

Dr. Oppenheimer:

Re: Mitrany

Prof. Earle said he would discuss Mitrany's request - see top letter - to lecture at Princeton. Earle and Stewart think only suggestion (L) feasible; as joint Institute-University plan; probably in Institute lounge in new Library.

Earle says Mitrany is not liked at Univ.; would be impossible to arrange formal lectures with or without compensation.

EWL

HOUSING

**BY AIR MAIL**

**AIR LETTER**

IF ANYTHING IS EN-  
CLOSED THIS LETTER  
WILL BE SENT BY  
ORDINARY MAIL.



Professor Robert Warren

~~Institute for Advanced Study~~

*Province Line Road*

PRINCETON N.J.

U.S.A.

← Second fold here →

To open cut here →

Sender's name and address :-

David Mitrany.....  
Kingston Blount.....  
.....OXFORD, England.

→ To open cut here

Kingston Blount  
Oxford

9 December 1949

*copies sent  
to JKO +  
EME  
1-4-50*

Dear Warren,

You must be all preparing to break up for the Christmas holiday and so I am anxious, to cause you as little inconvenience as possible, to let you know already now that I cannot come for the spring term. It is a great disappointment, for more than one reason, and I have only reluctantly submitted ~~after~~ after wavering for weeks.

Since my medical mischance last spring I have never been quite at ease - there is by all assurance nothing wrong and therefore little that can be done about it. I don't know whether ~~hoping~~ for some psychological benefit the doctor is playing up to my theoretical ~~idiosyncrasies~~ idiosyncrasies but he goes on telling me it is merely a 'functional' disturbance caused by shock to the body. The shock certainly was there ~~allright~~ all right. Anyhow, I have lost quite a bit of weight for no apparent reason, and it is clear that I would be ill advised to be away from home, especially in winter, until all this is cleared up.

Would you be so kind to take this up with the Director, and especially tell Mrs Leary at once? She is so generous in trying to find living space for us all that I must not complicate her problems. The only advantage in my staying here at present is that I shall be able to see through the press a small book I am just finishing on the ideological conflict between Marxism and Peasantism. I took up the subject in an essay many years ago and no one else has ~~written~~ written about it since, so I succumbed to the friendly pressure of various people, including Harvard friends, and took three months off from my other work to do this. It is full of interest and still hotly topical - this pleases my publisher, but ~~it's~~ it's a nuisance to me, and I have tried hard to keep it all as 'academic' as possible.

I hope you are keeping well, and also Stewart, to whom I should like to be remembered. Now that I have made up my mind and accepted the immediate disappointment, I shall look all the more forward to coming in the fall, and I hope this will be agreeable to the Humanities as a whole.

With all good wishes for Christmas and the New Yearx, for yourself and also your family,

Sincerely yours

*David Mitrany*



COPY FOR DR. OPPENHEIMER ✓  
PROF. EARLE

9 December 1949

M. F.  
Mitrany

Dear Warren:

You must be all preparing to break up for the Christmas holiday and so I am anxious, to cause you as little inconvenience as possible, to let you know already now that I cannot come for the spring term. It is a great disappointment, for more than one reason, and I have only reluctantly submitted after wavering for weeks.

Since my medical mischance last spring I have never been quite at ease - there is by all assurance nothing wrong and therefore little that can be done about it. I don't know whether hoping for some psychological benefit the doctor is playing up to my theoretical ideosyncrasies but he goes on telling me it is merely a "functional" disturbance caused by shock to the body. The shock certainly was there all right. Anyhow, I have lost quite a bit of weight for no apparent reason, and it is clear that I would be ill advised to be away from home, especially in winter, until all this is cleared up.

Would you be so kind to take this up with the Director, and especially tell Mrs. Leary at once? She is so generous in trying to find living space for us all that I must not complicate her problems. The only advantage in my staying here at present is that I shall be able to see through the press a small book I am just finishing on the ideological conflict between Marxism and Peasantism. I took up the subject in an essay many years ago and no one else has written about it since, so I succumbed to the friendly pressure of various people, including Harvard friends, and took three months off from my other work to do this. It is full of interest and still hotly topical - this pleases my publisher, but it's a nuisance to me, and I have tried hard to keep it all as "academic" as possible.

I hope you are keeping well, and also Stewart, to whom I should like to be remembered. Now that I have made up my mind and accepted the immediate disappointment, I shall look all the more forward to coming in the fall, and I hope this will be agreeable to the Humanities as a whole.

Sincerely yours,

/s/ D. Mitrany

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY  
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

Copy to Miss Trinterud  
Professor  
Cherniss

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

October 13, 1950

Dear Professor Mitrany:

As I told you today, the Faculty of the School of Historical Studies understands the reasons for your wishing to leave the Institute in November, and sees you go with a regret tempered by our pleasure at your new appointment at Smith, and at the prospect of the completion of your book. We think that this half term that you will have spent here should still leave you and us free to have another full term, with the same provisions as outlined in my letter of May 6, 1949, at your own convenience. This letter should serve as a formal invitation to you to come back some time before retirement.

With every good wish,

Robert Oppenheimer

Professor David Mitrany  
Institute for Advanced Study  
Princeton, N. J.

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY  
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

File  
Mitrany  
6/23

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

May 6, 1949

Dear Professor Mitrany:

Since our last talk, I have discussed the problem of your future relation to the Institute with the Faculty of the School. I have felt it only right to explain to them candidly the reasons for reopening the matter.

It now appears that by a large majority, the Faculty of the School is unwilling to reconsider the question. I therefore would take two steps: (1) I would put in writing the proposal which I made to you when we spoke. Instead of the provision for \$1,200 a year for a brief visit for the next three years, we should be glad to offer you \$4,000 provided you would come for any one of the full semesters before the age of your retirement. (2) It seems to me only right to point out that if you choose to avail yourself of this invitation and come to the Institute in the next year or two, it is always possible that your work will establish for your colleagues the desirability of reopening the problem of the future. In that case, I personally shall be glad to reconsider.

With every warm good wish,

Robert Oppenheimer

Professor David Mitrany  
Institute for Advanced Study  
Princeton, N. J.

August 18, 1950

Dr. D. Mitrany,  
Kingston Blount,  
Oxford, England

My dear Dr. Mitrany,

I have received your letter of the 13th, and I want to thank you for it and to assure you that you need not apologize for the fact that your letter to Professor Warren was not passed on to me. It did in fact go to the Director's office, which was more to the point; and, if there was faulty liaison here, that is our fault and not yours. In any case, the Director was informed of your intention to spend the autumn term with us and the Director's secretary did recently inform me of this fact, so that I should perhaps have written to you; but I assumed that the correspondence was being carried on by the Director's office and that there was consequently no need for me to bother you with tautological letters. I do want to assure you, however, that I shall be glad to see you this autumn and I feel certain that all the other members of the faculty will welcome you too.

The loss of your MS must have been a disheartening blow. My heart sank as I read the sentence telling about it, and I was mightily relieved to come to the next in which you reported the fortunate circumstance of the existence of a copy. I trust that the necessity of revising this copy did not cause you too much trouble or delay. At any rate, irksome as this misadventure must have been, the thought of Carlyle's plight must have prevented you from feeling too deeply depressed by yours.

With all good wishes I am

Sincerely yours,

Harold Cherniss

**BY AIR MAIL**

**AIR LETTER**

IF ANYTHING IS EN-  
CLOSED THIS LETTER  
WILL BE SENT BY  
ORDINARY MAIL.



Professor Cherniss

Institute for Advanced Study

Princeton

N. J.

U. S. A.

Second fold here

Sender's name and address :-

J. Mitrany  
Kingston Blount  
Oxford, England

To open cut here

To open cut here



Kingston Blount  
Oxford.

13.VIII.50.

Dear Cherniss,

A letter from Paudsky a little while ago told me that you had taken over the function of Executive Officer of the History Group (and wish my congratulations!), also that you had no idea that I was supposed to be coming over this fall. I am rather embarrassed by this, and I thought I should assure you that I have not been deliberately guilty of discourtesy towards you or the faculty.

I cannot say how the misunderstanding  
has arisen - I can only explain why I have  
not been aware of it. It had been agreed  
in our own group, when I was there last spring,  
and that I should direct communications by  
Warren. In the fall I found myself embarked,  
rather unexpectedly, upon a book on the agrarian  
side of Marxism, being unaware that poor Warren  
was ill. I wrote him to ask whether it would be  
agreeable to the faculty to let me come in the fall  
rather than for the spring term, so that I might finish  
the book first. A little later, I had a letter from  
the secretary of our group, Miss Hottel, telling me  
that (1) Warren was in hospital, and (2) that my letter  
had been passed on to the Executive office <sup>to the director's office</sup>

I had no other reply or communication, so I was led to assume that my suggestion had been talked + accepted. You will tell me privately, I know, if there is any inconvenience for you all in my acting upon that assumption; I will readily make other arrangements.

I shall never dabble in Marxism again, even as an observer; as I wrote Gaudsky, the making of this book has been plagued by an entire series of adventures with assistants, typists, indexes, etc., all of whom caused me some trouble or other. The final straw came after I wrote to Gaudsky, when I heard from my publisher that the MS. had been stolen, with a suitcase, from his car. (All the dark work of the Kremlin, of course!). - Fortunately, in this age of mechanical writing, unlike Collyer I

First fold here

had every 1/2 hour a year of small revisions for to be worked out over. Repairs with typists, many spent weeks for printing this. Changes, several years thinking



THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY  
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

July 13, 1950

Dear Professor Mitrany:

Thank you for your letter of July 3rd, which has been received in Dr. Oppenheimer's absence. Dr. Oppenheimer will be away from Princeton until early in September; but you may be sure that he will see your letter as soon as he is back at the Institute, and when next I am in touch with Dr. Oppenheimer, I will tell him of your plans to come at the end of September. I know that Dr. Oppenheimer will be pleased to learn that you will be with us during the autumn term.

If there is anything we can do here to help with your coming, please let us know. Mrs. Leary, I am sure, will be interested to know what housing accommodations you will want.

Sincerely yours,

Katherine Russell,  
Secretary to the Director

Professor David Mitrany  
The Lower Farm  
Kingston Blount  
Oxford, England

**BY AIR MAIL**

**AIR LETTER**

IF ANYTHING IS ENCLOSED  
THIS LETTER WILL BE SENT  
BY ORDINARY MAIL.



.....  
Professor Walter Stewart  
.....

Institute for Advanced Study  
.....

PRINCETON N.J.  
.....

.....  
U.S.A.  
.....

↑ First fold here ↓

← Second fold here →

↑ To open cut here ↓

Sender's name and address :-

.....David Mitrany.....

.....Kingston Blount.....

.....Oxford, England.....

↑ To open cut here ↓

Kingston Blount  
Oxford.

2.VII.1949

Dear Stewart, Your kind note was so welcome that it is bad of me to be so late in replying. I meant to write from the boat, but the fatigue of packing etc. brought back the penicillin trouble and I had to dope myself with that antidote all the time, and things seem to have rushed at me since returning. Still, I must ask you to forgive me, and I can only assure you that I appreciated your note all the more as things were rather awkward before I left, not least because I couldn't know what was happening and there were many chances for misunderstanding. My talks with you and Bob Warren had made me feel that there was work we could do -outside the pure economic field, which ~~was~~ rather beyond me- and so was all the more ready to ignore certain silly things that had come to my knowledge. Also, I gladly followed your advice not to trouble the Director till it came to some discussion of practical arrangements, and it seemed not a little strange that the only effect of my discretion was that things were argued and settled without my being asked any question or given an opportunity to have my say; especially as there was so much 'hearsay', the most prolific source of mischief, in the whole thing. I don't want to drag you and Warren into this, but I am greatly puzzled, as under a resolution of the Board I have a right to come back full-time, and it was only to avoid or reduce the risk of personal issues that I suggested to continue on a one-term basis.

Are you likely to be coming over this summer? If not, I hope it is not for reasons of health. If you come, I should much like you to see some of the younger men on the Left. They are deeply worried, and not without cause. No one sees how the economic situation can be salvaged and with a general election due next spring, it is only too likely that the Government, much against the judgment or inclination of some of its leaders, may drift into making 'capitalistic sabotage' the theme of its campaign, which if successful would inevitable bind them to rush on with fresh schemes of costly nationalisation. It would also make political life much more bitter, and on both counts the more extreme elements will dominate policy. Already now in spite of continuous unofficial strikes the Government seems unwilling to risk taking any strong line, I heard some publishers talk the other day about postponing books they meant to publish in spring, they fear the noise of the campaign will drown everything else.

I will send you separately a reprint of the psychological article. At the moment I have for awhile put aside work on the international book to get ready a small book on the ideology of the Communist-Peasant conflict; little is known about it in the West, where we have no peasants, and I have written something about it, from a purely academic standpoint; now I have been induced to develop this in a small book and I have to get the MS. ready by the end of September, so I shall be working here all summer. It is lovely here, but for the drought which has already killed half our summer crops. I do hope you will have a pleasant and restful summer, and please give my best regards also to Bob Warren. Always with good wishes

*Kingston Blount*

THE LOWER FARM,  
KINGSTON BLOUNT,  
OXFORD,  
27.VI.1949

Dear Aydelotte,

Your kind letter deserved a prompt reply and I ask your pardon; I have been wondering how to deal with my problem at the Institute and waited to let you know, but I am still undecided. Whatever my needs, I have also some pride, and I hate rows.

It is all made worse by not knowing what really has happened, for while I know now that Earle has been guilty of petty intrigues (Heaven knows why, for I have never shown him anything but goodwill), I have also the impression that no one puts much value on his opinion, and the decision must have been taken only because no one was there to reply on my behalf, and I of course was not given a chance to put my case. That is the only thing that surprises me about the Director that he never sought to speak to me about what concerns me so closely. My other difficulty is that I could not expose the inanity of the complaint against me as strongly as I should because Stewart and Warren, whom I like and who I think would be fair, also have nothing to show for all those years at the Institute.

I do so little want to trouble you with all this that I should not have sent you copies of my letters to the Director if you had not asked for them. Perhaps because we are closer here to the grave things that are happening in the world that I find the whole petty issue so sickening. - I am also sending you an extract from a letter from Gross, to see that I am doing my best for your protégé. And please tell Bill not to miss Trevelyan's Autobiography, which among other things destroys Toynbee in a few sentences. I wonder whether he will have the courage to write his other volumes?

We shall be here all summer - please do give us a chance to see you - I remember gratefully your Mrs. Aydelotte's friendly reception. Always yours  
Mitrany

Kind remembrance to your two nice assistants.

Memo to Professor Cherniss:

Subject: Stipend for Dr. Mitrany

Action taken by the Board of Trustees at their meeting on May 23, 1946 is as follows:

It was also understood that Professor Mitrany would receive an honorarium of \$1,200 for each visit of four consecutive weeks which he is able to make to the Institute during term time and that when the time comes for him to take up permanent residence at the Institute as a member, a suitable stipend will be provided for him out of the stipend fund of the School which shall be increased to cover this amount.

