London, December 20, 1940



MURRAY HILL HOTEL

PARK AVENUE, 40TH TO 41ST STREETS

NEW YORK

Dear Frank:

A thousand thanks for sending me Lester's letter - I'm sure both he and Baudreau would have agreed - and very much hope you will show it to Sunday. It adds a few points to news we have had.

Good lunch at the L of N Association yesterday - off today at 5.30 - awake tomorrow in the Arizona desert.

Did you read Felix Marley's speech in yesterday's Times? If not, do get it; it is serious.

I miss leaving you all; will be back soon, with added pep and new ideas.

All best wishes

A.S.

Dec 3, 1940

THE BEST HOME AWAY FROM HOME IS A GOOD HOTEL

P.S. Since writing this, I have called up Baudreau - he told me all about the letter - I did not say I had seen it.

Dear Frank:

Just to note as of interest
& return to Ruth

A.S.

December 2, 1940

Dear Felix:

I have been wondering several times today, since reading the morning's New York Times, whether their reporter had given an accurate summary of your speech at Philadelphia. I can hardly imagine that you spoke of our present policy as having "the makings of power politics as pronounced as any undertaken by Hitler", nor can I believe that you left without some kind of large reservation the implication that the extension of German hegemony in Europe and of Japanese hegemony in the Far East ought not in certain circumstances even to be opposed by force. This is so unlike what we have discussed together that I cannot refrain from sending just this line of inquiry.

Where everything seems to me to fall down is that, beyond our armaments and our self-defense, we have no broad general program of world settlement, reconstruction, or organization. That, if I may say so, seems to me to be a hole in your own statement as quoted, for, unless we get some positive goal to give meaning to our armaments we will founder in a kind of spiritual wilderness where there is no other consideration except force.

Am off tomorrow for six weeks on the Pacific Coast. With all best wishes,

Yours very truly,

Arthur Sweetser

ded some couturiers that
standardization was imminent,
n incidentally this style proved
neral. Then the fact that the
ican market was closed while
erman, Italian and Spanish
partly open obviously affected
couturiers. These reacted va-
Some became more French
ver; others more or less
made bids for this new
ers were rife when Paris
openings were presented
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capital to Berlin put cou-
the alert to detect Ger-
fluence. Marcel Rochas
inently named among cou-
who were alleged to have
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certainly lent color to the
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ng skirts, puritanical sil-
s and prissy white cotton
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Skirts of 1908 Length
of Rochas Winter ensem-
bled photos of German
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LIKENS OUR POLICY TO THAT OF HITLER

Felix Morley Calls It 'Grandiose,' Having the 'Makings of Power Politics'

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.
PHILADELPHIA, Dec. 1—This country's foreign policy was described tonight by Felix Morley, president of Haverford College, as "grandiose," having "the makings of power politics as pronounced as any undertaken by Hitler."

Speaking at the bicentennial dinner of Mikveh Israel Congregation, the second oldest Jewish congregation in America, he declared that our foreign policy was leading us into war and he pleaded for maintenance by this country of "a center of sanity around which the enormous work of reconstruction can crystallize."

The dinner, to which President Roosevelt sent greetings, ended a six-day celebration, during which contributions of Jewish people to colonial and revolutionary history were recounted.

Points to Jefferson View

Dr. Morley recalled that tomorrow was the anniversary of the Monroe Doctrine, promulgated in 1823.

"What Jefferson had in mind, in approving the Monroe Doctrine," he said, "was not a narrow isolationism, but the building of a great civilization to which, in due course, all Europe could turn for impartial leadership in building a real society of nations."

"I wish I could feel certain it will work out that way. Our present foreign policy seems to me to be strongly at variance with that which Jefferson called 'our compass through the ocean of time.' We are not merely endeavoring to establish our hegemony throughout the New World, as is wholly appropriate under the Monroe Doctrine. We are also tending more and more to oppose by force the extension of German hegemony in Europe and of Japanese hegemony in the Far East."

To put through this policy, he warned, would "require a militarization of this country which may seem essential but will be likely to cost us dear."

"Let us make no mistake on the primary issue," he went on. "If the totalitarian trend continues in this country it will spell doom for much that has made America great. It will, in particular, prove terribly dangerous for the more individualistic of those minorities which have combined successfully for the building of American civilization."

Letter From Roosevelt Rec

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chairman

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SOCIETE DES NATIONS

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Mr. Arthur Sweetser very much regrets that he will be in California on December 4 and hence unable to accept the very kind invitation of The Institute for Advanced Study on that day.

December 2, 1940

Dear Arthur:

In accordance with my promise I enclose copy of the letter from Lester to Boudreau, about which I spoke to you yesterday. I suppose Dr. Boudreau sent the letter to me confidentially, but I am sure he would not mind your seeing it. If you have any comments or suggestions leading to action on my part, please let me know, and please do not stay away from Princeton too long.

Yours sincerely,

FRANK AYDELOTTE

Arthur Sweetser, Esq.
Murray Hill Hotel
112 Park Avenue
New York City

FA/MCE

cross ref
strom

Dear Frank:

Apologies for not having sent you this.
Might I have it back when read?

Also would appreciate copy of
Baudrean's letter, special delivery,
to Murray Hill Hotel, if possible.

In great haste

A.S.

Copies to
Alvin Johnson
Alan Gregg

7 Newlin Road,
Princeton, N. J.,
November 25, 1940

Dear Mr. Coulter:

May I send you a quotation from a letter from a very responsible friend which I have just received and which I think you ought to see:

"I wish I could inform you of the date of my arrival. Unfortunately your Consul at Zurich is 'un homme terrible'. If one writes to him he does not reply. (I now have four letters which he has not answered.) If one asks an interview he gives it for three weeks later. If one telephones, a secretary replies (1) that it is not possible to speak to the Consul himself; (2) that he does not have the time to consider the case at the moment, and from one week to another you are told: perhaps he will be able to take it up next week."

I know full well, from long official work, how busy the Consul is, and also how exacting applicants for visas are. Still, it would seem to me as though either there ought to be time for meeting such requests more expeditiously or, if there is not time with the staff now available, the staff might well be increased in order to give as much information and satisfaction as possible. Normally, I would not trouble you with a letter such as this except that on the one hand the writer is so very reliable and on the other I have heard so many similar complaints, both while I was in Switzerland and later over here in talking with responsible people in charge of refugee matters. I am sure that all of us are anxious to do the very best possible both for the standing of our own country

abroad and for the relief of those who are facing great suffering and danger. I am sure that you will accept the letter in that spirit.

Yours very truly,

Arthur Sweetser

November 21, 1940

Dear Arthur:

I think your letter to Mowrer admirable but almost too gentle. It occurred to me in reading his article how one might make almost exactly the same comments on Coventry Cathedral: that here charwomen and scrubwomen were employed, together with priests and laymen engaged in work which was intended to raise the spiritual quality of our civilization, and now all this had been smashed by bombs. It might be remarked in this connection that the United States has done even less to defend the League of Nations from attack than it has to defend Coventry. I think Mowrer's article is hopelessly flippant and cynical.

Many thanks for Dodds' report, which I am returning together with the report of the I.P.R. I have another copy of this which Lockwood gave me for my use.

Yours sincerely,

FRANK AYDELOTTE

Arthur Sweetser, Esq.
7 Newlin Road
Princeton, New Jersey

FA/MCE

October 25, 1940

Dear Arthur:

I reported to the Board of Trustees of the Institute for Advanced Study at our meeting on October 14 in some detail the long and complicated negotiations which resulted in bringing the Economic Section of the League to Princeton and which will, we hope, enable the other technical departments of the League to transfer to this place. It is a great pleasure to inform you that the Trustees enthusiastically endorsed the action taken and unanimously passed a resolution of appreciation of all your efforts and those of Mr. Hambro in this connection. I was directed to convey to you a copy of this resolution, which is as follows:

RESOLVED, That Messrs. Hambro and Sweetser be formally and officially thanked for their efforts in bringing the Economic and Financial Section of the League of Nations from Geneva to the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton.

I need not say that this represents my own sentiments and those of the officials of the other educational institutions in Princeton, and what a satisfaction it is to all of us that you and Ruth have settled down here to live.

Yours very sincerely,

FRANK AYDELOTTE

Mr. Arthur Sweetser
7 Newlin Road
Princeton, New Jersey

FA:ESB

October 22, 1940

Dear Arthur:

Many thanks for the copies of the two articles. I am delighted that you have more and I hope you will save them carefully because I am continually having requests for them. I will let you know when the present supply is exhausted.

Yours sincerely,

FRANK AYDELOTTE

Arthur Sweetser, Esq.
7 Newlin Road
Princeton, New Jersey

FA/MCE

1918-1940

Some of those with whom it has been my privilege to be associated during the years since the first World War may be interested to see the attached articles, the first showing parts of League of Nations' work which cannot be lost, however the present conflict comes out, and the second describing how some of that work has taken root in Woodrow Wilson's old University town of Princeton, New Jersey.

The present war, far from weakening my faith in the soundness and the necessity of the League, has greatly strengthened it. The alternative stands all too clearly revealed in the ruin and slaughter now striking down humanity; it is both a privilege and a duty to put full effort into building anew, on stronger foundations, in order that war may not still again come to the world.