5/6/49 In a letter to Dr. Mitrany from JRO, the following arrangement was made: "Instead of the provision for \$1,200 a year for a brief visit for the next three years, we should be glad to offer you \$4,000 provided you would come for any one of the full semesters before the age of your retirement."

was

In the Faculty Minutes of April 19, 1949, the following action ~~is~~ recorded: "During the present spring term he had been given a grant of \$4000 paid from the contingency fund."



17 May 1949

Dear Mitrany:

I have just returned to Princeton and find your letter of May 10. I can easily understand your annoyance at the vote of the members of the faculty of Economics. I wish you had sent me a copy of the letter which you sent to the Director, since that would enable me to advise you more soundly.

If and until I do receive this letter of yours to the Director my advice would be to accept the appointment for the next academic year as offered in the hope and expectation that it would be continued. I agree with you that the situation is both unsatisfactory and unfair. On the other hand, I have to remember that I am no longer running the Institute.

I think there is a good chance that my wife and I may be in England some time this summer or in the autumn. If we are we hope, of course, to see you. If we are not, I hope we will see you here again at this time next year.

Yours sincerely,

Professor David Mitrany  
Lower Farm  
Kingston Blount  
Oxford, England

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS AND POLITICS

PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

~~MWS~~  
~~R B W~~

7  
Rem. M  
Mitrany

May 12, 1949

Dear Director:

Thank you for your letter of the 5th. Of course, I am disappointed that you and my colleagues do not favor the compromise arrangement I suggested. One stipend will not pay the superannuation annuities till retirement, nor will it give enough quiet time here for writing.

While this is in their hands, I must say that the reason for the attitude implied in the last paragraph of your letter is neither gracious nor accurate. Unlike my colleagues, I was drawn to the full into the long stress and strain of the war, yet in spite of that I have never ceased to write and to publish; and while I do not write easily, my work has given me an original standing in academic circles both here and in Europe.

(Apparently I am now to achieve, having failed to dissuade the would-be perpetrator, the immortality of a Ph.D. thesis on my political theories.)

I might have let the remark pass, knowing it not to have been unfriendly on your part, were it not that it confirms something which has been whispered about within and outside the Institute. Since coming over this Spring, I have heard from several sources that one of our colleagues has been saying precisely this, that I was not worth having because I was not doing any work. To enable you to judge suggestions for yourself, I am attaching a Note which puts briefly my whole position. You will see that because I had always continued to look upon myself as part of the Institute (and because I was unaware of salary changes here) I have at every point fallen backwards to try to be fair to my connection both in regard to financial arrangements and to my outside activities. And I think you will also see that such difficulties as we have met in our discussions were not altogether of my making. Beyond this I only want to say that as long as you are not misinformed, I am perfectly happy to leave the matter completely in your hands.

With all good wishes for yourself and your work,

Sincerely yours,

*David Mitrany*

David Mitrany

The Director  
Institute for Advanced Study

Handwritten notes and a small diagram at the top right of the page.

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

Faint, mostly illegible typed text, likely the main body of a letter or report.

(Enclosed for the Director's Office)  
The enclosed report is for the Director's Office and should be handled accordingly.

Very faint typed text, possibly a second paragraph or a list of items.

Very faint typed text, possibly a closing or signature block.

*RBW*

*Return to J. Ro.*

1948

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY  
SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS AND BUSINESS



THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY  
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

*Rev. M. F.  
Mitraný*

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

May 6, 1949

*copy*

Dear Professor Mitraný:

Since our last talk, I have discussed the problem of your future relation to the Institute with the Faculty of the School. I have felt it only right to explain to them candidly the reasons for reopening the matter.

It now appears that by a large majority, the Faculty of the School is unwilling to reconsider the question. I therefore would take two steps: (1) I would put in writing the proposal which I made to you when we spoke. Instead of the provision for \$1,200 a year for a brief visit for the next three years, we should be glad to offer you \$4,000 provided you would come for any one of the full semesters before the age of your retirement. (2) It seems to me only right to point out that if you choose to avail yourself of this invitation and come to the Institute in the next year or two, it is always possible that your work will establish for your colleagues the desirability of reopening the problem of the future. In that case, I personally shall be glad to reconsider.

With every warm good wish,

Robert Oppenheimer

Professor David Mitraný  
Institute for Advanced Study  
Princeton, N. J.

DAY LETTER

2 May 1949

→ David Mitrany  
care Adam Haskeil  
"Tibolholm"  
Beaufort, South Carolina

Could you spend Tuesday night tenth or Wednesday eleventh  
with us at Waterford? My office will give you  
directions for travel. Two and one half hours from  
New York. Hope very much for quiet time to talk with you  
there.

FRANK AYDELOTTE

Chg. R.T.

(NOTE FOR DR. OPPENHEIMER)

There were three reasons why I did not return to Princeton as soon as the war was over. One was personal - my wife was still not well enough to leave alone when things in England were so difficult - but of course that was something which I should have had to deal with in one way or another. A second reason was professional - many changes and experiments were taking place in the political and social fields, and there was much to learn from watching them at close quarters; without becoming part of any movement, I have been active in this both in England and on the Continent. The third reason was the position at the Institute; the financial side I will mention below, but the immediate question was that of working relations.

Quite a few of us had difficulties during the first regime, but I doubt if anyone was thwarted in his work as I was. I was the first appointment in the social science group, at a time when I was visiting at Harvard and had just been offered an attractive position at Yale; I came here on a clear understanding that I would help to organize the group and carry out a program for it enthusiastically approved by Dr. Flexner - but the whole thing was twisted before it got started. There were no working relations within our group; and, what was worse, as an indirect consequence of top policy, personal relations also were unhealthy. All this, one hoped, would be set right under Dr. Aydelotte. It was therefore a shock, when he asked me in 1946 whether I was ready to come back, to hear at the same time that he himself was leaving; all the more, as only a little earlier during a visit to London I was much distressed to hear Mr. Earle speak in pretty strong language of Riefler and say that "I can't stand the man and won't have anything to do with him!" I put all this frankly to Dr. Aydelotte, and we agreed that it would be better to wait and see who the new director would be and what would then happen to our particular group; he appreciated that after being through the war, apart from personal inclinations, one could hardly come to work in such an atmosphere - especially in the social field.

Perhaps I should add that I consulted Dr. Aydelotte also when I was offered the Unilever appointment at the end of 1943. I only consulted two other friends - Mr. Leonard Elmhirst, founder with his wife of the Dartington Trust, well known here and in England as a sponsor of many social experiments (like P. E. P. in London and here, and the National Planning Association); and Mr. Leonard Woolf (husband of Virginia Woolf), perhaps the ablest and most scholarly intellectual in the Labor Party on the international side. All three were enthusiastic about this chance to see the working of one of the biggest international concerns from the <sup>us</sup> side. It was understood from the first that I would have nothing to do with the business side of the concern and would remain quite free to carry on my own work and writing - and this has never in the slightest been interfered with; I have only been a consultant, as occasion arose,

on their international problems. On their side they wanted me to feel that I knew everything that was going on, and arranged from the first that I should be free to attend, as a matter of right, all the meetings of the Board of Directors. The experience has been invaluable, not least because instead of thinking at random about "big business" I have been brought into close contact with a group of people who, as regards intelligence and character and general sense of responsibility, could well be envied by any institution, public or private. (The President, Sir Geoffrey Heyworth, apart from other public charges, is Chairman of the Advisory Committee on Scientific Research, which deals with all public expenditure for scientific research, and that as a Labor Government appointment).

Throughout these years I have been active with various study groups and privately in watching or working on what was going on in my field, and have had a part in a number of groups and conferences. I have also worked with quite a number of advanced students who came to me or were referred to me by the Universities. I have never written or worked to put through a particular policy - but only to study problems and to further a detached approach toward their solution. To that end in the latter part of the war I organized a private study group of experts from Central and Eastern Europe to try and have its problems examined in a detached way - and the results, widely used at official conferences, were published by the famous English non-political organization P. E. P. as a volume on "Economic Reconstruction in South-Eastern Europe". Because of the important part which relations with America were to play after the war, I published a volume of four solid (solid in more than one sense, alas!) essays called "American Interpretations". Apart from a number of ordinary articles, I have published a number of academic essays - such as "The International Consequences of Economic Planning" (Yale Review, as a sequel to one some years ago on "The Political Consequences of Economic Planning"); "Human Rights and International Organization" (Dutch-Belgian Review of International Studies, and also a similar version in the review of the Indian Council for World Affairs); "Functional and Federal International Organisation" (Journal of the Royal Institute of International Affairs); "Mental Health and World Unity" (paper read at the International Congress on Mental Hygiene, London 1948, where I was the only political scientist invited to serve on the editorial committee and read a paper, now being printed); apart from papers for private discussion. In the meantime I have been working steadily on material for a volume on International Organization (theoretical, not descriptive); and in between also on additional material for an enlarged edition for which I am being asked, of an essay published years ago on "Marx v. the Peasant". The booklet on "A Working Peace System" has, for something of its kind, had a remarkable circulation. What people think of these essays is not for me to say, but I can say that none of them is merely critical or descriptive - but each tries to break new ground. And whatever one may think of it, my approach has started a school of thought, and my writings are quoted as such in books of readings published since the war (as in that of Prof. Ebenstein, of Princeton, or the recent work of Prof. Morgenthau, of Chicago).

Finally, as I said, there was also a financial reason. When I was visiting professor at Harvard in 1932-3 and was discussing with Dr. Flexner my coming here, he asked my view about salaries, in general. I replied urging him not to offer higher salaries than those paid by the main universities, not to appear to be "buying" people from elsewhere - and also, so that the Institute's attraction should be the chance for quiet work and not high salaries. When he offered me the appointment he said that we would all get equal salaries (mentioning Einstein and Weill as likely exceptions because they had lost all their possessions); and when he urged me to build a house (which I consequently arranged to do), he said that he had no funds to increase my salary but that for people like myself who had to start a new life here, there was no question of having to retire at 65. The first undertaking was broken as soon as it was made. With Dr. Aydelotte's retirement it was also a shock to hear that the second also had been ruled against by the Trustees. Because of my wife's long illness and the salary scale given me here, I have no property or reserve of any kind whatever; and especially because when I went to Unilever I refused to take more than what I was getting here (Dr. Aydelotte had a copy of the formal letter acknowledging this); and I also insisted on paying my own expenses though invited to charge them to the concern. So that all these years, though connected with a big business concern, in fact I have been getting less than my colleagues here (since 1943 I have also paid both parts of the superannuation). One reason was obviously that I took it for granted that I would be coming back here. It was only when the nature of relations and of means of living here appeared so bad, because of old attitudes and new rulings, that I naturally hesitated.

*D.M.*

May 10, 1949



THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY  
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

10-V-49

Dear Agathe,

It is awful to have to leave without seeing you - if I had known earlier that you would be away, I would have changed my own arrangements. As it happens, I shall actually have a day less to spend here, as I have just heard that we are embarking abroad on Thursday evening.

I am all the more sorry as I should have liked to have told you privately of my discussions with the Director. Before going for my little holiday, I suggested to him my coming for one term each year till 65, at the present stipend of \$4000; I frankly told him that I needed that to keep up the supernumeraire payments, which amount to some \$2300 yearly. He said he would consult the faculty, and returning here the weekend ~~that~~ he informed that by a majority of 4 to 2 they had committed vote against my being promised more than one visit at that rate of payment. He added that this might be reconsidered if my work seemed to justify, or would be that effect.

That of course put my back up, especially as I had

know that Earle had been saying both here <sup>and</sup> outside that  
I was not wanted because I was not doing anything.  
So I had another long frank talk with the director  
yesterday, in which for the first time I spoke out - and  
the talk was quite friendly & the director much more  
outspoken in his view of Earle than I myself. I said  
that in the circumstances I would have to write him a  
letter putting my views, though leaving it to him to  
make use of it or not if the issue should arise again.

It is really incredible that my 'colleagues' should  
be so much as to obstruct an arrangement of so unobjectionable  
a nature; & fantastic that they should seek to justify  
their attitude with such an argument, when I am  
the only one of the five who has done any work at  
all - and not without some success in academic  
and general opinion. You may remember that when  
in 1946 I asked you whether I was ready to come  
back, I gave you as one ground for my hesitation,  
apart from the fact that you yourself were leaving & that  
I knew not what would happen to the social sciences  
here, that Earle on a visit to London had used such  
abusive language about Bispham, that I could not  
face such a cantankerous atmosphere. The man  
is really pathological & someone should check him,

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY  
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

He is doing harm to the Institute. And I  
can't understand how decent men like Stewart  
Horsley, who must know of his antics, do  
not tell him to behave like an adult. It  
is partly because I know this would lead to  
trouble that, on such a point, as for the  
sake of the mine, I refrained from suggesting  
my coming back on a permanent basis;  
and the disappearance of the fossil because my  
is a ~~condition~~, though I will understand ~~that~~  
sympathize with the reasons which led the  
Directors to take such a step.

Anyhow, this is the situation, very  
unsatisfactory for me, and I think very unfair to me.  
I have at present the Directors to change his  
mind, as this would have meant his leaving  
the faculty.



Are you likely to be coming over to England  
this fall. In any case, I wish you and  
Mrs. Aptelotte a very happy summer,  
and I thank you again for all your  
encouragement & criticism, & look  
forward to your present & prospective.

With all good wishes

Sincerely yours

Christiana

---

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

Princeton, New Jersey

May 10, 1949.

Dear Aydelotte:

It is awful to have to leave without seeing you. If I had known earlier that you would be away, I would have changed my own arrangements. As it happens, I shall actually have a day less to spend here, as I have just heard that we are embarking aboard on Thursday evening.

I am all the more sorry, as I should have liked to have told you privately of my discussions with the Director. Before going for my little holiday, I suggested to him my coming for one term each year till 65, at the present stipend of \$4,000. I frankly told him that I needed that to keep up the payments, which amount to some \$2300 yearly. He said he would consult the faculty, and on returning here this weekend he informed me that by a majority of 4 to 2 those he consulted were against my being promised more than one visit at that rate of payment. He added that this might be reconsidered if my work seemed to justify, or words to that effect.

That of course put my back up, especially as I had heard that Earle has been saying both here and abroad that I was not wanted because I was not doing anything. So I had another very frank talk with the Director yesterday, in which for the first time I spoke out, and the talk was quite friendly, and the Director much more outspoken in his views of Earle than I myself, and I said that in the circumstances I would have to write him a letter, putting my views; therefore leaving it to him to make use of it or not if the issue should arise again.

It is really incredible that my colleagues should be so mean as to obstruct an arrangements of so a nature; and fantastic that they should seek to justify their attitude with such an argument, when I am the only one of the five who has done any work at all, and not without some success in academic and general quarters. You may remember that when in 1946 you asked me whether I was ready to come back, I gave you as one ground for my hesitation, apart from the fact you yourself were leaving, and that I knew not what would happen to the social sciences here, that Earle on a visit to London had used such abusive language about Rieffler that I could not face such a cantankerous atmosphere. The man is really pathological and someone should check him, for he is doing harm to the Institute. And I can't understand how decent men like Stewart and Warren, who must know of his antics, do not tell him to behave like an adult. It is partly because I know this would lead to trouble that, as much for Dr. Oppenheimer's sake as for mine, I refrained from suggesting my coming back on a permanent basis; and the disappearance of the social science program is another reason, though I well understand and sympathize with the reasons which led the Director to take such a step.

Anyhow, this is the situation, very unsatisfactory for me, and I think very unfair to me. I have not pressed the Director to change his mind, as this would have meant his writing the faculty.

Are you likely to be coming over to England this fall? In any case, I wish you and Mrs. Aydelotte a very happy summer, and I think you again for all your encouragement and good will, and both of you for your friendly receptions.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

D. Mitrany

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS AND POLITICS

PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

May 3, 1949

Memorandum to Dr. Oppenheimer

From: R. B. Warren

Subject: Dr. Mitrany

1. In principle, I should be unwilling to refuse the petition of a colleague for reconsideration of our arrangements with him.

2. In actuality (as I see it), Dr. Mitrany's financial difficulties arise from the fact that he is gainfully employed only half-time. Any person on half-time will be in financial difficulty.

3. It does not seem to me that as yet we have full knowledge of the facts, since no explanation has been offered as to why, with half his time at his disposal, Dr. Mitrany feels his sole recourse is to the Institute.

4. Our existing proposals never contemplated anything resembling a half-time appointment. They covered two forms of part-time membership and one form of full-time membership. It might be feasible to consider converting the full-time membership into a permanent (i.e., 3-year) half-membership. But I do not know if Dr. Mitrany seeks such a relation.

5. If the solution were a half-membership for 3 years, I should wish it to prescribe the conditions common to extended membership.

W-

Cherniss is in favor of reaffirming the decision as made.

Meritt sees no reason to change the decision as already made; will stand by  
it as it is.

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY  
SCHOOL OF HUMANISTIC STUDIES  
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

April 29, 1949

Dear Dr. Oppenheimer:

In contrast to the one or two members of the School thus far consulted, I should be in favor of rediscussing the Mitrany situation provided that such a discussion has a chance of helping him in his obvious difficulties. I cannot help feeling that the fact that he became involved in these difficulties is not entirely his fault, and that---though I cannot presume to pronounce a professional judgment---he deserves perhaps to be looked upon in a somewhat kindlier spirit. I wonder whether it might be possible or advisable to solicit outside opinions.

Very sincerely yours

*Pan*

Erwin Panofsky

EP:W



April 29, 1949.

Dear Mitrany:

I hear that you return to Princeton on Saturday, May 7, and that you sail on the 13th. I am very eager indeed to have a talk with you before you sail. Would it by any chance be convenient for you to dine with us informally Tuesday evening, May 10, or Wednesday evening, May 11, at 6.30? It would be a great pleasure to see you. We should not plan to invite anybody else, and of course not plan to dress. I should be grateful, however, if you will let me know whether you will be free.

Yours sincerely,

Professor David Mitrany  
c/o Adam Haskell  
"Tibaltholm"  
Beaufort, South Carolina

95

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY  
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

how

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

April 27, 1949

Memorandum to  
The Faculty of the School of Letters  
From the Director

You will remember that the School recommended, and the Faculty concurred with, the following arrangements for Professor Mitrany: that, instead of offering him \$1200. for a few weeks' visit each year, \$4000. be made available to him for any semester during the next three years.

When I discussed this proposal with Professor Mitrany he explained to me his financial situation. He is being paid one-half time by Lever Brothers which gives him a net income after taxes of some \$5000. He is attempting to carry his TIAA payments until his sixty-fifth birthday, some three and one half years from now; this amounts to \$2200. a year and will provide him, after the age of sixty-five, with a pension of \$3600. A principal reason for Mitrany's interest in renewing this year's arrangements at the Institute is that it gives him funds from which to pay for his retirement policy. In addition to this, he says that he enjoys very much his visits with us.

Since these facts were not before us when we made our decision, it seemed to me appropriate to offer to re-discuss it. I have had a chance to talk with only one or two members of the School who were in favor of reaffirming the decision as made. I would like to know whether this has your approval or whether you would like to discuss the matter again. I would like to give Professor Mitrany an answer as soon as we conveniently can.

WVO

I do not believe the matter should  
or need be re-opened for discussion. I favor  
standing on the proposal as made

WWS.



Mitrany

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY  
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

how

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

April 27, 1949

Memorandum to  
The Faculty of the School of Letters  
From the Director

You will remember that the School recommended, and the Faculty concurred with, the following arrangements for Professor Mitrany: that, instead of offering him \$1200. for a few weeks' visit each year, \$4000. be made available to him for any semester during the next three years.

When I discussed this proposal with Professor Mitrany he explained to me his financial situation. He is being paid one-half time by Lever Brothers which gives him a net income after taxes of some \$5000. He is attempting to carry his TIAA payments until his sixty-fifth birthday, some three and one half years from now; this amounts to \$2200. a year and will provide him, after the age of sixty-five, with a pension of \$3600. A principal reason for Mitrany's interest in renewing this year's arrangements at the Institute is that it gives him funds from which to pay for his retirement policy. In addition to this, he says that he enjoys very much his visits with us.

Since these facts were not before us when we made our decision, it seemed to me appropriate to offer to re-discuss it. I have had a chance to talk with only one or two members of the School, who were in favor of reaffirming the decision as made. I would like to know whether this has your approval or whether you would like to discuss the matter again. I would like to give Professor Mitrany an answer as soon as we conveniently can.

WRO

May 3, 1949

Memorandum to Dr. Oppenheimer

From: R. B. Warren

Subject: Dr. Mitrany

1. In principle, I should be unwilling to refuse the petition of a colleague for reconsideration of our arrangements with him.

2. In actuality (as I see it), Dr. Mitrany's financial difficulties arise from the fact that he is gainfully employed only half-time. Any person on half-time will be in financial difficulty.

3. It does not seem to me that as yet we have full knowledge of the facts, since no explanation has been offered as to why, with half his time at his disposal, Dr. Mitrany feels his sole recourse is to the Institute.

4. Our existing proposals never contemplated anything resembling a half-time appointment. They covered two forms of part-time membership and one form of full-time membership. It might be feasible to consider converting the full-time membership into a permanent (i.e., 3-year) half-membership. But I do not know if Dr. Mitrany seeks such a relation.

5. If the solution were a half-membership for 3 years, I should wish it to prescribe the conditions common to extended membership.

4/22/49

Dr. A.

I showed the attached to Mitrany. He was very interested.

Mitrany has been laid up, due to a dose of penicillin; so is not able to take his vacation in Arizona as planned. However, he is going down to an island between Savannah and Charleston, and will be back here on May 6th, sailing for England on May 13th. And he very much hopes to see you before he goes.

M.R.

95

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY  
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

RBW

Dear Stewart,

I meant to ask you about this, but missed  
you today; and I do not expect to be back  
till May 6 or 7. Is there any chance that  
the S.S.R.C. might be interested in something  
like this? The lady would have to make a  
formal specific application. (I do not know her  
personally, but she sounds good), but even she is  
so far away, I thought it might be helpful  
if one could make some preliminary inquiries.  
What do you think?

With my thanks,  
Sincerely yours,  
Rosenzweig

pr. iv. 49.

*Mitrany* ~~appt for Wed~~  
~~between 4/15~~  
 P. 111 THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY  
 PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

14. W. 49.

[Faculty acted on  
 Affairment ment  
 4/19/49]

Dear Director,

I have not had a chance to  
 discuss with you arrangements for  
 next year. Would it be simplest  
 to continue the present arrangements?  
 I have asked your secretary to be so  
 kind to arrange an appointment for  
 Wednesday next and I hope this will  
 be convenient for you.

Sincerely yours

*D. Mitrany*  
 \_\_\_\_\_

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY  
SCHOOL OF HUMANISTIC STUDIES  
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

April 13, 1949.

Dear Professor Mitrany,

May I ask for your kind help in behalf of my friend Miss Marie S. Wijckerheld Bisdom ? She has her degrees in law from Leyden University and has become a specialist in the field of social welfare. After many years of fruitful work as well in Holland as in Indonesia, she was appointed in 1946 by our Government to act as principal adviser for social affairs in the State of East Indonesia. This State is an extensive archipelago with a population of about ten million inhabitants. She has already done some splendid work there, arousing the women out of their usual state of passivity and bringing them to more social activities. She is constantly planning for more and better ways to increase the social welfare and social-mindedness of the very heterogeneous population.

As her leave of absence will be due in the near future she is considering now in which ways she might be able to spend her time, and it seems to her that the most profitable way of all might be a visit to the United States where so many possibilities exist for study and research in her special field (bringing social know-how into so-called backward regions).

You would oblige me greatly if you would be so kind to give me some advise in this matter, as I don't know where she ought to apply for informations. I was very sorry not to have had an opportunity to meet Professor Emerson when I was in Harvard last week, so that I could have talked this over with him. But perhaps you would kindly present this case to him ?

Thanking you in advance, I remain,

very sincerely yours,

Her address is:  
Generaal van Daalenweg 10,  
Macassar,  
East-Indonesia.

Ineke Hondius.



95  
March 30, 1949.

Dear Friend:

Professor David Mitrany, a permanent member of the Institute for Advanced Study, published an article in THE HIBBERT JOURNAL in London in January 1948, entitled "Should Christianity Count in International Relations?" I gave him your address, and asked him to send you a copy of the article, but on the off chance that he was too modest to do so, I enclose a copy herewith. I am sending it also to William Hubben of the Friends' Intelligencer.

Mitrany is a Jew, and I think his opinions are all the more significant on that account.

Yours sincerely,

Howard H. Brinton, Esq.  
Pendle Hill  
Wallingford, Penna.

cc: William Hubben

COPY

New College,  
Oxford.

10th March, 1949.

Dear Mr. Mitrany,

I find it hard to believe that another term has gone by already, but here I am planning to get the bulk of my B.M. research out of the way by spending all six weeks of the vacation in London.

First of all, let me tell you that "our" thesis subject has been approved, and I am now an Advanced Student officially. I have begun working in Hansard and the Times and have written about six thousand words.

I would very much appreciate the chance to discuss it all with you in person.....

(Signed) REUBEN GROSS.

- Mitrany  
Harrington

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY  
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

8-11-49

Dear Mrs Leary, Mrs Skinner told me last night that her mother wants to come here at the end of the month - in fact, she wanted to come back on the 25th, but Mrs. Skinner told her she could not do that. Mrs. Skinner also told me that her sister-in-law, who lives out in the country, would be willing to take me in, but there is no sense in that. In fact, I should like to be nearer the Institute, so if there should be a chance on the Kennell estate, as if you should happen to hear of anything in the neighborhood (Harlet, or, Newlin -). I

3/23/49 - Taking room at Nassau Club  
2nd two weeks in April - EMZ

would be grateful for your help.

With many thanks

Sincerely yours

D. Mitrany

P.S. May I have the psychological paper  
back, please? I am considering having  
some opinions made as it seems to be  
in demand. Was you able to look at it?

I've had a change into four "found"  
cbs., asking me to visit them.

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY  
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

P. M. F.  
Mitrany

Dear Director,

If sometime you could spare me time  
for a talk, I should be glad of your help  
in the international control of atomic  
energy. My whole approach rests in the  
idea that in each case the political  
machinery must be suited to the nature of  
the problem.

Sincerely yours

P. M. F.  
Mitrany

3-11-49

March 1, 1949.

Dear Mitrany:

I think this article of yours on Christianity in international relations is a noteworthy production, and I intend to get hold of the Hibbert Journal for January 1948, in which I understand it was printed. I think you ought to have secured some reprints, and if it is not too late, I suggest that you do so still. I know there are a great many people to whom I should like to send it. My secretary and I agree that this represents quite accurately the position of the Hicksite Quakers.

Yours sincerely,

Professor David Mitrany  
Institute for Advanced Study  
Princeton, New Jersey



7 - M - Mitrany

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY  
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 23, 1949

Dr. David Mitrany

will speak on

HUMAN RIGHTS AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION

at 8 p.m.

in the Common Room of the Institute

Dear Mr. White,

I should much like you to  
try to let me look at the paper - I  
have worried greatly about interfering  
into the field of religion: at any rate -  
sometimes I'd like you see also the  
psychological paper - at any rate,  
its very brief.

My thanks & kind regards to you.

Yours truly,  
David Mitrany

28. II. 49

N.J.

Cunard/White Star  
R.M.S. "Queen Mary"

24.1.49.

Dear Mrs. Leary.

I didn't know I had such explosive influence even at long distance - but I am indeed sorry for all your troubles.

Do you think it would be worth while asking Mrs. Martin Beck, of Prospect Avenue? She is a good friend & knows lots of people; and as she is (or was not long ago) a partner in the firm of interior decorators (next to the 'Black Lantern' west of Leo), she knows professionally too a good many Princeton interiors with the chance, perhaps, of hospitality.

Took garage apt. - 104 Library Place -  
Mrs. Skinner - 802

I can't remember her exact address, in  
any case it's better that I should not do  
myself anything which might cross  
your own efforts - which I appreciate  
greatly. I will send you a note  
from Cambridge to tell you when  
I am arriving on Saturday.

Good night with my thanks -

Very respectfully,  
David Mitrany

David Mitrany

*M. F.  
Mitrany*

February 22, 1949

To: Miss Trinterud  
From: Mrs. Leary  
Subject: Dr. Mitrany's grant for 1948-1949

The \$2800. balance of Dr. Mitrany's 1948-1949 grant, not covered by the special appropriation for him in the current budget, should be charged to the Contingent Fund.

*Comm. M.A.  
Mitrany*

February 7, 1949

The Nassau Club  
Princeton, New Jersey

Gentlemen:

One of our members, Professor David Mitrany, would like to have a temporary membership in the Nassau Club for the months of February, March and April of this year. It would be greatly appreciated if Professor Mitrany could be given a membership for these months.

Yours sincerely,

Mrs. John D. Leary,  
Aide-to-the-Director



714-121-1000

**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.

# WESTERN UNION

JOSEPH L. EGAN  
PRESIDENT

1201

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

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

PA136

1949 JAN 20 PM 5 03

P. CDW068 INTL=CD KINGSTONBLOUNT VIA MACKAY 35 20=  
 NLT MRS JOHN LEARY INSTITUTE=  
 ADVANCED STUDY PRINCETON NJER=

YOUR LETTER ARRIVED AFTER DOCTOR MITRANY DEPARTURE ON QUEEN  
 MARY HE ALSO NOT WELL RECENTLY PLEASE DO ALL YOU CAN ABOUT  
 APARTMENTS THANKING YOU=  
 ENA MITRANAY:

TELEPHONE No. 2580  
 TELEPHONED TO Mrs. Russell  
 TIME 9:10 A  
 BY # TO BE Martin  
 ATTEMPTS TO BE MADE {  
 TO {  
 SERVED {

January 15, 1949

Dear Dr. Mitrany:

I am sorry to have to write at this late date that it has been necessary to give the apartment held for you to someone else. One of our visiting professors has been quite ill; it has been impossible to find any other apartment on one floor within easy distance of the Institute.