In an effort to carry on our small part to this end, Mrs. Sweetser and I are now established at 7 Newlin Road, Princeton, where we shall hope to see or hear from many old friends and associates. Let us learn from the past and take courage for the future.

Arthur Sweetser

Princeton, New Jersey
October 12, 1940.

September 24, 1940

Dear Sweetser:

I am delighted with your article in The Changing World and shall be glad when you reach Princeton and can take charge of many similar requests which come for information about the League groups.

Please give my warm regards and best wishes to Mr. Hambro. I should like very much to have a word with him before he leaves if only to wish him well and discuss with you and him the plans for bringing over further sections. The best time for me to do this would be Thursday morning. I have a committee meeting in New York at 12:30 on Thursday and could come up by an early train, calling on Mr. Hambro and you at 10:00, 10:30, or 11:00, whichever hour proved most convenient. Perhaps you will be kind enough to have a word with Mr. Hambro and let me know.

I am delighted that you are coming to Princeton Thursday afternoon or Friday morning. I assume you will bring Mrs. Sweetser with you and that you will come directly to our house. Can you get down in time for dinner on Thursday?

Yours sincerely,

FRANK AYDELOTTE, Director

HARVARD CLUB
27 WEST 44TH STREET

September 23, 1940

Dear Dr. Aydelotte:

The League of Nations Association was so anxious to have an article on the Princeton group in their September "Changing World" and there seemed to be so little exact understanding of the precise situation that I thought it would be worth while to give them a straight-away and uncolored account. I enclose a copy which I hope you will find satisfactory and think that it might be worth while to have a reprint run off for the many inquiries we will have.

Pan-American phoned this morning to say that all is in order for the flight over on September 26th and return on October 3, including even the check in payment. I also had a cable from Geneva that the group there were leaving the 21st---also that the opium matter is progressing well. I am now expecting to come down to Princeton either Thursday night after seeing our friend off at 2:00 o'clock or Friday during the day.

Cordially yours,

A.S.

September 20, 1940

Dear Sweetser:

I am delighted that you got everything arranged so satisfactorily. I hope very much that it may be possible for me to see Mr. Hambro before he leaves, but if I do not I hope you will urge him to do everything possible to facilitate arrangements for the sections on opium and public health.

I have just received an advanced copy of Hambro's new book and am carrying it off with me to Philadelphia to read on the train.

Let us know when you are ready to come to Princeton.

Yours sincerely,

FRANK AYDELOTTE, Director

Mr. Arthur Sweetser
Fifth Avenue Hotel
24 Fifth Avenue
New York City

FA/MCE



FIFTH AVENUE HOTEL

TWENTY-FOUR FIFTH AVENUE
(AT NINTH STREET)
NEW YORK CITY

Sept 19, 1940

Dear Dr Aydelotte:

Your phone to Mr Symington arrived just at the right moment when I was appealing to him for priority. He told me at the moment that he was reasonably sure about the passage over on the 26th but could guarantee nothing on the return trip, though he would phone Mr Cooper. Later he telephoned to say that a family of 8 had just given up its passages on the 3rd, that the return trip could, therefore, be assured, and that they felt certain about the one over. I then got in touch with the ticket man regarding visas, reentry, discount, and payment, and managed to run Mr Hambro down in Grand Forks. He was pleased with the arrangements and expects to be on here the 24th for any final meetings. I think, then, that all is in order as far as may be at the moment. As for myself, I shall probably stay here till his arrival and then go on to Princeton, though I may run down before.

With many thanks for your help about the passages,

Cordially yours
A.S.

P.s Mr Hambro is very anxious to preserve his anonymity... A cable from Lester indicating that the opium business is progressing but not final.

September 17, 1940

Dear Sweetser:

Loveday gave me your message about a reservation for Hambro, together with the injunction that Hambro's name was not to be mentioned in any way in connection with the matter. I have accordingly called up the Pan American Airways and have reserved a seat in my name in the Clipper leaving September 26. It is not possible to get a firm reservation for that date, but Mr. Symington, with whom I dealt, thinks it extremely probable that this passage can be secured. The first absolutely firm reservation would be for October 10.

Mr. Symington tells me that the situation in regard to return passage is even worse than it was when the Lovedays came. They have ninety people waiting in Lisbon, and now that the Italian air service is opened up many more are coming in every day, so that they are unable to make any definite reservation in Lisbon for the month of October, and they fear their service will be somewhat irregular after October because of the weather.

I put in a plea for priority on the ground that this whole thing concerns an important League of Nations official. Pan American will consider that request and let me know whether they can give us priority on that ground. I am not at all certain but I think it might be somewhat easier if we used Mr. Hambro's name. I have refrained from doing that, however, until I have your authority to mention it.

If Mr. Hambro could not get immediate passage back by Clipper we might be able to find something for him on the American Export Line and could pretty certainly get him passage on the Greek Line.

Please let me know what further steps you would like me to take and whether you are willing that I should mention Mr. Hambro's name.

Looking forward to seeing you here soon, I am

Yours sincerely,

FRANK AYDELOTTE, Director

Mr. Arthur Sweetser
Marion, Massachusetts
FA/MCE

Princeton, New Jersey
September 17, 1940

My dear Arthur:

I have been shown Dr. Aydelotte's letter to you and have told him that I feel sure that Hambro would not mind his name being mentioned to Mr. Symington, his only desire being that it should not be on the ship's register or any document from which it is likely to be made public.

I see that the 2nd and 3rd of October are Wednesday and Thursday, so that a reservation with the American Export Line, whose boats sail on one of those two days, would meet his point about getting away from Lisbon, though not, I suppose, his lecture dates in the States. You will, I suppose, have to telephone him in any case.

The Greek ship came over last week half empty, as it warned passengers that it might never arrive in the States and that if Greece was attacked by Italy it would at once return to Lisbon or possibly England and be handed over to the Allies.

You can judge better than I whether support from Lothian at this stage would be helpful. My inclination would be to think it unwise to ask it at this stage, but to reserve it for possible use if Hambro gets to Lisbon and there is a risk of him being stuck there.

The Clipper starts, I believe, at 11:30, but you might check this in New York.

Mr. Arthur Sweetser
League of Nations Association
8 West 40th Street
New York City

Alexander Lovelady

NIGHT LETTER

September 9, 1940

Arthur Sweetser
Marion, Massachusetts

Delighted inform you that five members economics group plus
families making thirteen in all arrive New York Friday
thirteenth Sending cars to bring them directly from Jersey
City to Princeton Hope it will not be long until we see
you here again

Frank Aydelotte

August 19, 1940

Dear Sweetser:

Many thanks for your two notes of the 17th. I should think we could readily find a place here to display the panels from the League Building at the World's Fair. When you have the opportunity you might make a note of the dimensions and we will consider the matter the next time you are in Princeton.

I hope that you and Hambro and Riefler will have a chance to discuss developments either today or tomorrow in New York. I could come over tomorrow, if necessary, but should prefer not to unless I am needed.

It now seems unlikely that any of the group in Lisbon except Loveday can arrive before September, and I am accordingly planning to run away on Wednesday for ten days, returning the day after Labor Day. This plan, however, is subject to change if any unexpected need comes up for my presence here.

Yours sincerely,

FRANK AYDELOTTE, Director

Mr. Arthur Sweetser
Murray Hill Hotel
112 Park Avenue
New York City

FA/MCE

August 17, 1940

Dear Sweetser:

This is a letter to bring you up to date as to the various recent developments and to notify you that when you reach New York on Monday, the 19th, you will probably find Mr. Hambro at the Waldorf-Astoria and Riefler at the Riverdale office of the National Bureau of Economic Research (Marble 7-8824). Dr. Boudreau's address you already know. If you think it advisable to arrange a meeting in New York, Mr. Brakeley and I could come over for it on Monday, or if you wish to hold a meeting in Princeton we would, of course, be delighted to see you here. If such a meeting is to be in New York it had better be at lunch time, for Mr. Brakeley would have to be back in Princeton about five o'clock that day.

1. We had a most satisfactory visit from Dr. Boudreau on Thursday, August 15. He explained to Mr. Brakeley and me in detail the situation in regard to the health and opium sections, inspected the facilities of the Rockefeller Institute, Princeton University, and the Institute for Advanced Study, and gave us a great deal of useful advice as to how to proceed.

2. I have not heard directly from Loveday from Lisbon, though I have sent him two cables there, one in care of the American Export Line, the other in care of the Pan-American Airways. I am still in hopes Loveday will succeed in getting passage by Clipper next week. We had understood from the American Export Line that they could probably accommodate the rest of the party by their sailing on September 12, but a message received from their New York office yesterday mentions the ~~REITER~~ of September 26. I very much hope that individual members of the party may be accommodated on sailings this month and early in September, but I have not yet succeeded in getting anything like an assurance from the American Export Line.

3. I have just had a letter from Mr. Hambro, written in New York on August 16, suggesting that you and I and he should confer sometime in the near future about the opium section. It is for this reason that I suggested a meeting on Monday. I am sending copies of this letter to Mr. Hambro, Dr. Riefler, Dr. Boudreau, and Mr. Brakeley, and I hope to hear from you by telephone when you reach New York on Monday.

If there is nothing urgent here, my wife and I hope to run away for a little holiday from August 21 until September 2 or 3, but these plans are subject to change and the holiday to curtailment in case there is any need for my presence here.