But I think we have a good chance of getting another one for you about which I believe you know - a garage apartment at 25 Haslet Avenue which Miss Virginia Grace has had for some time. She is leaving January 25th; Professor Duckworth, who owns the apartment, has not yet rented it. He is reluctant to let it go for only a few months, but I feel sure that you can make an arrangement with him. It would be wise to telephone or write to him immediately upon your arrival in New York. We have tried to get the apartment for you, but he apparently does not wish to do it indirectly.

*Handwritten note:*  
The apt. found.

The apartment is small - a living-bedroom, bath, hall, good closet space; but it is comfortable and convenient. Light cooking is allowed; there is only a hot-plate arrangement. Car space is available if you wish it.

In the meantime we are holding a room at the Inn just in case this does not work out. I regret very much upsetting your plans but I think the Duckworth apartment is quite as good as the other. I am sending a copy of this letter to the Cunard Line in New York and to the address you gave me in Cambridge. I think it would be well worth while to telephone Professor Duckworth (Princeton 1371-W); or, if you prefer, telephone me and I shall tell you more about it.

Yours sincerely,

(Mrs. John D. Leary)  
Aide to the Director

Dr. David Mitrany  
Kingston Blount  
Oxford, England

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY  
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

November 24, 1948

Dear Dr. Mitrany:

Since your last letter I have made a number of inquiries concerning the possibility of your offering the lectures you suggested at the University. Apparently this is a difficult matter to arrange so far as a series of lectures for credit is concerned.

The faculty of the School of Economics and Politics at the Institute has expressed great interest in having you give a lecture on the subject you describe as the "sociological basis of the division between Communism and Peasantism in eastern Europe". One possibility would be to give a lecture on this subject at the Social Science lounge in the new library building at the University, making it a joint meeting between members of the Institute and the faculty and graduate students of the University. While this suggestion may not meet what you had in mind, I am sure it would prove of great interest to the group here.

We have rented your apartment temporarily so there is no need to worry about the financial loss. From the middle of January we are holding a small, one-bedroom apartment on Maxwell Lane for you. Should you decide not to use it we would wish to know as soon as possible; otherwise it will be ready for you.

Yours sincerely,

(Mrs. John D. Leary)  
Aide to the Director

Professor David Mitrany  
The Lower Farm  
Kingston Blount  
Oxford, England

✓ Copy: Professor Stewart  
Professor Earle

~~The Committee~~  
E. C. Harrison  
File Mitrany

From Prof. Mitrany's letter 10/18/48:

- ✓ 1. Some twenty years ago I published an essay "Marx v. The Peasant (in London Essays in Economics in Honour of Edwin Cannan, ed. Dalton and Gregory) in which I analyzed the sociological basis of the division between Communism and Peasantism in eastern Europe. To my knowledge it is the only attempt to work out systematically the roots of that division, and I am preparing to re-issue that essay (the volume is out of print) with a new section bringing some of the traits up-to-date. I could give one general lecture on that, with possibly some additional discussion in a seminar.
2. I am working on a volume in International Organisation in which I am trying to break away from the more usual political or legalistic approach. Neither aspect can be neglected, but I am trying to examine them and the general problems of international development rather from a sociological standpoint - not so much the forms as the ends and purpose of a wider political evolution, and in that light to see what Sovereignty, Nationality, etc., mean, and what we can do about such things as Human Rights, etc. I could give a short course on this, not less than four and preferably six lectures, for advanced students working in this field, once a week.  
They might be arranged something like this:
  1. Introductory
  2. Nationality and Nationalism
  3. Sovereignty
  4. Principles and Problems of international organisation
  5. Human Rights.

One could add quite a few other things, like Security, Voting, etc., etc., but I am anxious to discuss a general approach and certain basic issues rather than technicalities.

NOTE: (1) was suggested as best possibility in writing Dr. Mitrany;  
to be made a joint meeting of Institute and graduate students.

**BY AIR MAIL**

**AIR LETTER**

IF ANYTHING IS ENCLOSED  
THIS LETTER WILL BE SENT  
BY ORDINARY MAIL.



Mrs. John D. Leary

Institute for Advanced Study

Princeton / N. J.

U. S. A.

← Second fold here →

To open cut here →

Sender's name and address:-

D. M. Mitrany  
Kingston Blount  
Oxford England

← To open cut here



Kingston Blount  
Oxford.  
9.3.48

Dear Mrs. Leary. I have just received notice that the 'Miss Mary' seems to be progressing satisfactorily and will carry on with her arranged schedule, though with a change in dates. It is now expected that she will sail on her next voyage from Southampton on Jan. 19 or 20, docking in N.Y. on the 24th or 25th. We can only say 'Amen'!

In the circumstances I shall have to straighten to Cambridge for about four days, as I had arranged some consultations with my Harvard friend; will hope to come to Princeton about the 30th, to talk personally at the apartment, for which I am most

grateful, and to settle down to work. I will of course communicate with you from Cambridge to let you know the exact time of my arrival so that I may collect the keys.

I am sure you've had trouble with my suggestion about lectures - all the more so as I only wanted to be helpful on behalf of the Institute. To you I may confess that, as I am not a good lecturer, I rather dislike talking to large audiences, and much prefer seminars or discussion groups like that you suggest. Anything that my colleagues will want me to do I will do gladly, if I feel that I can do it at all. In any case, I am most anxious to be at work, and I must thank you again for your great forbearance and help. With my good wishes

In case you should have occasion to get in touch with me, my address in Cambridge will be c/o. Professor E. Huntington  
48 Highland St.

Sincerely yours  
David Mitrany

Cambridge 38 / Tel. Riverview 7-3812.



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.

# WESTERN UNION

JOSEPH L. EGAN  
PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter

NL = Night Letter

LC = Deferred Cable

NLT = Cable Night Letter

1948 OCT 16 AM 8 28 Sp. Radiogram

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

.PAO 34

P. CDU510 INTL FR=CD KINGSTONBLOUNT VIA MACKAY 42 16 1108=

DOCTOR ~~FRANK~~ OPLENHEIMER=

INSTITUTE ADVANCED STUDY PRINCETON (NJER)=

LITTLE HOPE GETTING CLEAR PICTURE AND RELEASE BEFORE END  
OCTOBER THEREFORE LIKE YOU WOULD THINK BETTER SPRING TERM  
STOP REGRET ABOVE ALL INCONVENIENCE CAUSED YOU COLLEAGUES  
AND STAFF AND DEEPLY APPRECIATE YOUR UNDERSTANDING=

DAVID MITRANY=

TELEPHONE NO. 3580  
TELEPHONED TO Secy  
100 2A  
DE W.C. J.H.  
10 56  
SITE 18: W.C. J.H.

OPLENHEIMER=

DOMESTIC SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent as a full rate telegram	
FULL RATE TELEGRAM	SERIAL
DAY LETTER	NIGHT LETTER

# WESTERN UNION

1206

INTERNATIONAL SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent at the full rate	
FULL RATE	DEFERRED
CODE	NIGHT LETTER

JOSEPH L. EGAN, PRESIDENT

NO. WDS.-CL. OF SVC.	PD. OR COLL.	CASH NO.	CHARGE TO THE ACCOUNT OF	TIME FILED

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

*RRB*

Kingston Blount  
October 16, 1948

Little hope getting clear picture and release before end October. Therefore like you would think better Spring term. Regret above all inconvenience caused your colleagues and staff. Deeply appreciate your understanding.

David Mitrany

Copy to: Professor Stewart  
Professor Earle

**A NEW  
CURTIS  
SERVICE**

Telegraph your order for America's favorite magazines—HOLIDAY, 1 yr., \$5 • the Post, 1 yr., \$5 • LADIES' HOME JOURNAL, 1 yr., \$3. All prices U. S. only. No charge for wire. Pay Western Union clerk for subscription or when billed by publisher.

Publisher will, on subscriber's request, refund full amount paid for copies not previously mailed. Prices subject to change without notice.

**BY AIR MAIL**

**AIR LETTER**

IF ANYTHING IS ENCLOSED  
THIS LETTER WILL BE SENT  
BY ORDINARY MAIL.



Personal

Dr. Frank Oppenheimer

Institute for Advanced Study

Princeton, N.J.

U. S. A.

← Second fold here →

Sender's name and address:-

Mikroy  
Kempston Belmont  
Oxford - England

↑ First fold here ↓

To open cut here →

← To open cut here

Kingston Blount  
Oxford.

14-X-48.

Dear Dr. Oppenheimer,

After speaking to you last Thursday night I made another effort to find out where I stood, as I had an air reservation for tomorrow. I was then asked to stay for a small conference at the Hague at the turn of the month, to meet some of the Continental group with whom I did political intelligence during the war. It is only honest to admit that I am under no formal obligation to do so, but it was difficult to refuse; and after my talk with you I felt that I might accept and pin all my hopes on a full term

in January. Our people here are even more convinced than before that there is no immediate risk of war, only of intensified social disruption, but I fear that if interference with the air lift were to lead to some violent incident it might be difficult to prevent the thing from spreading. On Friday I had a talk with Mr. Elliott, the last English businessman to be expelled from Hungary. He was arrested about ten days ago on the usual charge of 'sabotage'; but he says that there was no intention of 'inactivity' in his long interrogation. He was not ill treated, but questioned over a period of 100 hours with short periods of rest, in the presence of advisors, and all the effort was to find out whether he had done any military spying - after which they let him go. This kind of thing has been going on systematically throughout Eastern Europe for the past three months, and the only possible inference is that the satellite countries are being prepared, re-organized for winter

military action - though this may mean fear of  
military action by us.

May I thank you again for being  
impatient and helpful in spite of my  
mistakes, and repeat how immensely I look  
forward to doing some work at the Institute  
and to meeting you.

Sincerely yours  
Christiana

↑  
First fold here  
↓

1. Some twenty years ago I published an essay 'Marx v. the Peasant (in 'London Essays in Economics in Honour of Edwin Cannan', ed. Dalton and Gregory) in which I analyzed the sociological basis of the division between Communism and Peasantism in eastern Europe. To my knowledge it is the only attempt to work ~~xxxxx~~ out systematically the roots of that division, and I am preparing to re-issue that essay (the volume is out of print) with a new section bringing some of the traits up-to-date. I could give one general lecture on that, with possibly some additional discussion in a seminar.

2. I am working on a volume on International Organisation in which I am trying to break away from the more usual political or legalistic approach. Neither aspect can be neglected, but I am trying to examine them and the general problems of international development rather from a sociological standpoint - not so much the forms as the ends and purpose of a wider political evolution, and in that light to see what Sovereignty, Nationality, etc, mean, and what we can do about such things as Human Rights etc. I would give a short course on this, not less than four and preferably six lectures, for advanced students working in this field, once a week.

They might be arranged something like this:

1. Introductory
2. Nationality and Nationalism
3. Sovereignty
4. & 5. Principles and Problems of international organisation.
6. Human Rights.

One could add quite a few other things, like Security, Voting, etc. etc., but I am anxious to discuss a general approach and certain basic issues rather than technicalities.

*J.M.*



**BY AIR MAIL**



**AIR LETTER**

IF ANYTHING IS ENCLOSED  
THIS LETTER WILL BE SENT  
BY ORDINARY MAIL.



6 *Personal*

*Dr. F. Oppenheimer*

*Institute for Advanced Study  
Princeton / N.J.*

*U. S. A.*

*2A.*

← Second fold here →

Sender's name and address :-

*D. Mitrany  
Kingston Blount  
Oxford - England*

Approved by the Postmaster General, No. 71995/2A.

← To open cut here

↖ open cut here ↗

TELEPHONE - CENTRAL 7474

as from Kingston Blount  
CX post.

UNILEVER HOUSE,  
BLACKFRIARS,  
LONDON, E.C.4.

12. x. 48.

Stewart

Personal

Dear Dr. Oppenheimer, I have been hoping that something definite might come out of the Paris talks and I have kept up almost a continuous reservation for passage, so as to start if possible at a day's notice. All the intelligence reports agree so far that there is no evidence of military preparation in the Eastern Zone; the only signs have been political preparation - the 'purges' in the several countries and the arrest or expulsion of the few remaining Western executives in Hungary and Roumania, the only two allied, had not undermined all foreign concerns. The alternative view is that the Soviets don't want war, but must still keep up economic and social disruption; and after breaking away from a paralyzing partnership we have opened a new channel of communication through the Berlin dispute. Opinion here expects something like civil war in France at any attempt to take action against Russia; there's nothing quite like this here, but certainly the possibility of serious industrial trouble among miners, dockers - in the heavy industries, unless the attack will come spread from the Russian side. Last night I had an evening with several of our experts, including a leading name in aviation, and the discussion could not break away from the issue of war; the only questions were 'now or later', and how long it would last. The answer was sure of an end in six months with the use of the stock of atomic bombs. At the same time all military experts admit that nothing could stop the Russians reaching the Channel in a matter of days, <sup>and that means probably a French exit for me. I don't.</sup> We have been trying to estimate on what we could count beyond the Gibraltar, but the 'purges' there have been pretty thorough. I went last night in the hope of getting help to make up my own mind, and one way or another I must do so within the next week or so, for I am only too conscious of the consequences I have meant you and your staff, and I am the most anxious to cause if I can get some sign from my friend's line. Sincerely yours  
 Stewart

331 Fulham Road  
Longwood S.W. 10.

12. 12. 48.

Dear Professor Mitrany,

Thankya for your letter. I wrote  
at once because I did not want you  
to be relying on me, supposing it  
Mitrany had wanted me to come.

I don't want to be disloyal  
to my parents, but feel that I owe you  
some explanation. Though my parents  
have been urging me to find some  
part time employment, when I told  
them that, possibly, I had done so,  
my mother was very upset, and said  
she had so hoped I was to be at

home with her all the time. As she  
is not strong, and my brother was  
killed, I felt that at any rate for a  
few months, I must do as she  
wished,

Yours truly

Prudence R. Hill.

P.S. This, of course, needs no answer.

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

October 29, 1948

Professor Earle:

Would you please give me your opinion on Dr. Mitrany's suggestion about lecturing at Princeton.

Professor Stewart thinks the first item might be arranged, preferably as a joint Institute - University project. He thinks the second not so easily arranged.

*Glenn Levy*  
EWL

*a thin.*

In general I agree with Mr. Stewart. We could arrange informal Institute - University discussion on Marx vs. the Present. I think it would be virtually impossible to arrange suggested lectures at the University.

THE LOWER FARM,  
KINGSTON BLOUNT,  
OXFORD.

18.IX.1948

Dear Mrs Leary,

Your kind letter of Oct. 8 came on Saturday and I must say we were glad to have it. We have been both so distressed at all the trouble we have caused you, and to others (especially the people making my travelling arrangements, who have kept enough reservations to last me all my life); and I am ~~am~~ all the <sup>more</sup> grateful for your friendly spirit. There just isn't anything more I can say - the private problem, as I feared, got quickly complicated with public duties, and after speaking to the Director and making one final effort it was clear to me that from the point of view of work there was little sense in coming so late. I have already asked for passage on the 'Queen Mary' Jan. 1. as she seems about the only boat available about that time.