Yours sincerely,

FRANK AYDELOTTE, Director

Dear Dr Aydelotte:

Do you remember some of the panelling at the League's pavilion at the New York World's Fair? That in room one, the historical, is excellent; that in room 4, the economic and financial, is most interesting. Would there be any place to display it at the Institute after the Fair? It just occurred to me as an off-chance; it seems a shame to have such good material, into which so much effort went, simply destroyed or put in storage. In any event, it's worth a note...

Off to New York tomorrow..

Cordially yours

August 17, 1940

A.S.

P. S. Perhaps if you are in N.Y., you could inspect this as well as the little houses

Dear Du Boydelotte:

Our friend Steining has arrived by air - he ought to have the latest news both of Loveday and of opinion. I assume he will get in touch with us soon.

off tomorrow by car with Thompson for New York - a few days there with Vauxhous to see how things turn & whether Loveday gets off on Wednesday - perhaps a trip to Princeton on houses.

Have you heard, by the way, from the Fair? (Fair)

Cardially

A.S.

Friday Aug 11

LILY PONS'S MOTHER ARRIVES BY CLIPPER

She and Granddaughter Are
Among 37 Passengers Here
Aboard the Yankee

THE DIXIE DEPARTS WITH 5

Incoming Plane Reports the
British Censor at Bermuda
Seized 1,920 Lbs. of Mail

The Yankee Clipper of Pan American Airways arrived at La Guardia Field yesterday afternoon with thirty-seven passengers, including Mme. Marie Pons, moth of Lily Pons, opera star, and her granddaughter, Vivian Solal. There were 997 pounds of mail aboard.

The Dixie Clipper, with five passengers and 2,860 pounds of mail, took off at 3 P. M., between the time the Yankee landed on the water at 2:45 P. M. and the time she docked at 3:15 P. M.

Mme. Pons was met by Miss Marguerite Tirrendelli, secretary to the opera singer; representatives of Columbia Concerts Corporation, the singer's managers, and several friends from Silvermine, Conn., where Mme. Pons will visit at her daughter's home. The opera singer is now vacationing in Honolulu.

This is Mme. Pons's fourth visit to this country. She visited her daughter last in the Summer of 1938. She left Avignon, France, on Aug. 5, having been evacuated there from Paris. Just before leaving Lisbon she received word of the birth of her fifth grandchild, Philip Girardot, son of her daughter Christiane. Vivian Solal is the daughter of Juliette, the third daughter of Mme. Pons.

Dutch Diplomat Arrives

Among the other arrivals were Jonkheer Jan Snouck Hurgronje, counselor of the Netherlands Legation in Brussels, and Mrs. Hurgronje, the former Eleanor Wharton Barker of Philadelphia, grandniece of Joseph Wharton, founder of the Wharton School of Business and Finance of the University of Pennsylvania. They brought their 7-month-old daughter Eleanor.

Mrs. Hurgronje, who said she and her husband and baby had been under bombardment in Brussels and near Le Havre and Bordeaux, will visit her mother, Mrs. S. H. Barker of 5,824 Greene Street, Germantown, Pa.

Leon Steinig of the opium division of the League of Nations, was another arrival. He said his trip was of a private nature and had nothing to do with plans to transfer the economics section of the League to Princeton. He will inspect narcotics bureaus in this country and visit friends in Brookline, Mass.

Miss Rosalie Campbell, British resident of Paris, who also arrived on the Yankee, escaped from Paris, Biarritz and Hendaye just ahead of the German invasion. Miss Campbell declared that if this country would send planes and ammunition to Britain "we could beat the Germans." She reported that "Lisbon is full of Germans and they are all spies."

Oil Technician Here

Another passenger was Zary Toula, president of the Compagnie Technique des Pétroles, which represents the M. W. Kellogg Company of this country, an oil refinery construction concern. Mr. Toula, who is here on business, said he left Paris two days before the German occupation, "when the bombs were falling."

Henry Binet, lawyer attached to the International Labor Office in Geneva, arrived en route to Canada. Fourteen of the thirty-seven passengers boarded the plane at Bermuda, where the ship made an unscheduled landing and lost 1,920 pounds of mail to the British censors but picked up 539 pounds lost Tuesday by the Dixie Clipper there.

Captain Robert Ford, who was in command of the Yankee, reported seeing a large area of oil on the water east of St. Maria, to which he had been directed by the Pan American Airways office in Lisbon as the location of a torpedoed ship. He found no traces of any survivors, he said.

Among the passengers leaving on the Dixie was Captain Jacques Quelleneq, member of the French Purchasing Commission, who was returning to take charge of a cosmetics manufacturing business, his partner now being held a prisoner of war.

August 12, 1940

Dear Mr. Sweetser:

Many thanks for your letter of August 10 from Washington. I am delighted with your report on various details and particularly pleased that the accident was not so serious as the papers indicated.

I am eager to do everything possible to bring the health and opium sections and the group on intellectual cooperation if this can be managed. I hope you will not hesitate to indicate to me anything further that the three institutions here can do at any time.

I enclose the latest information as to rates at the Princeton Inn. The officials would find it convenient and pleasant place if you think the prices quoted are not still too high.

I am a little disturbed at not receiving a cablegram from Loveday giving me the name of his hotel in Lisbon and informing us of the safe arrival of the party there. Perhaps the trip from Geneva by bus takes longer than we realize. I remember that their original schedule called for arrival in Lisbon on the 13th.

Looking forward to seeing you soon, I am

Yours sincerely,

FRANK AYDELOTTE, Director

Mr. Arthur Sweetser
Marion, Massachusetts

FA/MCE

Copy for Mr. Riefler

August 12, 1940

Dear Brakeley:

I have a copy of Mr. Cook's letter to Mr. Leitch of August 5, about the rates at the Inn, sent to me I suppose by you.

This rate of \$4.00 for a single room and \$6.00 for two people in a double room, for lodging and breakfast, seems to me very good. I am sending a copy of the letter to Sweetser on the chance that you have not done so, in order to get his opinion. As we were saying when we last discussed the subject, it would be so convenient to have them in the Inn that we ought to arrange it, if possible, even if it is necessary to get together a little fund to pay part of the expense.

Do you think it worth while to make inquiry at the Tavern also? As between the two I should much prefer to have them at the Inn unless the Tavern is definitely cheaper.

Yours sincerely,

FRANK AYDELOTTE, Director

Mr. George Brakeley
Princeton University
Princeton, New Jersey

FA/MCE

COPY

PRINCETON BANK AND TRUST COMPANY
Princeton, New Jersey

August 5, 1940

Mr. Alexander Leitch, Secretary
Princeton University
Princeton, New Jersey

Dear Alex:

In response to your telephone call of last week, I have discussed the matter of furnishing accommodations for the League of Nations group at the Princeton Inn with Mr. Harmon F. Hagenbuckle, the new manager. I quote from a letter received from him today:

"We would be pleased to quote a rate of \$4.00 for lodging and breakfast for a single room and \$6.00 a day for lodging and breakfast for two people in a double room, with twin beds and private bath.

"We are considering having special luncheon and dinner menus for this group which we think will prove quite interesting.

"We trust that we may have the opportunity of serving the League of Nations group and would appreciate anything you can do to help us to get this business."

If there is anything further either I or Mr. Hagenbuckle can do in this connection, please do not hesitate to call upon us.

With sincere appreciation of your interest, I am

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) George R. Cook, 3rd

*Please return
to J.A.*

Wardman Park Hotel
August 10th, 1940

Dr. Frank Aydelotte
Institute of Advanced Studies
Princeton, New Jersey

Dear Dr. Aydelotte:

There seemed to be a number of things to report:

TRANSPORTATION: I had a very nice talk with Mr. Gaide at the American Export Line who said he was doing everything possible to get the group on the Exeter but that it would obviously be difficult to handle so many at once, particularly as there were forty Labor Office people and a good many Ambulance people also seeking priority. He sent a special message, however, mentioning the accident at Grenoble and urging special consideration therefor.

DOCUMENTATION: I phoned Mr. Joseph Duffy, in charge of League Publications at the Columbia University Press, asking him to send you full details for the purchase of a complete file of League documents since it started. He thought the gross price might run as high as \$1800 but that he could possibly do better wholesale. ~~He~~ will write you the details and come down if you wish.

HOUSING: Mrs. Sweetser made a special visit, accompanied by Mr. Gerig, to the "Town of Tomorrow" at the New York World's Fair and got Mr. Harvey of the Fair to agree that he would take up with Mr. Gibson, Chairman of the Board, the possibility of selling all, or a considerable number, of the houses en bloc. He was very much intrigued by the suggestion, not only because they will have to take the houses down anyway but because of the appeal ^{of housing} ~~and for~~ the "Town of Tomorrow" perpetuated at Princeton. He has promised to write you the details.

HEALTH: I had a cordial luncheon with Boudreau, who has agreed to cooperate in any way possible, particularly as regards Health. He told me that Wynant had approached him also as to the possible attachment of the League Health people to the I.L.O. and that while at first he liked the idea he inclined now to think that the Princeton idea would be better, first, in order to keep the group together, second, in order to keep the League on neutral soil, and third, because the epidemiological intelligence and biological standardization work of the League were very different from that of the Labor office. Mr. Hambro told me last night that he also inclined against this suggestion.

OPIUM: I also had a very pleasant dinner with Herbert May who discussed the the Opium situation and he has cabled to Geneva asking Felkin how he feels as to the transfer of of the Central Board to Princeton but he has not yet heard from him. He

*Yes, he comes to
Washington on
Monday, I leave
at the Department*

- 2 -

himself is non-committal at the moment until he gets all the details in hand but I think he would be both favorable and helpful as this decision seems the wisest. There has been some suggestion apparently that, if the Government's attitude towards Opium can be more formal and official than towards other technical work the transfer might be to Washington, though this would not prevent the permanent staff making its headquarters in Princeton.

CULTURAL: I am wondering whether there is anything we might do in connection with the Intellectual Group? M. Henri Bonnet, Director of the Institute at Paris has been invited by the Rockefeller Foundation to come to this country to be useful in any way possible. It may be that if we could have him make headquarters at Princeton we could use him as a kind of consultant for the many people working in this field. In any case it is an idea to think about.

AMERICAN COOPERATION: I forgot to give you the pamphlet issued by the Geneva Research Center on American Cooperation with the League, the Labor Office and Court, which I think you would want to read. I will send you a copy as soon as I get back to Marion.

MR. HAMBRO: Though I had planned after completing my trip -- Washington -- Princeton -- New York -- to go on to Marion for a few days before Loveday arrives, I missed Mr. Hambro in New York as he had unexpectedly gone to Washington. I was anxious to see him to bring him up to date on the above matters and to get any news from him. Accordingly, I came down by airplane last night for dinner with him and find a considerable amount of unexpected work here for today. I am still hoping to get the plane late this afternoon for Providence and Marion. (9 do!)

Hoping that you had a good trip and that I may soon settle our accounts at golf, I am

Yours very truly,

A.S.

S:per

P.S. Tittman has called that the Grenoble accident was exaggerated. No one hurt! secretariat took advantage, however, to issue a communique' much appreciated here:
"These officials are en route to the US upon invitation by Princeton University (!) where they will accomplish a research mission entrusted to them by the Sec. Gen. They belong to the Economic and Financial Department whose normal activities is maintained at the seat of the secretariat of the L.N. at Geneva."

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

NL=Night Letter

LC=Deferred Cable

NLT=Cable Night Letter

Ship Radiogram

WESTERN UNION

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

NAJ32 18 NT=CA WASHINGTON DC 18

JUL 19 AM 6 5A

INSTITUTE ADVANCED STUDY=

MOST GRATEFUL FOR TELEGRAM REGARDING CAR WHICH WILL

LOOK FOR AT TRENTON TOMORROW FRIDAY AT 11.53 DAYLIGHT TIME=

SWEETSER.

Postal Telegraph

July 18, 1940

Mr. Arthur Sweetser
Wardman Park Hotel
Washington, D. C.

Will send car to meet you Trenton Station Friday
eleven fifty three daylight saving time unless you telegraph different
hour arrival

Institute for Advanced Study

(Charge Institute for Advanced Study)

158



MURRAY HILL HOTEL

PARK AVENUE, 40TH TO 41ST STREETS
NEW YORK

July 24, 1940

Dear Dr Aydelotte:

I am sure you will be as pleased as we were with the attached cable from Geneva, which seems to indicate that we have got over the question of principle and are now in the problems of realization. Evidently Mr Hambro's cable from Princeton turned the scales and set our friends on the other side to the consideration of detailed plans. The project looks better to me than it has at any moment; I am really beginning to be optimistic, thanks largely to the generosity and tenacity which our Princeton friends have shown.

I am sending a copy of this cable to Brakeley and Riefler, also Grady, and imagine we will send on a further word to Geneva. Mr Hambro goes to Washington tomorrow for a day; I stay here till Friday, I think, and we shall both probably be on the Cape for the week-end before going to Washington for the following week.

Cordially yours

Arthur Sweetser

Memorandum to Dr Aydelotte, Mr Brakeley and Mr Riefler before leaving Washington Saturday afternoon for a few days in New England, address care the League of Nations Association, ~~Washington~~ 40 Mt Vernon St, Boston, Mass:

1. I sent off to Geneva the two cables as agreed, to Avenol and Leste explaining that the purpose in mind was speed, that no commitment was involved, that the League was obviously free to accept or decline, as desired, that you three representatives had visited Washington, the authorities expressed no objection but every hope of assistance if desired, and suggesting to consult the consul.
2. Mr Thompson said he had gotten off his cable also and I judge the consul is free to express interest and offer to transmit any communication, but it is not clear either whether he will take an initiative or whether he will express a definite opinion.
3. Mr Grady thoroughly approves the procedure adopted and thinks from his conversations that we would not be able to obtain more at the moment. He is frankly concerned about the possible crossing of wires.
4. Mr Long expressed keen interest and support this morning, but was inclined to believe that it was now too late and the question largely academic, as did also Mr Thompson.
5. Miss Woolley and Mr Eichelberger today presented Mr Berle a large project for a formal invitation to the League from the American government, involving perhaps even the other political activities and establishment in Washington. He was interested but non-committed. Apparently he will pass on this project to the White House, as I understand Mr Long will pass on the other.
6. Personally, I have had no reply from Geneva as yet and may not, indeed receive one at all in view of the reply to Princeton. If anything comes in, I will send it on and would, of course, appreciate the contrary, if possible. Meanwhile, it would seem that everything is under way that can be....

Washington, June 15, 1940.

Arthur Sweetser

League

Dear Alec:

I am doing this to get tonight's Clipper, as your cable requested, and on my own machine to avoid curious - and expensive - strange stenographers.

About the only bit of good fortune which I seem to know of in these grim days has been that which permitted me within my first 72 hours here to make all the principal contacts I desired to make in connection with the question you put to me at your house just before I left.

Happily enough, the boat got in in the early morning so that I had time to disentangle myself from Customs and get up to Rockefeller Center for lunch with Raymond Fosdick. I found him most cordial and friendly, and, while in the uncertain circumstances, I did not press the matter between us, I am sure his view is unchanged. That feeling was strengthened at lunch the next day with young John Rockefeller and today in a telephone conversation with Wilitts, whom I am seeing tomorrow.

That same evening, by coincidence, there was a meeting of the National Board of the L of N Association, to which I was invited as usual. A full report was made, inter alia, on Dr. Woolley's Committee on the technical and non-political work which is apparently developing most happily. The warm and cordial letter of the President had become definitive and a couple of days later was released to the press and given good display, as you will see from the enclosed. Miss Woolley arrives here tomorrow; we can use her committee in any way that seems desirable.

Though May 30 was a holiday, I again had the good luck, in going down to Washington, to catch Herbert Feis for lunch, and Thompson, whom you remember, and who is now in charge of such matters, for dinner. I did not proceed in detail with either, for the moment, but felt around sufficiently to be sure that the situation is favorable and that any help we wish will be available.

The following day I caught Grady for lunch, in between two trips around the country. To him I told the whole story and was gratified indeed at his instantaneous and warm response. He offered to do anything he could to help and thought the transfer would be a very auspicious one, if it were decided to make it. He rather surprised me by expressing regret that the Committee had not met this Spring, as planned, though of course he understood the reasons; he said he would have liked to have gone over and thought the President would have wanted him to.

As I had thought the question out on the steamer coming over, it had taken quite a bit more definite form than when we discussed it in Geneva. First, it seemed to me that, if such a transfer were made, it ought not to be to Washington, for obvious political reasons, and it better not be to New York, where the work, though facilitated in some ways, would be overshadowed and lost. I then groped around in my own mind for a cultural or university center and the thought of Princeton came to me. This, as you know, is the seat both of a University and the Advanced Institute of which Riefler is a member and is about one hour from New York and three from Washington. It thus has advanced work going on there, is centrally located amongst friends, is also the seat of a Rockefeller Insititute branch, and by coincidence, the University of Woodrow Wilson.

If something of this sort were desired, it would, as I explained to Grady, have another advantage in that it would turn the embarrassing question of an initiative or an invitation. I imagine the League might not like to ask for an

invitation to non-Member territory; in the same way, it might be difficult for a non-Member government to volunteer such an invitation in the blue. If, however, a great university set the ball rolling, the government could express its approval and the League could accept. In any event, when I raised this possibility with Grady and asked if he thought I should see Riefler he was keenly for it.

Again good fortune smiled, for Riefler was in town for the first time in three weeks. We dined and spent the evening together and I found him most enthusiastic. For the past year, he told me, he had been groping around for a way to help the economic and financial work and prevent its dispersal or crippling in the present crisis. He had talked with the Foundation people and found a ready support there, but this idea appealed to him as the best possible answer, if it were possible on the other side. He agreed most warmly with the Princeton end, as he naturally would, and urged me to come down there at once to see the facilities, as I shall in a couple of days. He thought we could get a double invitation, from the University and his Institute, and felt sure the Foundation would do anything necessary on the material side. He thought it would be a crime if such a magnificent staff as you had built up with such labor were dispersed and he would certainly go the limit to assure that it were not. Incidentally, he, too, while fully appreciating the reasons, regretted that his committee had not come together this Spring.