If our University friends are interested I would be glad to give a few lectures, on the lines of the enclosed suggestions. I venture to trouble you with this, first, because I do not know whether Professor Whitton or someone else is in charge, and also because I would naturally want the Director to know of this before you pass on the suggestion. Do you mind?

Again with my apologies and gratitude for all your kindness,

Sincerely yours

Mrs John Leary

*S. Mitrany* (pt)



PS. I never thought you could manage to  
keep the apartment after my first cable - more  
coals of fire on my heart! , ~~There were~~ as  
the people in doubt needed it. You must  
at least please let me make good the  
financial loss. D.M.

THE LOWER FARM,  
KINGSTON BLOUNT,  
OXFORD.

20.1x.48

~~EW~~  
RO

Personal

Dear Dr. Oppenheimer,

My plans have once more come to grief, with much inconvenience to you all. As I write to Mrs.

Leary, certain personal arrangements for my wife's benefit went wrong on the day before the date of sailing.

What I could not tell her, was that at the same time

I had a request from London to hold myself available if possible. It happens that, for my sins, I still am

'the' authority (as journalists say) on the peasant movement

in Eastern Europe, having already as a student taken a

sociological interest in it and written about its theoretical

conflict with Marxism. This was one of my assignments

during the last war and so I know all the  
 present leaders. Since the Tito affair this  
 has become a major card for the West, and while  
 the last thing I want is to be dragged into political  
 work again, I was frankly in a difficulty when I  
 was warned that things were not coming to anything  
 in Moscow and they might want some work from me.

Everyone is gloomy here, but in 2-3 weeks  
 we should know where we stand, and with your  
 consent I shall still like to come and see  
 you and my colleagues, and plan some work.  
 Please forgive me for all the trouble I  
 have caused you and your staff, who have  
 been so generous in helping me with  
 arrangements. Here we are so tight in our

regarded in personnel, etc. that there were preliminary efforts

is preparation for defence we already disorganising (people's

Org. But where all they should only in despair at Moscow!

to face a possible struggle again. With all good wishes  
 Sincerely yours  
 D. Mitrany

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.

# WESTERN UNION

JOSEPH L. EGAN  
PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS

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

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

PA228

1948 Sep 16 11:10 25

P. CDU463 INTL=CD LONDON VIA COMMERCIAL 29 16=

NLT MRS JOHN LEARY=

INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY PRINCETON (NJER)=

HAVE HAD TO PUT OFF TRIP FOR SERIOUS PERSONAL REASONS FORGIVE ME TERRIBLE INCONVENIENCE MUST BE CAUSING YOU WRITING=

MITRANY=

TELEPHONE No. \_\_\_\_\_  
 TELEPHONE TO \_\_\_\_\_  
 130A  
 H

Copy: Miss Gordon  
Mrs. Russell

# Memorandum

To Mrs. Stephens

Date 11/27/48

From Mrs. Leary

Re Prof. Mitrany

I am not sure that you have this arrival information: He is to sail from England on Jan. 14th on the Queen Mary. Should be here 18th or 19th, I judge.

Hold garage apartment from mid-January for him. Did you rent it temporarily to the Prof. Margrasche I told you about?

*See member file —  
follow PD*

THE LOWER FARM,  
KINGSTON BLOUNT,  
OXFORD.

16.11.48

Sept. 30<sup>th</sup> -

Dear Mrs. Leary,

Miss Hutton tells me that you are kindly going to let me use one of the 'housekeeping' apartments on the Maxwell estate for the full term. I realise that this is a great favour, and I assure you that it is also a great kindness. Unfortunately, I have tied myself to various conferences all summer, and to have a chance to be alone after that will just about cause my soul for utter disintegration. I think I may say, that I am a good tenant and will return the property in fair condition. Again, with my thanks appreciation & your hope.

Sincerely yours

Therichany

Rent -

7 furnishing -

maid - for a day -



THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY  
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

*File to PR @  
11/13*

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

October 8, 1948

Dear Professor Mitrany:

It was thoughtful of you to cable and write about the change in your plans. We are holding an apartment for you and only hope that things will work out so that you can be here before too long.

The Director will not be at the Institute until next week as he has been attending conferences abroad during the past month. I know he will be sorry to hear that your wife has not been well and that you are having difficulties in making plans to come. But we hope you will be able to work something out.

Yours sincerely,

(Mrs. John D. Leary)  
Aide to the Director

Professor David Mitrany  
The Lower Farm  
Kingston Blount  
Oxford, England

Copy: Professor Stewart - I have had no further word from Prof. Mitrany. His cable and letter simply said that he hoped to know definitely about coming a fortnight after cabling - which was on Sept. 16th.

**BY AIR MAIL**

**AIR LETTER**

IF ANYTHING IS ENCLOSED  
THIS LETTER WILL BE SENT  
BY ORDINARY MAIL.



Mrs. Eleanor Leavy  
Institute for Advanced Study  
PRINCETON  
N.J.

*LA*

*K.S.A.*

← Second fold here →

To open cut here →

Sender's name and address :-

J. Mitrany  
Kingston Blount  
OXford 7 England.

m approved by the Postmaster General. No. 719957A.



← To open cut here

UNILEVER HOUSE,  
BLACKFRIARS,  
LONDON, E.C.4.

TELEPHONE - CENTRAL 7474

as from Kingston Place,  
Oxford.

17. VIII. 48

Dear Mrs. Leary,

Your letter of the 9th is very kind - you don't know how much I appreciate your friend's help. The past months have been rather restless and busy, and the last three weeks I have been tied up with the International Congress on Mental Health, which has left my mind need quite a bit of plastering. The very idea that I will have an apartment where I can load myself in and work (alas! also eat) my own periods has a soothing effect. But I am really ~~so~~ anxious to settle down to my writing, as the book which I am writing (an international organization - from a theoretical viewpoint) just cries for a little peace of mind of health. - It shows how out of touch I have been with the Institute that I thought the opening date still was Oct. 1., as of old. It's hopeless to try and change passage now (Sept. 15, 'Nieuw Amsterdam') and



I made it worse by accepting to go to Cambridge for 3-4 days for  
a conference on my subject. I am most anxious to come  
and settle down to work, and if I can curtail my Cambridge  
stay, I will gladly do so. In any case, I will send from there  
a message with the exact date of my arrival. I am sure  
something will be fine - and I am ever so grateful to you  
for what you have done for me.

Yours truly  
David Miltrany

By the way, a little while ago I had a note from Mrs. Parsonsky in which  
she said that her nice colored woman could ~~work~~ like to come in for  
an hour or two each day to clean my place - that would solve the last problem!

Sept 3 am  
J B Maxwell

August 9, 1948

Air Mail

Dear Dr. Mitrany:

It was good of you to write about the Maxwell estate apartment. It has some disadvantages, but I do think it is one of the most attractive here. We will do all we can to make your stay comfortable.

The rent is \$85. a month - including furniture, linen and household equipment, utilities and heat.

Miss Horton is away for the month of August but I understood her to say that you expected to arrive about September 30th. If there are any details about the apartment you would like to have in the meantime, please let me know.

Yours sincerely,

(Mrs. John D. Leary)  
Aide to the Director

Dr. David Mitrany  
The Lower Farm  
Kingston Blount  
Oxford, England

Copy: Miss Horton

Mrs. Stephens - Do you notify Business Office on rents of these apartments that differ from regular Project houses? If not I could send them copies of my letters. Mr. Bradley set this rate.

# Memorandum

To Mr. Bradley Date 7/7/48

From Mrs. Leary Re 5B Maxwell Lane

RUSH: I would like to write Prof. Mitrany rent on above apartment for first term. Will you check on just what it was last year for Kohn - I mean with additions of furnishings, heat, etc. They are both in same School; I do not think we can make too much of a jump. Suggest \$80. with all the fixings - including heat and utilities. But phone me - or let me know. I want to compare it with Kohn's rent.

*By K*  
*+5*  
*+9*

*\$85 rent OK*

ESL

Alsa Rush — Bateman — Crespi a gre rent.



**BY AIR MAIL**

**AIR LETTER**

IF ANYTHING IS ENCLOSED  
THIS LETTER WILL BE SENT  
BY ORDINARY MAIL.



BRITISH INDIA  
MAY 3RD  
LONDON & B.



Dr Frank Oppenheimer

Institute for Advanced Study

PRINCETON N.J.

U.S.A.

← Second fold here →

Sender's name and address:-

.....David Mitrany.....

.....Kingston Blount.....

.....Oxford, England.....

← To open cut here

To open cut here

APR 25 1948

Kingston Blount  
Oxford

20.IV.1948

*Prof Stewart*

Dear Dr Oppenheimer,

As the Institute's term is nearing its end I ventured today to send you a cable to confirm that as far as I am concerned I am making arrangements to spend the whole ~~xt~~ of the fall term in Princeton, if ~~the~~ Institute still wants me to do so. You sent me sometime ago a friendly cable to that effect, but I know that there are many things and needs to consider; in fairness to the people here and also of <sup>because</sup> personal problems I had to take some steps now, but I wish to make it clear that I took your cable to be what it was, a word of general agreement with my plan, and nothing more. Perhaps the Institute's program has now been sufficiently settled to enable you to tell me something more definite in the near future.

On the whole I think I did right not to come in the spring. I had a feeling that many things were about to come to a head here, things involving not merely immediate policy but great political trends, and as a close observer I think I have seen things which will add something to my experience. For the same reason I am going early in May to attend the widely heralded European federation congress at the Hague. During the summer there will be held in London an important international congress on 'Mental Health', in an attempt to take it out of the realm of pathological medicine, and I have been asked to be a member of the small preparatory commission, which will edit all the papers, and to read on the opening day of the congress one of the two papers on 'world citizenship and group relations'. That means that I shall be here throughout the summer, but as soon as I hear from you I will book passage so as to be in Princeton for the opening of term.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours

*D. Mitrany*

David Mitrany - Permanent Member. Annual stipend of \$1200. paid for one month's consulting work at Institute each year. Remainder of time with Lever Brothers, England.

Not taxed

Covered by British tax treaty?

Present status under appointment of Trustees - Minutes of Board May 23, 1946, p. 11-13; (Report of the Director)

" On the recommendation of the School of Economics, I suggest that Professor Mitrany be made a permanent member of the Institute without salary, and that if and when he returns here for continuous residence, an appropriate stipend should be set aside for him. Meanwhile the members of the School of Economics believe that it would be of great value to the Institute to have Professor Mitrany spend three or four weeks here each year reporting on his investigations. This would give the School of Economics a kind of outpost in Europe, and his reports would be of great value to our whole group. I suggest that a stipend of \$1200. per year be appropriated for Professor Mitrany for each such visit."

The action of the Trustees was as follows:

" After discussion of the recommendation of the School of Economics and Politics concerning Professor David Mitrany, the Board voted: to appoint Professor Mitrany to permanent membership in the Institute until his retirement at age 65; to vacate Professor Mitrany's professorship in the School of Economics and Politics so that this chair may be filled by another scholar; and, as of July 1, 1946, to discontinue payments by the Institute on behalf of Professor Mitrany's contract with the Teachers Insurance and Annuity Association. It was also understood that Professor Mitrany would receive an honorarium of \$1200, for each visit of four consecutive weeks which he is able to make to the Institute during term time and that when the time comes for him to take up permanent residence at the Institute as a member, a suitable stipend will be provided for him out of the stipend fund of the School which shall be increased to cover this amount."

From letter of Director, March 21, 1947:

"Professor David Mitrany who is a permanent member of the School of Economics and Politics of the Institute for Advanced Study arrived in Princeton on January 31, 1947 on an annual visit. During the period of his residence here, Dr. Mitrany received a research stipend of \$1200. This stipend was given to Dr. Mitrany to facilitate his own researches and was not in compensation for services rendered. It therefore comes within the definition of non-taxable income as defined by the Bureau of Internal Revenue."

DOMESTIC SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent as a full rate telegram	
FULL RATE TELEGRAM	SERIAL
DAY LETTER	NIGHT LETTER

# WESTERN UNION

1206

INTERNATIONAL SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent at the full rate	
FULL RATE	DEFERRED
CODE	NIGHT LETTER

JOSEPH L. EGAN, PRESIDENT

NO. WDS.-CL. OF SVC.	PD. OR COLL.	CASH NO.	CHARGE TO THE ACCOUNT OF	TIME FILED

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

COPY

SEPTEMBER 16, 1948  
PM 10:25

LONDON VIA COMMERCIAL

NLT MRS. JOHN LEARY  
INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY  
PRINCETON

HAVE HAD TO PUT OFF TRIP FOR SERIOUS PERSONAL REASONS FORGIVE ME TERRIBLE  
INCONVENIENCE MUST BE CAUSING YOU WRITING.

*WWS ✓*  
*R BW*

MITRANY

COPY; Miss Horton ✓  
Mrs. Russell

**A NEW  
CURTIS  
SERVICE**

**Telegraph your order for America's favorite magazines—HOLIDAY, 1 yr., \$5 • the Post, 1 yr., \$5 • LADIES' HOME JOURNAL, 1 yr., \$3. All prices U. S. only. No charge for wire. Pay Western Union clerk for subscription or when billed by publisher.**

**Publisher will, on subscriber's request, refund full amount paid for copies not previously mailed. Prices subject to change without notice.**



July 8, 1948

TO: Mrs. Katherine Russell

FROM: W. W. Stewart

SUBJECT: Stipend for Mr. Mitrany

In your memo of June 10 setting forth the stipend appropriation of the School of Economics and its commitments, you indicate that \$1,200 is being set aside from the Economics stipend fund for Mr. Mitrany, with a footnote saying that the balance of \$2,800 is to come from stipend fund or contingency.

If you will refer to the action taken by the Trustees on May 23, 1946 concerning Mr. Mitrany, you will find that the resolution says: "...when the time comes for him to take up permanent residence at the Institute as a member, a suitable stipend will be provided for him out of the stipend fund of the School which shall be increased to cover this amount." Based on this action by the Trustees, therefore, I do not see that any part of Mr. Mitrany's stipend is chargeable to our regular stipend fund.

There is a further complication for which allowance should be made. I notice that in your memorandum you divide the stipend fund of the School of Economics and Politics equally between the School of Economics and Professor Earle's activities. When Mr. Mitrany was a member of the faculty, he was regarded as a professor of politics. It would come as a surprise and a shock to him, as it does to me, that he should fall in among the economists. It is equally true, I believe, that he would not be regarded by Professor Earle as an historian. Since in announcements and catalogue, we make no separation of members between the economists and the historians associated with Professor Earle, Mr. Mitrany's status from this point of view does not matter. This question of Mr. Mitrany's position as a member may have been in the minds of the Trustees when they provided that his stipend up to \$1,200 would be provided from additional funds to the School of Economics and Politics.

Even though your statement of June 10 is only an office memo, I think it may be worthwhile to clarify the relation of Mr. Cooper to the various funds. As I understand it, Mr. Cooper receives a

- 2 -

Mrs. Katherine Russell

July 8, 1948

\$4,000 stipend from the Institute and \$2,000 from a special Rockefeller grant, making a total membership stipend of \$6,000. Of the \$8,000 which you list under the Rockefeller grant for Mr. Cooper, the remaining \$6,000 is available to him for secretary, research assistants, and travel.