It was on the basis of these interviews that I cabled you as I did. I had no knowledge, naturally, as to how the situation stood on your side, since my departure and the incredible events which have followed, but I had the feeling that, if you continued to be interested in the idea of coming to this side, everything was very well in place for it. I am convinced that you would get the warmest welcome and most complete cooperation from government, university, institute, and foundation. The matter of invitation could be arranged, as outlined; the passport and other facilities could, I judge from Grady and even Thompson, be facilitated; the physical facilities at Princeton would be both good and central; the expenditure side could undoubtedly be facilitated by our other friends. In other words, the door seems to me to be open on the best of terms, if it be deemed wise to enter it.

By facilities and other good results, I had in mind that, with communication as difficult as it is in Europe, there is an immense amount of material coming in here from all sides, both official and private, which I feel sure could be made available. I am inclined to think you would get at least as much data on Europe and infinitely more on extra-Europe than at present. The contacts which could be established here would be invaluable.

So also the other and larger results. It is my belief that, if this country gave asylum now in this moment of emergency, it would be integrated forever. Our people are sentimental, as you know; the fact of coming to aid now would create a bond which would be permanent. The country would, in a sense, become identified with and a part of this work; you would have it for good if this rather dramatic step were taken. I need not stress, of course, that, however the war comes out, the extra-European end will have an importance it has never had before. To my mind, our future is more intercontinental than European.

Nor need we fear the SLIGHTEST criticism or opposition. The time for that is long past. I am amazed at the change in opinion here; things that one would be hung for saying a month ago are now commonplace. God knows where we will be a month hence, and, while this letter does not pretend to cover the

- 3 -

general situation, I enclose a couple of things which are symptomatic. I wish we could have a talk; there is a lot here for encouragement if there is only time.....I need not say that my thoughts are constantly with you all on the other side and that I am doing what little I can to be of help.

With all best wishes,

Arthur Sweetser

June 4, 1940

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED	
DOMESTIC	CABLE
TELEGRAM	FULL RATE
DAY LETTER <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	DEFERRED
NIGHT MESSAGE	NIGHT LETTER
NIGHT LETTER	WEEK END LETTER

Patrons should check class of service desired; otherwise message will be transmitted as a full-rate communication.

WESTERN UNION

NEWCOMB CARLTON, PRESIDENT

J. C. WILLEVER, FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

1206-A

CHECK
ACCT'G INFMN.
TIME FILED

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

12 June 1940

ARTHUR SWEETSER
EVANS BUILDING,
WASHINGTON, D. C.

COULD YOU MEET ME COSMOS CLUB TWO O'CLOCK THIS AFTERNOON
FOR PRELIMINARY CONFERENCE. VERY MUCH WANT TO TALK WITH
YOU.

FRANK AYDELOTTE

SOCIÉTÉ DES NATIONS

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Dear Dr Aydelotte:

I can see no objection whatsoever.. indeed quite to the contrary,I can see an advantage..in giving Myers the data on the Princeton invitation.I wonder, however,if it would not be sufficient to give the original invitation and final acceptance? The exchange in between adds nothing,I think,particularly as it was based on a misunderstanding and has since been superseded.The essential is in the two messages mentioned.

I also have had nothing yet from Loveday but cabled yesterday care the British Legation at Lisbon.If I receive anything,I wire wire you,as I hope you will wire me.The Princeton Inn rates are,I appreciate,the best they can give but I fear they will seem very high;\$4 would be almost de luxe in Geneva;but we can work out..

Aug 13,1940

Cordially

A.S.

Dear Alec:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- 2 -

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

With best wishes,

Arthur Sweetser

June 6, 1940

THE NON-POLITICAL ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE LEAGUE

By ARTHUR SWEETSER

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OCTOBER 1940

National Defense: Plan or Patchwork?	<i>Lindsay Rogers</i>
Hemisphere Solidarity	<i>Alvin H. Hansen</i>
The Future of the White Man in the Far East	<i>Pearl S. Buck</i>
The New American Army	<i>Hanson W. Baldwin</i>
The Downfall of France	<i>Hamilton Fish Armstrong</i>
Cuba, America and the War	<i>Cosme de la Torriente</i>
The Diplomacy of Air Transport	<i>Oliver J. Lissitzyn</i>
The South Looks Abroad	<i>Virginus Dabney</i>
The Non-Political Achievements of the League	<i>Arthur Sweetser</i>
The Blitzkrieg in the Low Countries	<i>M. W. Fodor</i>
Mexico Shifts Her Foreign Policy	<i>Maurice Halperin</i>
Canada's New Defense Program	<i>Edgar Packard Dean</i>
Transylvania Partitioned	<i>Philip E. Mosely</i>
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THE NON-POLITICAL ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE LEAGUE

By Arthur Sweetser

THE anxious drama of the political and economic crises that have convulsed the world during the past twenty years has tended to detract attention from many of the more prosaic yet profound changes that have taken place in the organization of international life. For these changes the League of Nations, more than any other institution, has been responsible. The place which that institution deserves in the history of our time will doubtless be the subject of controversy for decades to come. Some students will feel that it was doomed to failure by the very form of its constitution or by its political environment; others that it might have succeeded if only certain events had turned out differently — if, for instance, the United States had not withdrawn at the start, or if the Allied Governments controlling its destinies had been more positive in conciliating Germany, or if the League Powers (with the United States) had been more firm in putting down aggression when it first occurred in Manchuria or Ethiopia, or finally, if the so-called Have-Not Powers had been content to wait till the operation of the natural forces of history had given them the new resources they desired.

But however widely opinion may differ concerning the accomplishments of the League as a whole, there is unanimity of judgment as to the value of its technical and non-political work. Unhappily, that work has been obscured by the more exciting events of postwar history. It is one of the lesser tragedies of this tragic period that few people know and appreciate the great progress which has been made on the humble level of what might be called the world's daily business. The League's own reverses, particularly in the Disarmament and Economic Conferences and in the Manchurian and Ethiopian disputes, have distracted attention from its solid but less conspicuous successes. This is the more regrettable because, by distorting our understanding of events since 1919, valuable clues as to what the future may hold in store for us have been concealed.

Any political institution is a reflection of the society from which it has sprung. The League is a particularly good example of this rule. Contrary to the picture often drawn of it, the League has

not lived a separate life of its own in a rarefied atmosphere detached from the world about it, but has been a very vivid expression of the period into which it was born. Its record is valuable both as an index of the stage which international life has at present attained, and as an augury of the course we may expect it to take in the future. That course cannot be mapped out by following theory alone; it must be based on actual experience, it must grow out of the daily life of nations.

The present moment is peculiarly auspicious for an appraisal of the League's non-political accomplishments. Chapter One of the League's history — a compact twenty-year period from the end of the First World War to the outbreak of the Second — has come to a sharp close. The great and varied work of international coöperation carried on at Geneva for two decades has been suspended. The conferences which had become almost daily events have for the time being ceased; the international staff has been drastically reduced; some of the technical services, beginning with the financial and economic, are being transferred to the United States on the joint invitation of three educational institutions at Princeton — the University, the Institute for Advanced Study and the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research.

At the same time, thinking people everywhere are taking stock of the assets that remain, for on these will be built the new organization of international coöperation that will inevitably rise when the present nightmare has passed. There can be no doubt that in the future there will be a need for more international coöperation than in the past, not only because the ravages of the present conflict will have to be repaired but because the world is growing constantly smaller. The advance of science is relentless; the needs of industry are pushing commerce ever farther afield in the search for specialized materials; the world's population is approaching the two and a quarter billion mark. In a word, the world's highways are becoming dangerously crowded, and the necessity for some kind of an international traffic system will thus be more indispensable than ever. After this war the greatest single problem confronting mankind will once again be — how can the world organize life so as to prevent another and even more calamitous disaster?

It is hence very important, at this moment of world-wide disruption and discouragement, to understand how great have been the advances made since 1919 in the field of technical and non-

political collaboration between nations. As Secretary of State Hull declared on February 2, 1939, "The League . . . has been responsible for the development of mutual exchange and discussion of ideas and methods to a greater extent and in more fields of humanitarian and scientific endeavor than any other organization in history. . . . The United States Government is keenly aware of the value of this type of general interchange and desires to see it extended." Upon a later occasion, President Roosevelt, when commenting on the creation of an American committee concerned with the League's technical activities, stated that "without in any way becoming involved in the political affairs of Europe, it has been the continuous policy of this Government for many years to coöperate in the world-wide technical and humanitarian activities of the League. Certain of them, indeed, are not only worthy but definitely essential. . . . However Governments may divide, human problems are common the world over, and we shall never realize peace until these common interests take precedence as the major work of civilization."

The tremendous growth of international coöperation that marked the period following 1919 was due more than anything else to the fact that the League provided a center where all international activities, particularly those of a technical and non-political nature, could concentrate and draw strength. For the first time in history there existed a central agency where the affairs of the world were constantly surveyed by specially created groups of experts who were provided with a meeting place, a staff and working funds. The significance of this humble and little appreciated fact cannot be exaggerated. Before the establishment of the League, a major diplomatic effort was required to assemble an international conference on any subject, even one of pressing importance; the great majority of questions were of such secondary interest that no attempt was even made to convene a meeting to consider them. With the coming of the League, delegations from all corners of the world met every year in the League's Assembly, under which were plenary committees: Legal, Social and Humanitarian, Financial and Economic, Political, and Disarmament. Any question not sufficiently urgent to call for a special conference could be taken in its stride by the appropriate Assembly committee.

A flexible and efficient mechanism existed for carrying out the work thus authorized. The League Council, a kind of executive

committee meeting quarterly, has been on hand to take administrative steps, such as appointing committees and fixing dates of meeting. The Secretariat, an international civil service of some seven hundred officials at its maximum, has been constantly available to collect information, prepare preliminary documentation, and provide for translations, the keeping of records and other secretarial work. Finally, a network of expert committees was built up, ranging over almost the entire field of international affairs. This system, as a system, was as nearly complete as it could reasonably be expected to be; that it did not succeed in its primary purpose of preventing another world war should not obscure its very real achievements in other less important fields.

Among the League's technical agencies the most highly developed is the Economic and Financial Organization, part of the work of which has recently been established in the United States. This organization, set up on the recommendation of the Brussels Financial Conference of 1920, afforded invaluable assistance to such important gatherings as the World Economic Conferences of Geneva (1927) and London (1933). Less well-known yet important activities included the sponsoring of many specialized conferences, in addition to a vast amount of unspectacular but highly useful day-to-day work. The principal agencies of the Organization are the Economic and Financial Committees, composed of experts who are often high-ranking government officials but who for the moment drop their official status in order to exchange views more freely. These two committees are served by the permanent staff of the Secretariat, assisted by specialized committees on subjects as diversified as double taxation, statistics, economic depressions, raw materials, demographic problems, and the gold standard. The result is a kind of specialized economic and financial league within the general League — one with which non-members, particularly the United States, have been closely associated. However far the world may have moved in the opposite direction from the liberal policies of free and unrestricted trade recommended by the League's experts, the fact remains that in the end these policies will prove to have been the right ones.

The foundation of the League's work in this almost unlimited field lies in its scientific publications. These, for the first time in history, afford a perspective of the world looking down from

above rather than the usual foreshortened view as seen horizontally from the window of a particular nation. The *Monthly Bulletin of Statistics*, the *Statistical Year Book*, *International Trade Statistics*, and *International Trade in Certain Raw Materials and Foodstuffs* have provided essential statistical information on the world's economic life. Other, more analytical publications such as the *Review of World Trade*, *World Production and Prices*, *Monetary Review*, and *Money and Banking*, have been widely used, particularly in the United States and Germany. Other more popular ones such as the *World Economic Survey* have been useful in giving a picture of world economy as a whole; while one specialized study has found its way into use as a college textbook. Though these publications do not claim to be the final word on their subjects, they have demonstrated a new and useful approach to world problems.

The various special committees set up in this field have also made definite, if modest, contributions to the cause of international economic organization. The Fiscal Committee has by years of effort perfected several model conventions on fiscal and double taxation problems which have been used as the basis for over a hundred bilateral treaties. The Committee of Statistical Experts, comprising some of the world's foremost statisticians, has evolved a series of standard forms which have already been widely adopted. The Committees on Raw Materials, Economic Depressions, Demographic Problems and the like have made, or are making, similarly valuable studies.

While most of this work has taken the form of analysis or recommendation, some of it has been given precise or even contractual expression. A number of international treaties have been drawn up dealing with subjects as varied as customs formalities, commercial arbitration, treatment of foreigners, counterfeiting of currency, bills of exchange, regulation of whaling, and veterinary problems. Though these agreements cover but a part of the field of international affairs, they constitute a useful contribution to the international law of economic and financial relations which would hardly have been possible without some such permanent agency as the League.

Mention should also be made of the reconstruction loans totalling something over \$400,000,000 issued under League auspices on behalf of such countries as Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria and Greece. These loans undoubtedly saw Europe over a

serious crisis and demonstrated a method of international investigation and control far superior to the disastrous and unchecked loans which followed. The experience received from them offers useful suggestions for the large-scale financing which will doubtless follow the present conflict.

Then there is the League's work in communications and transit. This activity made a promising start at the Barcelona Conference in 1920, when a new international law of communications and transit was outlined and an autonomous agency was created, in which participation was later opened to non-member states on a basis of full equality. Its subsequent development did not, however, fully carry out the early promise, partly because it tended to follow the pathways of international conventions rather than of analytical studies, and partly because several of its most important aspects — such as posts, telegraph, telephone and aviation — were already entrusted to other bodies which were unwilling to pool their activities with the more general agency. Even so, the latter was able to demonstrate its value. Few travelers at sea today realize that the League's Transit Organization has been working for years on the standardization of buoyage and the lighting of coasts; still fewer automobilists in Europe, particularly in Germany, realize that the traffic signs on many roadways were given a standard form at League meetings.

In the field of health, the success of the League has been outstanding. Born during the dangerous emergency when typhus threatened Western Europe after the First World War, its work has been practical to a degree which ought to satisfy even the most cynical critic of international coöperation. It has operated on the principle that disease is no respecter of national frontiers. Two of its foremost officials have met death in its service, an American in Syria and a Dutchman in China.

The League's Health Organization, going far beyond any previous efforts in its field, has woven together a world-wide coöperative system embracing governments and individuals, institutions and foundations, hospitals and laboratories. Its work has been directed by a Health Committee consisting of the foremost authorities, often Ministers of Public Health serving unofficially, assisted by an expert permanent staff in the Secretariat, by a network of committees on special problems, and by an annual review on the part of the plenipotentiary delegates at the Assembly. It has thus been able to move fast and far, with

complete independence and impartiality and with full access to existing agencies for the protection and improvement of health. Its first task has been to prevent the spread of diseases. This has necessitated sending commissions to several points of danger, as to Poland in 1920 and Spain in 1937. Far more constant, however, has been the watch which it maintains against the outbreak of disease. These activities are centered in the Epidemiological Intelligence Service, which has an Eastern Bureau at Singapore and which operates a radio service embracing no less than 186 ports, working day and night, unseen and unsung, as a vital part of the world's health protection.

Not content merely to prevent disease, the League has sought to improve health facilities throughout the world. Probably not one person in a million, when treated with any of a score of different serums and pharmaceutical products, realizes that the "international" standard on which they are based and on which depends the patient's health, or even life, is in reality a League of Nations standard worked out with infinite patience by laboratories and experts coöperating all over the world. Still fewer are aware that League committees have studied malaria in London, Hamburg, Paris, Rome and Singapore, have even developed a wholly new drug, totaquina, which is far cheaper and quite as effective as quinine, or that they have organized a leprosy research institute in Brazil, or made comparative tests of syphilis treatment in many countries, or studied sleeping sickness in Africa and pellagra in the rural districts of Rumania. Here, indeed, unperceived by the public at large, has been a world coöperative campaign against man's most ancient and implacable enemy.

Another innovation has been the assistance which the League has afforded to individual governments for improving their own health services. For the first time in history, a nation in need of such assistance has been able to apply for it from an international association, without having to fear political complications. Almost from the start of the League, China has drawn heavily upon the advice and aid of its experts in caring for her colossal public health problem. Greece likewise received considerable assistance when reorganizing her health services in 1928. Various other nations have benefited, though less extensively. The League has also organized collective tours by which over 700 health officers from thirty-five different countries have been enabled to study medical methods abroad.

The most timely of all the League's health functions has perhaps been its work in the field of nutrition. Incidentally, this work clearly illustrates the cumulative method of League procedure and the interplay between different zones of interest and authority. The first embryo of this work may be found in an inquiry which the League carried out at the request of the Government of Japan into the food problems of that country. Shortly thereafter, the ravages of the depression led the Health Committee to set up a group of experts to study its specific effects on health. In its turn the International Labour Conference took steps to consider the effect of widespread malnutrition on the health of workers. It remained, however, for the Australian delegation to put the subject on a universal basis by proposing to a somewhat skeptical Assembly in 1935 that the League undertake a study of nutrition in all its aspects — health, social, economic and industrial. As a result, a Mixed Committee on the Problem of Nutrition was set up, the personnel of which included agricultural, economic and health experts. Enlisting the aid of the Advisory Committee on Social Questions, the International Labour Office and the International Institute of Agriculture, it arrived at certain basic principles of nutrition which are embodied in its final report of 1937.

The subject continued to expand, however, and national committees have accordingly been set up in different countries, until there were over a score of them that have proved so effective that their representatives have twice been called into general conference at Geneva. Similarly, a regional approach to specific aspects of the problem has been made through conferences of government representatives. Out of all this study and consultation has evolved a scientific knowledge concerning foods and food values, a maximum and minimum standard of nutrition, a framework of policy for governments and health ministries, and an exposure of the unnecessarily low standards of nutrition prevalent throughout the world. To quote President Roosevelt again: "The world-wide efforts for better nutrition standards have already shown that the way towards solution of health problems may also be the way towards definite improvement of economic conditions."

Housing, commonly regarded as a very individual problem, is another subject in which the League has recently shown an interest. Here again, the subject has been approached from two

widely different angles. On one side, a group of health and building experts has, on the basis of the comparative experience of all countries, worked out certain fundamental, scientific requirements for air, heat, light, noise prevention, sanitation and other structural necessities. On another side, a group of financial experts has elaborated various methods for meeting the problem of financing. In the field of housing each nation has much to learn from the others, for where one has excelled in design, another has excelled in interior equipment, and still another in financing. Housing very definitely offers a field of comparative experience in which a free exchange of all available knowledge and techniques is urgently needed in order to aid the millions of ill-housed people in all lands.