Later, as requested by Mrs. Leary, I will send you a note concerning the Special Economics Fund.

cc: Miss Trinterud



DOMESTIC SERVICE		
Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent as a full rate telegram		
FULL RATE TELEGRAM	SERIAL	
DAY LETTER	NIGHT LETTER	

# WESTERN UNION

1206

INTERNATIONAL SERVICE		
Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent at the full rate		
FULL RATE	DEFERRED	
CODE	NIGHT LETTER	

JOSEPH L. EGAN, PRESIDENT

NO. WDS.-CL. OF SVC.	PD. OR COLL.	CASH NO.	CHARGE TO THE ACCOUNT OF	TIME FILED

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

CABLEGRAM  
May 6, 1948

Professor David Mitrany  
Kingston Blount  
Oxford, England

Can make \$4000 available to enable you to spend Fall Term 1948 at Institute.

Robert Oppenheimer

Copy to: Mrs. Leary  
Prof. Stewart  
Miss Trinterud

**A NEW  
CURTIS  
SERVICE**

Telegraph your order for America's favorite magazines—HOLIDAY, 1 yr., \$5 • the Post, 1 yr., \$5 • LADIES' HOME JOURNAL, 1 yr., \$3. All prices U. S. only. No charge for wire. Pay Western Union clerk for subscription or when billed by publisher.

Publisher will, on subscriber's request, refund full amount paid for copies not previously mailed. Prices subject to change without notice.

DOMESTIC SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent as a full rate telegram	
FULL RATE TELEGRAM	SERIAL
DAY LETTER	NIGHT LETTER

# WESTERN UNION

1206

INTERNATIONAL SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent at the full rate	
FULL RATE	DEFERRED
CODE	NIGHT LETTER

JOSEPH L. EGAN, PRESIDENT

NO. WDS.-CL. OF SVC.	PD. OR COLL.	CASH NO.	CHARGE TO THE ACCOUNT OF	TIME FILED

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

CABLEGRAM  
May 6, 1948

Professor David Mitrany  
Kingston Blount  
Oxford, England

Can make \$4,000 available to enable you to spend Fall Term 1948 at Institute.

Robert Oppenheimer

Copy to: Mrs. Leary  
Prof. Stewart  
Miss Trinterud

**A NEW  
CURTIS  
SERVICE**

Telegraph your order for America's favorite magazines—HOLIDAY, 1 yr., \$5 • the Post, 1 yr., \$5 • LADIES' HOME JOURNAL, 1 yr., \$3. All prices U. S. only. No charge for wire. Pay Western Union clerk for subscription or when billed by publisher.

Publisher will, on subscriber's request, refund full amount paid for copies not previously mailed. Prices subject to change without notice.

DOMESTIC SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent as a full rate telegram	
FULL RATE TELEGRAM	SERIAL
DAY LETTER	NIGHT LETTER

# WESTERN UNION

1206

INTERNATIONAL SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent at the full rate	
FULL RATE	DEFERRED
CODE	NIGHT LETTER

JOSEPH L. EGAN, PRESIDENT

NO. WDS.-CL. OF SVC.	PD. OR COLL.	CASH NO.	CHARGE TO THE ACCOUNT OF	TIME FILED

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

London, England  
April 21, 1948

*WWR*  
*RB*  
*E.M.E.*  
*WWS*

To: Dr. J. R. Oppenheimer

Subject your agreement, making arrangements spend full  
full term at Institute.

Mitrany

Copy to: Professor Stewart ✓  
Miss Trinterud

**A NEW  
CURTIS  
SERVICE**

Telegraph your order for America's favorite magazines—HOLIDAY, 1 yr., \$5 • the Post, 1 yr., \$5 • LADIES' HOME JOURNAL, 1 yr., \$3. All prices U. S. only. No charge for wire. Pay Western Union clerk for subscription or when billed by publisher.

Publisher will, on subscriber's request, refund full amount paid for copies not previously mailed. Prices subject to change without notice.

**BY AIR MAIL**

**AIR LETTER**

IF ANYTHING IS ENCLOSED  
THIS LETTER WILL BE SENT  
BY ORDINARY MAIL



BRITISH INDUS  
MAY 3RD 1948  
LONDON & BIR



Dr Frank Aydelotte

80 Battle Road

PRINCETON N.J.

U.S.A.

← Second fold here →

To open cut here ↓

Sender's name and address:-

.....David Mitrany.....

.....Kingston Blount.....

.....Oxford, England.....

↖ To open cut here

Kingston Blount  
Oxford.

20.IV.1948

Dear Aydelotte,

I suddenly realized that you are near the end of the Institute term and that you all may be flitting away. I have therefore taken the liberty of sending Oppenheimer a cable confirming that I still intend to come over for the whole of the fall term, and I have also written him by the same mail as this. He had indeed send me sometime ago a friendly cable, but I have heard nothing since, and I am rather in the embarrassing position of having to ask whether they really want me to come or not. I am rather burning my boats here, but I would quite understand if for some reason or other the arrangement with two years ago you had passed by the trustees, that I could come back on a suitable stipend, may no longer be practicable. Needs and possibilities change, and the change of director also may entail a change of policy. So please be assured that my present cables and letters are merely a request for some definite information, so that I may not get myself in too great a mess, especially as regards finance.

This spring has been indeed eventful here and I think I learnt a lot from staying here and gained some additional insight for the writing I want to do. I have worked very hard and published various papers and taken part in various conferences, and refused many others. In a fortnight I am going to Holland just as an observer to the grand congress of European federalists, where Churchill will be the chief attraction. It has already produced a split in the progressive forces in the West, as Labor and Socialists are boycotting the congress and will announce a policy of their own. In the summer I am going to give quite a bit of time to the International congress on Mental Health, and am going to read one of the two papers on the opening day on 'world citizenship and group relations'. The strangest interlude was a cable three weeks ago from the Burmese Minister of Planning asking me to come out for three years as adviser and to name my own figure - very flattering, but I want rather to stay put and collect my ideas.

What have you been doing? I hope in any case you are all well and enjoying your new home. Aren't you coming over at all? With my thanks for your friendly interest in my plans and all good wishes for yourself and Mrs Aydelotte and Bill

Always sincerely yours

*D. Mitrany*

May 24, 1948

Dear Mitrany:

Are the arrangements as finally agreed upon by the Department and Director satisfactory to you? I very much hope so, and I should be glad if you would let me know about when you expect to arrive in this country. I don't know where you plan to live, but we should be delighted to have you come directly to our house for a few days until you are able to look around. We return from the country about the middle of September. Looking forward with great pleasure to having you here again, I am

Yours sincerely,

Frank Aydelotte

Prof. David Mitrany  
Kingston Blount  
Oxford, ENGLAND



April 22, 1948

Professor David Mitrany  
Kingston Blount  
Oxford, England

Dear Mitrany:

I received your cablegram and hasten to say that I am doing what I can with Oppenheimer and with the School of Economics. I think the real problem is with the Economists. I have not written you earlier because, though I have devoted a lot of time to your problem, I have not yet been able to get any kind of definite conclusion. Needless to say, I am doing everything that I can in your favor.

Yours sincerely,

Frank Aydelotte

Charge to the account of

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED	
DOMESTIC	CABLE
TELEGRAM	ORDINARY
DAY LETTER	URGENT RATE
SERIAL	DEFERRED
NIGHT LETTER	NIGHT LETTER

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

# WESTERN UNION

1206

CHECK
ACCOUNTING INFORMATION
TIME FILED

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

LONDON ENGLAND

APRIL 21, 1948

**FOR VICTORY  
BUY  
WAR BONDS  
TODAY**

DR. FRANK AYDELOTTE  
INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY  
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

CABLING OPPENHEIMER CONFIRMING WISH SPEND FULL FALL TERM AT  
INSTITUTE BUT WOULD NEED SOME SUITABLE FINANCIAL ARRANGEMENT.

SORRY TROUBLE YOU. THANKS

Rec'd 9:30 a.m.

MITRANY

3/17/48

David Mitrany - Permanent Member. Annual stipend of \$1200. paid for one month's consulting work at Institute each year. Remainder of time with Lever Brothers, England.

Not taxed

Covered by British tax treaty?

Present status under appointment of Trustees - Minutes of Board May 23, 1946, p. 11-13: (Report of the Director)

" On the recommendation of the School of Economics, I suggest that Professor Mitrany be made a permanent member of the Institute without salary, and that if and when he returns here for continuous residence, an appropriate stipend should be set aside for him. Meanwhile the members of the School of Economics believe that it would be of great value to the Institute to have Professor Mitrany spend three or four weeks here each year reporting on his investigations. This would give the School of Economics a kind of outpost in Europe, and his reports would be of great value to our whole group. I suggest that a stipend of \$1200. per year be appropriated for Professor Mitrany for each such visit."

The action of the Trustees was as follows:

" After discussion of the recommendation of the School of Economics and Politics concerning Professor David Mitrany, the Board voted: to appoint Professor Mitrany to permanent membership in the Institute until his retirement at age 65; to vacate Professor Mitrany's professorship in the School of Economics and Politics so that this chair may be filled by another scholar; and, as of July 1, 1946, to discontinue payments by the Institute on behalf of Professor Mitrany's contract with the Teachers Insurance and Annuity Association. It was also understood that Professor Mitrany would receive an honorarium of \$1200, for each visit of four consecutive weeks which he is able to make to the Institute during term time and that when the time comes for him to take up permanent residence at the Institute as a member, a suitable stipend will be provided for him out of the stipend fund of the School which shall be increased to cover this amount."

From letter of Director, March 21, 1947:

"Professor David Mitrany who is a permanent member of the School of Economics and Politics of the Institute for Advanced Study arrived in Princeton on January 31, 1947 on an annual visit. During the period of his residence here, Dr. Mitrany received a research stipend of \$1200. This stipend was given to Dr. Mitrany to facilitate his own researches and was not in compensation for services rendered. It therefore comes within the definition of non-taxable income as defined by the Bureau of Internal Revenue."

Charge to the account of \_\_\_\_\_ \$

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED	
DOMESTIC	CABLE
TELEGRAM	ORDINARY
DAY LETTER	URGENT RATE
SERIAL	DEFERRED
NIGHT LETTER	NIGHT LETTER

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

# WESTERN UNION

1206

A. N. WILLIAMS  
PRESIDENT

CHECK
ACCOUNTING INFORMATION
TIME FILED

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

DEFERRED CABLE  
December 24, 1947

Professor David Mitrany  
Lower Farm  
Kingston Blount  
Oxford, England

We shall all be glad to have you with us whenever  
it is convenient for you. Shall expect you next autumn.

Robert Oppenheimer

Charge: Institute  
Copy to Professor Stewart

December 24, 1947

Professor David Mitrany  
Kingston Blount  
Oxford, England

Dear Mitrany:

I have just received your air mail letter and at the same time heard from Oppenheimer about your cablegram to him. He is sending you a reply by cable to say that next fall will be equally satisfactory so far as the Institute is concerned. I have been very much interested in your long term program and have tried to get some arrangements made for it. You will be glad to know that Oppenheimer is very sympathetic with my views. We have not yet succeeded in getting serious consideration of them by the School of Economics and I shall continue my efforts in that direction as soon as I return from a little holiday in Florida. I am sorry the whole business has been delayed but I suppose that was inevitable in view of the change in the Directorship at the Institute and I always have to remember that I am no longer in command.

With warmest regards for the New Year, I am

Yours sincerely,

Frank Aydelotte

Charge to the account of \_\_\_\_\_ \$ \_\_\_\_\_

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED	
DOMESTIC	CABLE
TELEGRAM	ORDINARY
DAY LETTER	URGENT RATE
SERIAL	DEFERRED
NIGHT LETTER	NIGHT LETTER

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

# WESTERN UNION

1206

A. N. WILLIAMS  
PRESIDENT

CHECK
ACCOUNTING INFORMATION
TIME FILED

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

London, England  
December 16, 1947

J. R. Oppenheimer

Would it be agreeable to you if I came for Fall term instead of through March.

Mitrany

Copy to Professor Stewart ✓

*Riefler ✓*



THE LOWER FARM,  
KINGSTON BLOUNT,  
OXFORD.

Christmas Day  
1947.

Dear Dr. Oppenheimer,

Your cable came an hour ago, at breakfast, and  
you could not have timed it more kindly. It so happened that  
my wife answered the phone and she was quite overcome -  
the very Christmas present I was hoping to give her. I had  
not told her of my request to you as I wanted to be sure  
that you were agreeable - she knew it would be difficult for  
her but never ceased encouraging me to go, even both of us  
to stick to our work. Apart from the fact that I should like  
to come for the whole term, I hate having to leave my wife  
alone again. Things are tolerable on the surface, but it  
is shocking how much sickness there is about; there is not  
one household in our rural neighborhood which has not  
got someone laid up, and there would be little prospect of  
her getting any help if she herself were in need. I am  
therefore tremendously relieved that I can be here during our  
most awkward months, and I am immensely grateful to

you for being so willingly helpful. Thank you very  
warmly indeed.

I a little while I will take the liberty of  
writing you about practical matters - today I mostly  
wanted to thank you for your most friendly message,  
and to wish you a very happy New Year, together  
with your family, and all satisfaction from your  
work.

Very sincerely yours

David Mitrany

Charge to the account of \_\_\_\_\_

\$ \_\_\_\_\_

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED	
DOMESTIC	CABLE
TELEGRAM	ORDINARY
DAY LETTER	URGENT RATE
SERIAL	DEFERRED
NIGHT LETTER	NIGHT LETTER

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

# WESTERN UNION

1206

A. N. WILLIAMS  
PRESIDENT

CHECK
ACCOUNTING INFORMATION
TIME FILED

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

DEFERRED CABLE  
December 24, 1947

Professor David Mitrany  
Lower Farm  
Kingston Blount  
Oxford, England

We shall all be glad to have you with us whenever  
it is convenient for you. Shall expect you next autumn.

Robert Oppenheimer

Charge: Institute  
Copy to Professor Stewart

Charge to the account of \_\_\_\_\_

\$ \_\_\_\_\_

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED	
DOMESTIC	CABLE
TELEGRAM	ORDINARY
DAY LETTER	URGENT RATE
SERIAL	DEFERRED
NIGHT LETTER	NIGHT LETTER

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

# WESTERN UNION

1206

A. N. WILLIAMS  
PRESIDENT

CHECK
ACCOUNTING INFORMATION
TIME FILED

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

*yes  
✓  
sub. 9/10*

London, England  
December 16, 1947

J. R. Oppenheimer

Would it be agreeable to you if I came for Fall term  
instead of through March.

Mitrany

Copy to Professor Stewart

THE LOWER FARM,  
KINGSTON BLOUNT,  
OXFORD.

10.XII.47

Dear Dr. Oppenheimer,

My good wishes for your new work should have been sent before now. But I knew how much labour the change must entail for you, and I did not want to add to your correspondence then. Dr. Aydelott may have told you that we had agreed when I was there last spring that I should come again this spring; I am trying to secure passage for the end of February. Things are rather absurd here, and I should like to be with my wife for as long of the winter as possible. I hope that fate will seem convenient to you and our colleagues.

I am trying to push forward with a book on international organisation which I started about a year ago. Since then, things have not moved well, and I am revising the plan of the book to make it more theoretical than analytical. As you know so well, it is not easy in our field to be 'realistic' without being drawn into merely topical

issues. That I am always anxious to avoid, and I want to try to deal with actual problems in their historical setting. <sup>This</sup> ~~Last~~ fall I published a paper in the 'Substantial Consequences of National Planning' in the Yale Review (I have just heard that the paper is to be reprinted in a volume on Planning being prepared by a group in N.Y.), and a little while a paper on 'Human Rights and Substantial Organisation' in the journal of the Indian Institute of World Affairs. The Hibbert Journal is printing in January a short paper on 'Should Christianity Count in International Relations?'; the questions having been put to me, but my answers given with much trepidation. All these issues are so very complex and tender, and one's knowledge and experience so limited, and yet in our field there are no simple straight answers. I always remind myself of Wilson's description of Adam Smith - 'He was no specialist except in the relation of things'.

I very much hope that your new life and work are happy, and I shall be glad of a chance of meeting you. Meanwhile, please accept my cord

with the for yourself and Mrs. Mitrany and your family for the New Year, and also for your own well-being.  
Sincerely yours  
David Mitrany



**BY AIR MAIL**

**AIR LETTER**

IF ANYTHING IS ENCLOSED  
THIS LETTER WILL BE SENT  
BY ORDINARY MAIL.



*Dr. Frank Aydette*  
*88 Battg Rd.*  
*Princeton N.J.*

*U.S.A.*

← Second fold here →

Sender's name and address:-

*D. Mitrany*  
*Kripton Blount*  
*Oxford.*

↑ Please fold here ↓

↑ To open cut here ↓

→ To open cut here ←

Kingston Belmont  
Oxfor.  
16.XII.47

Dear Adelste,

Would you kindly send me  
a line to tell me whether you  
have been able to discuss my  
coming into Greenwich and the  
members of the School. A week  
or so ago, on the assumption that I  
may be going away from Christmas,  
I wrote him a few lines of post  
work in his work & said that, as  
arranged with you last spring, I

I hope all is well with you and your family.  
I will call my good wishes for Christmas and the New Year.  
Always your sincerely  
David Mitrany

intended to come for a short visit this  
spring again. I did not mention it  
all as a clear idea. Last night I  
saw him a cable asking whether it  
would be convenient if I gave up the  
spring visit and came instead for the fall  
term. I had two reasons for those - or  
rather three. First, that it is getting rather  
late for travelling arrangements or not easy to  
make; second, that I really would like to stay  
with my wife high the winter, as the amount of  
illness all around us is shocking and she is quite  
alone in the house; above all, that I would  
really prefer to stay longer if suitable arrangements  
could be made. It always takes 2-3 weeks to  
get into touch with the people working at the  
Institute and begin to work with them. Could  
you give me some indication, possibly by cable,  
so that I may have some guidance? I should  
be most grateful, as you are too busy to write at all.

COPY

THE LOWER FARM

Kingston Blount  
Oxford

Oct. 20, 1947

Dear Aydelotte:

Your kind letter of the 14th came today. I knew that I could leave things in your hands and apart from any appearance of discourtesy to Dr. Oppenheimer I am quite content to let things go as you decide. In fact I am, as I said, more than grateful to you for acting on my behalf when circumstances would have made it difficult for me to speak directly to Dr. Oppenheimer.

I wonder how things over here look from your end. I wrote you a while ago that I feared things in France would get shaky and the new Russian has merely speeded up the pace. There is a real revolutionary situation and a struggle for power, not a difference over a problem, and as always in such situations the moderates will get crushed in the battle of the extremes. Here is all far from that, but I don't like the mood of things. Priestley's article in the N.Y.T. Magazine was plumb silly - with his assertion that there is among the workers as fine a spirit as after Dunkerque; that is the real problem, that the labor leaders can't get any spark up to light their leadership into a movement, whatever the . Especially among the younger workers who have not yet sensed the tradition of craftsmanship. There is a devil-may-care attitude against which even the trade union leaders are helpless; and the government itself is helpless in the face of the trade union movement. No legislation can affect that and it is not pleasant to witness, especially for someone to whom the spirit of fair play and civic sense was the fairest thing in English life. Much better face that fact and work frankly to mitigate it, than pretend that's all fine among the workers and that difficulties are due to ill will or even sabotage among the moneyed people. For the only effect of such arguments is to justify the 'back-bench' minority who clamour for 'more left, more left' - which is the last thing the government wants to do. I am watching quietly and as much as possible as a detached (if not unaffected) spectator.

We have had a wonderful summer and fall - sunshine all the way. Result: no grass anywhere, little milk (the extras allowed to old people and invalids has just been cut), and a loss of many crops. When we do get a fine season it turns out 'a curse in disguise' - and the Labour government certainly has had the worst of luck with last winter and this fall.

I hope you and Mrs. Aydelotte are enjoying your new house. With all good wishes and my renewed thanks,

Always yours sincerely,

D. MITRANY

I thought this article would interest you.

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY  
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

October 24, 1947

Dear Walter:

Your memorandum of the 23rd to Frank Aydelotte concerning Mitrany is an exact statement of my point of view.

Do you think a copy ought to be sent to Oppenheimer, or is this something which Aydelotte will take up with him in the normal course of events?



Edward M. Earle

10/27

WWE -

would like to see correspondence of Mitrany with J.A. - to form judgment of what Mitrany has in mind.

Mitrany

October 23, 1947

To: Dr. Frank Aydelotte

From: W. W. Stewart

Subject: Arrangements concerning Dr. Mitrany

In your memorandum to me of October 6, you set forth the action of the Trustees concerning Dr. Mitrany and suggested a meeting of the School of Economics and Politics to consider the kind of invitation we should extend to him.

I have now had two conversations with Professor Earle, and Warren and I have discussed the matter in some detail. In present circumstances this seems to be the nearest substitute we can offer for a meeting of our School.

Based upon the action of the Trustees in May 1946, the following points are clear:

1. To vacate Mitrany's professorship in the School of Economics and Politics so that his chair may be filled by another scholar.
2. To appoint Mitrany to permanent membership in the Institute until his retirement age at 65.
3. Mitrany to receive an honorarium of \$1,200 for each visit of four consecutive weeks which he is able to make to the Institute during term time.
4. When the time comes for him to take up permanent residence at the Institute as a member, a suitable stipend will be provided for him out of the stipend fund of the School which shall be increased to cover this amount.

Earle, Warren and I feel that the present academic year is not an appropriate time for him to begin a permanent residence at the Institute. Unless a separate and suitable office can be provided for him, we doubt whether Mitrany would find the Institute an effective place to work. We recommend that for the present academic year we carry out the arrangement set forth in Point #3; i.e., \$1,200 for a visit of four consecutive weeks during term time. Even under such



Memo to Dr. Aydelotte

October 23, 1947

an arrangement, space would need to be found for him or he should be given advance notice as to what office accommodations he can expect.

Mitrany's visit last year may not provide a basis for judging how valuable subsequent visits for a period of a month may be. It was Mitrany's first return to this country after the outbreak of the war, and quite naturally there were many people outside of Princeton he wanted to see and many who wanted to see him. If he comes again this year we would hope that he could arrange his time so that he would be more continuously in Princeton and share more fully in the work of the Institute. During his visit we could learn in more detail about his own plans for the future and consider what arrangements should be made to carry them out.

Our view is that if he returns to take up permanent residence at the Institute as a member, he should accept the full responsibility of membership which presupposes a specific project in hand and fairly continuous work upon it. If he is in a position to accept these conditions of membership, we can then discuss with him what would be a suitable stipend.

Professor Mitrany is 60 years of age, so his permanent membership has five years to run. We feel that in any correspondence or conversations with him, it should be kept entirely clear that a return to the Institute does not involve the resumption of a position on the faculty. At a later date we would like to feel free to recommend a scholar to fill the chair of Politics at the Institute.



THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS AND POLITICS

PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

October 23, 1947

To: Dr. Frank Aydelotte

From: W. W. Stewart *WWS*

Subject: Arrangements concerning Dr. Mitrany

In your memorandum to me of October 6, you set forth the action of the Trustees concerning Dr. Mitrany and suggested a meeting of the School of Economics and Politics to consider the kind of invitation we should extend to him.

I have now had two conversations with Professor Earle, and Warren and I have discussed the matter in some detail. In present circumstances this seems to be the nearest substitute we can offer for a meeting of our School.

Based upon the action of the Trustees in May 1946, the following points are clear:

1. To vacate Mitrany's professorship in the School of Economics and Politics so that his chair may be filled by another scholar.
2. To appoint Mitrany to permanent membership in the Institute until his retirement age at 65.
3. Mitrany to receive an honorarium of \$1,200 for each visit of four consecutive weeks which he is able to make to the Institute during term time.
4. When the time comes for him to take up permanent residence at the Institute as a member, a suitable stipend will be provided for him out of the stipend fund of the School which shall be increased to cover this amount.

Earle, Warren and I feel that the present academic year is not an appropriate time for him to begin a permanent residence at the Institute. Unless a separate and suitable office can be provided for him, we doubt whether Mitrany would find the Institute an effective place to work. We recommend that for the present academic year we carry out the arrangement set forth in Point #3; i.e., \$1,200 for a visit of four consecutive weeks during term time. Even under such

- 2 -

Memo to Dr. Aydelotte

October 23, 1947

an arrangement, space would need to be found for him or he should be given advance notice as to what office accommodations he can expect.

Mitrany's visit last year may not provide a basis for judging how valuable subsequent visits for a period of a month may be. It was Mitrany's first return to this country after the outbreak of the war, and quite naturally there were many people outside of Princeton he wanted to see and many who wanted to see him. If he comes again this year we would hope that he could arrange his time so that he would be more continuously in Princeton and share more fully in the work of the Institute. During his visit we could learn in more detail about his own plans for the future and consider what arrangements should be made to carry them out.

Our view is that if he returns to take up permanent residence at the Institute as a member, he should accept the full responsibility of membership which presupposes a specific project in hand and fairly continuous work upon it. If he is in a position to accept those conditions of membership, we can then discuss with him what would be a suitable stipend.

Professor Mitrany is 60 years of age, so his permanent membership has five years to run. We feel that in any correspondence or conversations with him, it should be kept entirely clear that a return to the Institute does not involve the resumption of a position on the faculty. At a later date we would like to feel free to recommend a scholar to fill the chair of Politics at the Institute.

October 21, 1947

### Memo on Conversation with Professor Earle

In a conversation with Professor Earle yesterday we covered a number of points having to do with the School of Economics. Since he may not be free to attend our next meeting, I am undertaking to convey his views on some of the items covered by our conversation.

On the matter of Dr. Mitrany, he feels that we have some kind of commitment perhaps rather vague and ambiguous in the action taken at the time when Dr. Mitrany was elected a permanent member. Based on the experience of the visit made us last winter, Earle is doubtful how much we will benefit by any brief visit. If Dr. Mitrany is to take up residence at the Institute for a longer period, Earle feels that Mitrany should accept the full responsibility of membership, which presupposes a project in hand and fairly continuous work upon it. Since Mitrany on his visits to this country will want to see a good many people not in Princeton, Earle is doubtful whether these requirements can easily be met.

In making any change in the present arrangements with Mitrany, Earle thinks it important to make it clear that a return to the Institute does not involve a resumption of a position on the Faculty. This is partly because of Mitrany's age and partly on the nature of Mitrany's working habits when he was a professor.

14 October 1947

Dear Mitrany:

This is just a line to say that it has been impossible so far for the members of the School of Economics to sit down with Oppenheimer and me to discuss your problems. There has been an immense amount of detail in connection with the transfer of the Directorship and Oppenheimer has had so much to do with matters connected with the Trustees, finances, etc., that he has not had a moment. Furthermore, Riefler only returned a day or two ago. I send you this line just to let you know that the thing is in train and not forgotten.

Meanwhile, I have mentioned the fact that you would prefer to come next year in March and April. That will be entirely satisfactory. You will remember that the resolution of the Trustees was that you should have a stipend of \$300 per week for such time as you are able to spend here, with a maximum of \$1500.

With kindest regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

Professor David Mitrany  
Lower Farm  
Kingston Blount  
Oxford, England

13 October 1947

Dear Mitrany:

This is just a line to say that I have not yet been able to get any kind of a conference with the members of the School of Economics and Oppenheimer in regard to your problems. From such information conversations as I have had I take it that March and April of next year will be entirely satisfactory for your visit. You will remember that the resolution of the Trustees was that you should have a stipend of \$300 per week for such time as you are able to spend here, with a maximum of \$1500.

As for your plans for the future, would it be possible to delay your decision until after your visit next Spring? I shall certainly discuss the matter with the department and with Oppenheimer immediately, but since nobody here knows you as well as I do, it occurs to me that it might be well to wait until Spring for a final decision. At any rate, I hope you will do nothing irrevocable in England until then or until you have had some kind of a satisfactory proposition from the Institute.

With kindest regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

Professor David Mitrany  
Lower Farm  
Kingston Blount  
Oxford, England



Hold for  
Meeting of School of EC

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

Founded by Mr. Louis Bamberger and Mrs. Felix Fuld

PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

October 6, 1947

Professor Walter W. Stewart  
Institute for Advanced Study  
Princeton, New Jersey

Dear Walter:

I was a little worried about the attitude of the School of Economics towards the question of Mitrany's coming back here for a period of continuous research. At the meeting of the Trustees on May 23, 1946, I made the following recommendation in regard to Mitrany:

"...On the recommendation of the School of Economics, I suggest that Professor Mitrany be made a permanent member of the Institute without salary, and that if and when he returns here for continuous residence, an appropriate stipend should be set aside for him. Meanwhile the members of the School of Economics believe that it would be of great value to the Institute to have Professor Mitrany spend three or four weeks here each year reporting on his investigations. This would give the School of Economics a kind of outpost in Europe, and his reports would be of great value to our whole group. I suggest that a stipend of \$1,200 per year be appropriated for Professor Mitrany for each such visit."

The action of the Trustees as recorded in the minutes was as follows:

"After discussion of the recommendation of the School of Economics and Politics concerning Professor David Mitrany, the Board voted: to appoint Professor Mitrany to permanent membership in the Institute until his retirement at age 65; to vacate Professor Mitrany's professorship in the School of Economics and Politics so that this chair may be filled by another scholar; and, as of July 1, 1946, to discontinue payments by the Institute on behalf of Professor Mitrany's contract with the Teachers Insurance and Annuity Association. It was also understood that Professor Mitrany would receive an honorarium of \$1,200 for each visit of four consecutive weeks which he is able to make to the Institute during term time and that when the time comes for him to take up permanent residence at the Institute as a member, a suitable stipend will be provided for him out of the stipend fund of the School which shall be increased to cover this amount. (Note: Professor Mitrany has been informed of this decision and we have his cordial acceptance of the arrangement proposed.)"