It is in the sphere of drug control, however, that the League has most nearly approached direct international government. Before the First World War only timid attempts were made to reduce this terrible scourge. Since the creation of the League, however, these efforts have been accentuated until today they have culminated in the most advanced form of international administration so far accepted by sovereign nations. As in other fields, an Advisory Committee was created, which in this case was composed of government representatives. Its domain kept continually widening as the pursuit of the illegitimate drug producer and trafficker went ever farther afield. Special world conferences were called in 1924-25, 1931 and 1936; and new conventions, some of them the most widely ratified international agreements on record, were adopted. Control progressed step by step: first, over the international traffic by means of a universally adopted system of import and export certificates; next, over the manufacture of drugs by estimating world needs and bringing about a reduction in production; and then, over national administrations by imposing an embargo against offending nations. More recently, there has been drafted a Convention for limiting the production of raw materials. One group of League experts has authority to estimate what quantities of drugs should be manufactured; another surveys the traffic as it actually exists and as it is reported by the separate governments. In case the Convention is violated, this latter group, sitting as an impartial international tribunal, has the power to embargo further commerce in drugs with the offending nation. Never before have the nations given an international agency such wide authority. The results, however,

have been dramatically justified by the fifty percent reduction in morphine production between 1929 and 1932, the large reduction in heroin and cocaine production and the decrease in the number of drug addicts, *e.g.*, from 100,000 to 50,000 in the United States. This effort has, fortunately, called forth the coöperation of practically all nations, not only of former members like Germany and Italy, but more particularly of the United States, which has been a most militant participant from the beginning.

Such have been the principal technical and non-political activities of the League. Many others less conspicuous or less continuous exist in nearly all phases of international relations, but we need not examine them in detail, for the principles they involve have already been described. The only two we might mention in passing are the League's Child Welfare work and its committees on intellectual coöperation — both typical of the new and useful fields of international action which the League has opened up.

These multifarious activities have come to the League from very different sources. Some, such as opium control, health and the suppression of prostitution, were already in an embryonic stage before the First World War. Others, such as communications and transit, were given special stimulus in the peace treaties. Still others, such as parts of the economic and financial work, originated in plenipotentiary conferences which later entrusted to the League permanent duties that they were not equipped to continue. The great majority, however, represent new activities generated by discussion at the League itself.

As the historical origins of these activities have been different, so necessarily have been their legal bases. Some, though interwoven with the League, are firmly embedded in international convention or treaty, notably the opium work which has behind it the conventions of 1912, 1925, 1931 and 1936. Others are grounded in the League's organization itself, particularly its economic and financial work, which has developed through analysis and report rather than by juridical expression. Still others, such as the institutes of intellectual coöperation at Paris, cinematography at Rome, and leprosy at Rio de Janeiro, have been established as autonomous agencies associated with the League but having their own governing bodies and, unfortunately, as experience has shown, an ultimate dependence on the governments that give them hospitality.

The various activities have also manifested very different and

uneven rates of progress. Some have developed rapidly, others slowly, and often quite contrary to expectations. The speed has depended in part on the nature of the subject and in part on the energy with which it has been pursued. Where a government has taken a strong position, as the British on slavery or the American on opium, progress has tended to be rapid. Where there has been a resolute group of people interested in the question or where a tradition of activity has already been built up, as in the campaign against organized international prostitution, work has likewise gone ahead quickly. In some cases, notably as regards refugees or double taxation, energetic support from individuals has brought great progress. The League method has been simple, informal and receptive; a government or group desiring action could usually secure it unless the opposition was very determined. Very often hostility, if not irreconcilable, has contented itself with mere abstention; an indifferent majority has frequently allowed an energetic minority to have its way.

Any general evaluation of the League's non-political activities inevitably returns us to the point stressed at the beginning of this article: that by its mere existence the League has given an unprecedented stimulus to international coöperation. The very fact that there has been in operation a permanent agency with an annual Assembly, a quarterly Council, manifold committees, a permanent staff and an adequate budget, has made it possible for many international activities to catch the world's attention, receive a hearing, and be given whatever encouragement they deserved.

One of the little understood phenomena of this system has been the development of something which might almost be described as spontaneous combustion in generating new ideas and plans. Bring together the representatives of many nations and many viewpoints in periodic conferences, and the result is almost sure to be the formulation of ideas of the most unexpected sorts. No one would have predicted, for instance, that the most ambitious Press Conference ever convened would develop out of a curious Chilean complex; or that a world-wide campaign for better nutrition would find its origin in Japan and Australia; or that many other activities, in particular those concerning the suppression of the drug traffic and prostitution, would originate among Americans — whose government was not even a member of the League. The League has made it possible

for the world to tap its wealth of human experience, wisdom and leadership in a way heretofore impossible. Governments, organizations and individuals which in the past had often had considerable difficulty in discovering a forum in which to present their ideas have found in the League a hospitable medium.

Another important feature of the League method has been its flexibility. It has been able to work without undue haste or pressure, but with periodic revision and checking. It could proceed stage by stage — preliminary study in the Secretariat, more formal discussion in a group of experts, still more formal discussion in the Assembly, and finally full diplomatic action in a special conference. The League has been under none of that compelling urgency so prevalent before the First World War when things were either accomplished suddenly at *ad hoc* conferences or had to wait for years until, as in the case of the old Hague Conferences, public interest demanded the calling of a new meeting.

The League has also been able to carry on its work in a far more scientific and non-political spirit than had been possible in the past. This is well stated in the Report of the Special Committee on the Development of International Coöperation in Economic and Social Affairs (known as the Bruce Committee), which says:

In the early days of the League, it was perhaps too often assumed that international coöperation necessarily implied international contractual obligations and that the success of such coöperation could be measured by the new obligations entered into. In certain fields, indeed, notably in the control of the drug traffic, and in numerous problems connected with the régime of international communications and transit — such methods have met with striking success and continue to be appropriate. But it is coming to be realised that many of the really vital problems, by their very nature, do not lend themselves to settlement by formal conferences and treaties — that the primary object of international coöperation should be rather mutual help than reciprocal contract — above all, the exchange of knowledge and of the fruits of experience.

This philosophy has introduced the expert into international life to an unprecedented degree. There, as elsewhere, the first necessity is to know the facts without fear or favor; once they have been ascertained, the action to be taken is often surprisingly clear and is generally accepted. It is when facts are but half-known, or are partially obscured by extraneous elements, that conflict is most likely to develop.

Another important and seldom appreciated advantage inherent

in a permanent international mechanism like the League is that it permits those working in one field of activity to cross professional lines and obtain assistance from those engaged in cognate fields. The Opium Committee, for instance, has frequently turned to the Health Committee for its judgment on certain drugs; the Nutrition Committee has drawn upon the Health, Economic and Labor Committees; the Child Welfare Committee has turned to the Cinematographic Institute; and so on around the circle. Interesting to note is the fact that the World Disarmament Conference examined the system of international drug control in search of ideas it might use for setting up a similar system of control over world armaments.

The League's twenty years of experience have brought out sources of weakness as well as of strength. First of all, this experience has shown that delegates at Geneva all too frequently vote a resolution only to have their governments fail to carry it out. This has often been interpreted as bad faith, but more likely it is merely a difference of tempo. At Geneva the delegates find themselves in a new atmosphere: as a result of free discussion they gradually come to accept the fairness of other viewpoints; this leads them slowly to modify their own ideas; and thus they eventually come to an agreement representing the greatest common good. The governments at home, however, feel these stimuli but faintly, for their outlook is limited by national interests and in the formulation of their policies they are particularly subject to local group pressures. One can readily understand, then, why there is often a gap between what a diplomat viewing the world as a whole recommends and what a local politician at home is willing to accept. How to narrow this gap is one of the great problems facing the future.

Another difficulty has been the tendency on the part of certain totalitarian governments to make no differentiation between the political and the non-political functions of the League. When Japan left the League, she continued for a while to coöperate in its non-political activities; subsequently, however, she severed her connections with all branches of the League's work. Similarly, when Germany and Italy withdrew, they left the League and all its works. The only exception was that Germany continued to participate in its opium control because this work had originated in a special treaty. It is worth mentioning that the United States, though not a member of the League, has pursued a gradually ex-

panding policy of selective coöperation, until today the American Government is widely represented in the League's technical work.

Another difficulty, this time one of organization rather than of politics, is that several specialized international agencies already in the field before the League's creation have guarded their independence so jealously that they have kept certain important activities from coming under League control. The situation has differed from case to case, but the principle has been substantially the same. The International Postal and Telegraphic Unions, for instance, remain almost without contact with the League; the International Institute of Agriculture has coöperated somewhat uncertainly; the Bank of International Settlements has been kept rather conspicuously apart from the League. The International Health Bureau has, on the contrary, become largely overshadowed by the League's Health Organization. It is true that during the present world upheaval these agencies have been able to maintain a sort of precarious life, whereas the League has seen its work badly crippled. But in normal times, their insistence upon a completely separate individuality often leads to conflicts and duplications of effort injurious alike to the international community as a whole and to the agencies themselves. Another problem to be faced after this war will therefore be to establish a greater degree of unity and coöperation among the various international bodies that render service to the world at large.

The record of the League of Nations in these past twenty years is neither all black nor all white. The League proved inadequate to avert the great catastrophe which many had hoped it might avert. Yet this failure cannot destroy the fact that the League experiment, during its first brief period of life, made appreciable contributions not only to the solution of day-to-day problems but even more to the opening up of new subjects and new methods from which we may derive inspiration and hope for the future. This experience has been deeply valuable, for it marks a phase in the slow transition of mankind from international anarchy to the world community.

Correcting a False Impression About the League

To the Editor of the New York Times:

I would not presume to write you these lines if an impression did not seem to be gaining ground which may have serious effects on our thinking and planning as to post-war reconstruction, prosperity and peace, and even on the morale and hopefulness with which we approach our colossal tasks of today. Several recent statements from widely different and otherwise well-informed sources have intimated that the League of Nations and its many activities have passed from the scene and are now entirely out of the picture.

The impression is not only wholly wrong, but will be challenged by many who cannot accept the totalitarians' constant claim that all mankind's gains in the last war have been swept into the discard. While obviously no agency of peaceful cooperation can function normally in a society at war, nevertheless it is important to see that, with courage and support, it can remain in being, perform certain valuable tasks and be ready to serve fully the moment law and order are restored. Not to see this is not to see a ray of hope on the horizon—to deny ourselves an element of the strength we need to carry us through the crisis.

Agencies Subject to Call

First, let it be clear that the League of Nations continues in being. Forty-eight nations, predominantly, be it noted, of our own viewpoint, remain members; many of them, stricken though they are, contribute regularly to maintain the present modest budget of ten million Swiss francs. Innumerable duties remain entrusted to the League which could be unraveled from the fiber of world-life only with the greatest difficulty. All agencies associated with the League Assembly, Council, Court, Labor Office and technical bodies—are subject to call at any moment, and may, indeed, be called sooner than anticipated.

Secondly, certain work continues despite the war. A number of direct or associated meetings have been held—the Central Committee on Economic and Social Problems at The Hague, the Supervisory Committee at Lisbon and Montreal, the Emergency Health Committee at Geneva, the three Opium Committees at Geneva, fiscal experts at The Hague and Mexico City, nutrition experts at Buenos Aires, intellectual cooperation leaders even this week at Havana, not to mention the International Labor Conference which has just met in New York.

Headquarters Open

League headquarters remain open at Geneva, not "deserted," as sometimes pictured. Despite all discouragement, difficulty, even apparent abandonment, a nucleus of eighty officials are on duty in the magnificent building which is the sole common possession of the nations. Some are maintaining the central services and records of the international community; others are following general developments, particularly as regards post-war world organization; a dozen or so are analyzing certain of the world's economic and financial problems; others, in cooperation with the Singapore Bureau, are assembling data on the all-important health, epidemic and nutrition developments; still others are following specific League re-

sponsibilities regarding mandates, communications, drugs and social problems, while the Rockefeller Library, receiving publications from both sides in the war, bids fair to be one of the best stocked in Europe.

It is surely worthy of note that this outpost of decency has been maintained in the heart of stricken Europe; it may be disproportionately important that its small but highly efficient staff is available when the opportunity comes to put its experience fully at the service of the world community.

Two other groups are now in this country. The League's technical services were offered hospitality by three educational institutions at Princeton, the University, the Institute for Advanced Study and the Rockefeller Institute, and a dozen members of the Economic, Financial and Transit Department are now quartered at the Institute for Advanced Study. This group has just issued the "World Economic Survey," a publication unique in its field; is continuing certain important studies as to periodic economic crises, population pressures and taxation, and is attempting to assess the mistakes of the inter-war period and the necessities for the future. Another group of anti-drug officials has established a branch office in Washington, which has always shown a special interest in this matter. The staff of the International Labor Office, of which the United States is a leading member, is in Montreal.

Future Work

Thirdly and finally, the nations will, for the first time in history, have at their service after this war an organized agency of international cooperation. That agency will have been crippled, to be sure, by the world's previous short-sightedness, it may have to be readjusted to new conditions, but the essential fact is that it will be there to build around and to serve. One of the first post-war actions must be a meeting of the League, if only to decide as to its status and future—a meeting, be it noted, not only of the democratic belligerents but of neutrals as well, not regional nor ideological but general, not orientated to the past but to the future.

The world is far less poor than it thinks. Amid all the present destruction there remain the seeds from which a new world-life can spring. "There is," as Acting Secretary General Sean Lester points out in his just-published report, "not only a heritage which should be guarded during the crisis, but a continuing and active system of services which should be strengthened for new and greater tasks."

League, Labor Office, Court, International Bank, Pan-American Union and other agencies constitute part of the patrimony of mankind. Victory in the present struggle will be only half victory unless it leads to some permanent, organized method for doing away with humanity's greatest curse of international anarchy and armed aggression. Let us, then, despite our necessary absorption in more immediate emergencies, give all possible help to maintain and safeguard these existing agencies as positive assets of the new world which we are making such sacrifices to construct.

ARTHUR SWEETSER,

Member of the League Secretariat since 1919.

Washington, Nov. 17, 1941.

Denies That League Has Died or Failed

Writer Expresses Faith In Dream of World Peace Supported by Liberal Leaders

To the Editor of The Star:

January 10 marks the 22d anniversary of the coming into being of the League of Nations. As Winston Churchill said on December 26, "If we had kept together after the last war, if we had taken common measures for our safety, the renewal of the curse need never have fallen upon us."

It was Woodrow Wilson who stated at St. Louis, "All the nations that Germany meant to crush and reduce to the status of tools in her own hands have been redeemed by this war and given the guarantee of the strongest nations of the world that nobody shall invade their liberty again. If you do not want to give them that guarantee, then you make it certain that without your guarantee the attempt will be made again, and if another war starts like this one, are you going to keep out of it? If you keep out of this arrangement, that sort of war will come soon."

It must be remembered that 48 nations remain members of the League of Nations. Although some of them are in exile, as Norway, Holland and Belgium, they have maintained their membership in the League.

Eighty officials are on duty in the League building at Geneva, the only structure in the world which is the sole common possession of the nations. What are they doing? They are saving the international unity; they are preparing for the post-world organization; they are assembling data on the problems of refugee rehabilitation, reconstruction and social problems.

Principles of our civilization which have endured the centuries have been brutally attacked, 15 nations have lost their independence. Their leaders have been killed, their intellectuals degraded, their peoples crushed into submission to a new and immoral order, against which their hearts and minds revolt.

Behind all this lie profound social changes. After this war we must consider something more fundamental than reparations from the conquered or help for the starving. War was formerly a matter of interest only to contestants; now it swells beyond its confines and affects all states and all peoples. There will come the problem of famine and disease; of civil disorder when terrible forces will be released and revenge and hunger in desperation will make war after the war. Economic collapse, the problem of uprooted peoples, of derelict colonies, of social uncertainty and political control; all will cry for attention. We need not wait for anxious months to set up machinery for the solution of these problems, such machinery is ready now and is found in the League of Nations.

The United Nations which have signed the historic

anti-Axis document are in themselves League nations. Of the 26 signing, 25 were members of the League and 19 still remain.

The one country which gave impetus to the League idea but which never joined now welcomes back to its source important League groups. The technical services are at Princeton, the economic, financial and transient departments are also there. The anti-drug unit has established itself in Washington, while the international labor office is in Montreal.

For the first time in history the nations of the world have available an organized agency of international co-operation. As Arthur Sweetser, member of the League secretariat since 1919, has so well stated: "The world is far less poor than it thinks. Amid all the present destruction there remain the seeds from which a new world-life can spring." As the acting secretary general of the League has just reported: "There is not only a heritage which should be safeguarded during the crisis, but a continuing and active system of services which should be strengthened for new and greater tasks."

The President, in his address to Congress, has said we must not only win the war, but must win the peace. It is significant that in these United States on January 10 the League of Nations Association is observing the 22d anniversary of the coming into being of the League. The League has not died, it has not failed except as we have failed to use it; it stands as an instrument ready to serve as we want it to serve. Let it not be said that we, the people, refused to join the League, let it be said that a minority of the United States Senate prevented our joining. Woodrow Wilson led the crusade for the guarantee of peace on earth. We hold the vision which we have not lost. We will yet make the vision real. In all the nations of the world suffering humanity will demand that something be done to prevent this curse from afflicting us again. As Franklin Roosevelt, then a candidate for Vice President, said on August 9, 1920: "To the cry of the French at Verdun, 'They shall not pass,' the cheer of our own men in the Argonne, 'We shall go through,' we must add this: 'It shall not occur again.' This is the positive declaration of our own wills: That the world shall be saved from a repetition of this crime. A treaty of peace must be a real treaty for a real peace must include a League of Nations, because this peace treaty, if our best and bravest are not to have died in vain, must be no thinly disguised armistice devised by cynical statesmen to mask their preparations for a renewal of greed-inspired conquests later on. 'Peace' must mean peace that will last."

In 1920 Franklin Roosevelt glimpsed the vision of eternal peace. As President, he has kept the faith.

MELVIN D. HILDRETH,
Chairman, Washington Chapter,
League of Nations Association, Inc.