Professor Walter W. Stewart

- 2 -

October 6, 1947

You will note that the gist of this is that when Mitrany comes back here for a period of permanent residence he shall be awarded a "suitable stipend" which will not come out of the ordinary stipend fund of the School of Economics. This is in accordance with the action taken in regard to permanent members of other Schools, like Pais, for example, in the School of Mathematics. When we are able to hold a meeting of the School of Economics, I think we ought to consider again just what kind of invitation we should extend to Mitrany when he wishes to come back here for a period of continuous research.

Yours sincerely,



Frank Aydelotte

Copy to Dr. Oppenheimer  
Professor Earle  
Professor Riefler  
Professor Warren

AIR MAIL

UNILEVER HOUSE,

Telephone - Central 7474.

BLACKFRIARS,

LONDON, E.C.4.

16th September, 1947

*Dear Aydelotte,*

My letter to you a few days ago included a small essay on the errors and trials of the Labour Government, and I am tempted to write you again because last Saturday's issue of the New Statesman is an interesting commentary on what I myself wrote, and indeed is almost a museum piece. I don't know quite what has happened, but perhaps the holiday recess has given my friends on the Left a little leisure to think things over and the results are more than significant.

Until now they were frightfully cocksure and complacent and not very tolerant with people who had doubts about their views, or the movement's policy. This issue of the New Statesman is all the more revealing, because I am sure that the three things I am going to quote, and which come from different sources, were not co-ordinated. They express quite clearly, to my mind, a change in mental attitude.

(i) You will remember that I said that I blame the intellectuals for not having done anything to educate the workers politically and merely called upon them to turn the rich fellow out. The editorial on the front page of the New Statesman has this paragraph -

"Grimethorpe has two obvious lessons for the Government. First, that to step up production will fail unless it is accompanied by incessant and thorough political education. The Labour Party has enjoyed a political monopoly in these Yorkshire villages for years. It has used it to fan the disgruntlement against the bosses, but it has obviously failed to instil any positive sense of Socialist responsibility. If men who have been social outcasts all their lives, and have been deprived of the opportunity both for leisure and for adult education, are suddenly given the chance to coerce the community, it is only too probable that a few of them will misuse their power. Once this happens, the miners' main virtue - his comradeship - becomes his vice."

(ii) Our friend Dick Crossman has a rather bitter article on British policy towards France, but what is very striking is that Crossman, who had all along been for a self-centred economic policy, now says that "by equating Socialism with nationalisation we fool ourselves with the idea that internal reconstruction, combined with a manipulation of foreign trade, can see us through".

(iii) Kingsley Martin, the paper's Editor, and not the most accommodating

Dr. F. Aydelotte,  
88, Battle Road, Princeton, N.J.

.....

AIR MAIL

UNILEVER HOUSE,

Telephone - Central 7474.

BLACKFRIARS,

LONDON, E.C.4.

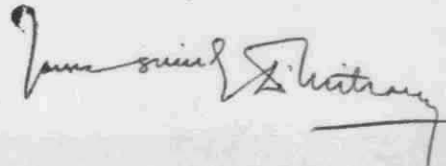
-2-

of Labour intellectuals, has a review of Bertrand Russell's lecture on Philosophy and Politics in which he says - "Mr. Russell believes that one of the essentials, if the world is to remain habitable, is that people who are Liberals, in the sense that they are not too sure that they are wholly right, should maintain, as their profoundest conviction, 'the value of liberty, scientific freedom and mutual forbearance'". Here I am sure that Mr. Russell is right..."

I think all these Labour intellectuals are having a very bad time spiritually as well as politically. They are able people and they are decent people on the whole, but no doubt for good motives they wanted power and they suddenly are seeing how their beautiful schemes are going awry, and, what is even more painful, how powerless they are to handle and guide the masses whom they used to rouse to such delectable excitement in political meetings. Unfortunately for us as much as for them, education is a slow process while the issues are pressing close all around us.

You might be interested in quite a different subject to know that Henry Clay has decided to give up the headship of Nuffield College next year; I am rather surprised because it was just the kind of thing which suited him, and having seen his plans I thought he was going to do a good job with the College. I gather he wants to do a little more writing, and the next bit of the change which will interest you is that, as from 1st January next, he is to become Adviser on Economic Affairs to Unilevers. The second bit of the information is private so far, and for all I know so is the first, so would you kindly keep this for yourself.

With all kind regards,



D. Mitrany

AIR MAIL

UNILEVER HOUSE,

Telephone - Central 7474.

BLACKFRIARS,

LONDON, E.C.4.

10th September, 1947

*Dear Dr. Aydelotte,*

Thank you ever so much for your kind letter of August 28th. That is precisely what was in my mind, and I should not write to anyone at the Institute until you have had a chance to talk to Oppenheimer; all the more as he could not well judge the matter without knowing something about the peculiar relations in our group, and it would not be proper for me to say anything to him about that. I am very grateful indeed to you for taking this friendly task upon yourself.

You must not tempt me with such insidious suggestions. Almost every day I feel roused to write something about our experience with the Labour Government, for it is full of lessons for the student of politics. One aspect ~~is~~ concerns my special interest in international organisation, and is all the more striking because it is clearly universal and cuts at the very root of one of the central Socialist teachings - namely the quick change over to social and economic nationalism - which I have discussed in a paper I read to the staff of the Institute of International Relations at Yale and which the Yale Review have asked permission to publish. I believe it is likely to appear in the next issue of that Review. But that is only one instance, and one can unfortunately find a good many more as contrasted with their programme and provisions for international goodwill and understanding. There is the tragic restriction on travel abroad; to my mind it has, when decreed for rather niggardly financial reasons, even less justification than the similar Soviet restrictions imposed for reasons of faith, and follows the extreme of nationalist visions outlined by Fichte in his essay on the 'Geschlossene Handelsstaat'.

Another aspect is the way in which the Government in pursuit of their controlled economic policy are being driven to intensify restraints on labour. They cheerfully assumed that for their purpose they could restrain capital and private entrepreneurs, while expecting that the workers would fit into the scheme of themselves. In this they have failed badly so far, and it is a problem which is in a large measure at the core of the present crisis. I myself do not blame the mass of the workers for a moment, but I do blame the intellectual leaders who have been telling them for years that all they had to do was to get rid of capitalists and of big business and the new world would rise up itself in the vacuum. The temper among the workers is both one of bafflement and anger when they see themselves under closer supervision and restraint than they have ever been before, except under war conditions, and unfortunately we have not seen the end yet. As the money incentive does not function with our present shortages; as the party and class appeal seems to be largely ineffective, the Government will be driven, if they are to save the economic structure, to further restrictions, and the only effective restraint I can see is the one ruthlessly applied by Soviet Russia, of denying food to those who refuse to work. Under rationing that is, of course, clearly easy as a method, but politically and socially it may have incalculably destructive effects.

When I was expressing such fears, with some anticipation, to my friends at.....

Dr. Frank Aydelotte,  
88, Battle Road, Princeton, N.J.

AIR MAIL

Telephone - Central 7474.

UNILEVER HOUSE,

BLACKFRIARS,

LONDON, E.C.4.

-2-

at Harvard, Yale and Princeton some of them, the younger ones especially, said quite frankly that they thought I did not show enough sympathy with a great experiment. It so happens that my sympathies have long been on the workers' side as regards conditions of life and social security, and I have worked a great deal among them. But that did not blind me to the political implications of a controlled Socialist economy, and all I asked from my intellectual Labour friends was that they should face the issue plainly in advance, and prepare themselves and their followers for it. It also happens that as a Britisher by conversion and coming from the Balkans, I am perhaps more sharply aware of the glories of the English political system, and I see them now to be in jeopardy. One need not be an extreme pessimist to argue that because of lack of foresight and preparation British Labour has already lost the battle: ~~I think~~<sup>either</sup> they will fail to solve the economic problem, and then they will be left with the form but without the substance of Socialism, or they will have to use for its solution such drastic methods of industrial and other controls as to ruin the traditions of English political life. And this is something which could not be put back once it is broken. Let me add that I do not for a moment question the sincerity of the Labour leaders. Most of them are desperately honest men, struggling against the tide which has lifted them off their feet, because they just kept looking at the stars and refused to take any notice of the groundswell.

I am not even comforted by the fact that all this experience is providing me with additional and very strong evidence for my functional theories. In every respect, both as regards national and international trends, what is happening is the very opposite of the sentimental convictions and the theoretical teachings of the Socialists. My argument all along has been not to denounce their purpose - that is not my business as a student of politics - but to insist that if they want certain things they will have almost certainly to employ certain corresponding methods, and that the only way to avoid conflict between their professions and their methods was to face that consequence frankly, and do whatever was possible to mitigate it in good time. It is very easy to do like Beveridge and put on a title page "Full Employment in a Free Society", but it is not possible to give full measure to both those ideals, and the obvious Liberal task is to try to adjust them by using our reason in the light of our experience. Socialist literature is, of course, crammed full with arguments for the need of economic control, but I doubt if you will find a single essay which examines in a detached way what that would mean for our political traditions. They were so dominated by the Marxian materialism that they thought only in terms of economic planning and completely overlooked that this must involve a corresponding political plan.

I do not think the time has yet come for me to write something about this, for inevitably it would take on the colour of a topical partisan argument, but it certainly is a subject which should be watched and studied and discussed all the time.

With very kind regards,

*always yours*  
*D. Mitrany*

D. Mitrany





## Pierson College · Yale University

Master's House  
231 Park Street

S.M. 47

Dear Tom, I was glad to have the  
note you [sent] left for me before you went  
to Washington. It is a matter which the  
possibility of international cooperation hangs  
greatly, and I myself would welcome a  
chance ~~to~~ talking about this with you all,  
as Stewart has suggested when I parted  
from him. Would you be in Princeton on  
March 21st - Friday? And if so, would you  
kindly see whether some time convenient  
to you + Stewart + Wanda could be arranged?  
I shall be here (arriving on the  
evening of the 20th, + staying at Mrs.



Margaret's) all day, and any time in the  
 afternoon or evening would be all right for me.  
 It is just possible that a lunch engagement  
 has already been made for me. And I  
 shall be again in Princeton on Easter, before  
 sailing on April 9,

With all good wishes,

Yours David

In the meantime, you will have seen  
 the 'Times' summary of March 3 on  
 the feasibility of controlled atomic energy; and today's  
 report in the 'Times' on the views of Soviet  
 scientists.

RFD #1, Waterford, Connecticut  
August 28, 1947

Dr. David Mitrany  
Kingston Blount  
Oxford, England

Dear Mitrany:

I have your letter of August 17th and suggest that you wait until I have a chance to talk to Dr. Oppenheimer before writing to him. I have the greatest enthusiasm about your return to the Institute and I want to make sure that there is no hitch. Since I shall be working away in Lowe's offices on Rhodes Scholarships, Guggenheim Fellowships and Elizabethan Seamen, I look forward with the keenest pleasure to seeing more of you than has been possible during these war years.

I warn you that when you return everybody will want to know what you think about the Labor Government and the way in which it is dealing with the crisis in England. I am very much amused by what you say about Dick Crossman. His activities in the Palestine Commission were a little like that. Nevertheless he turned out to be almost our most valuable member though I think the policy of partition which he is now advocating will never work. His book on Palestine, however, was so much better than Crum's as almost to tempt me to write a book on the subject myself for the honor of the U.S.A.

I am not an economist or any kind of an expert in political science but it seems to me very clear that in the long run no country can consume more than it produces and I wish the labor movement in this country and in England would take that fact to heart.

We are having a good holiday here in Connecticut and expect to return to Princeton about the middle of September. Meanwhile I consider my most serious activity the repairing of the ravages which the Jews and Arabs have wrought in my game of golf. The damage may be irreparable but I am unwilling to confess that until I have given two or three years to trying to make it good.

As I think about the matter further, I wonder if it is not a responsibility of yours to write a book about the Labor Government. At the moment I cannot think of anybody who would look at it with so detached and so well-informed a point of view. I feel about socialism as I do about communism that if it is the best organization of society we shall all adopt it in the long run. I must say that I am very doubtful about both systems but I wish somebody like yourself who really knows what he is talking about would write a book which would be a guide to the layman's thinking.

With kindest regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

**BY AIR MAIL**

**AIR LETTER**

IF ANYTHING IS ENCLOSED  
THIS LETTER WILL BE SENT  
BY ORDINARY MAIL.



PERSONAL

.....  
**Dr Frank Aydelotte**  
.....

.....  
**Institute for Advanced Study**  
.....

.....  
**PRINCETON**  
.....

.....  
**N.J.**  
.....

.....  
**U.S.A.**  
.....

-----  
← Second fold here →

↑ To open cut here ↓

Sender's name and address :-

**D. Mitrany**.....  
**Kingston Blount**.....  
**Oxford**.....

← To open cut here

Kingston Blount  
Oxford

17.VIII.1947.

Dear Aydelotte, It's a shame to break into your holidays, all the more as you have had a heavy year, but I am ever so grateful for your friendly and understanding letter. What you suggest would be a real help, as I ought to write to Oppenheimer, and yet I hesitate to throw my ideas at the poor man. So I shall wait till I get a hint from you. As you say, I feel that the time has come to settle down to my study - I feel the thing working in me and am terribly eager, and quite a bit frightened by the task I am undertaking. From the personal relations we have established I feel pretty sure that Levers would let me stay on and give me generous latitude, but what I find is that working in London one cannot really keep out of the rushing political stream, whatever one's personal choice. On the other hand even the few weeks at the Institute last winter made me realise what a chance it gives to work out one's ideas in a detached atmosphere and with a quiet but congenial group around one. *That one did not feel that before was not the Institute's fault.*

I am doing quite a bit even here, but mostly in the evenings, for the stream of political visitors is endless. A few days ago the new secretary of the ~~Rax~~ U.N. Far Eastern Commission, Dr Lokanathan, came through on his way from N.Y. to Shanghai and he asked me to join them for a few months as adviser on regional schemes of co-operation - very flattering, but after my war years I am certain that I must not get entangled again in political work, but write out my ideas and work them out in a systematic way. I've just had a paper out on Human Rights and International Organisation in the journal of the Indian Institute of World Affairs, and the Yale Review are bringing out one on the new Social Nationalism - these are all subjects of the book on international organisation on which I am working. I have even managed to train a few students by getting them to work with me, but as I said, here one is always under pressure to join committees and address meetings, and I don't want to do that. I simply must settle down and be just a student again.

*Your pal Dick Crossman started playing at being a 'noble' and would be found to have been taken at his word and he being active and energetic, is finding himself a real leader again. I suspect, his real inclination and intention.*

Things are very distressing here, not so much from personal inconveniences, but because I fear that the government will find it difficult to climb out of the ditch. They have preached for so long that if only one could knock the capitalists on the head - and I blame not the workers but the intellectuals for that - that they find it very difficult to persuade the mass of their followers that kicking the other fellow out is not enough to make a new world. As I see it, they have already lost out: either they will fail to increase production and then they will be beaten economically, or they will have to resort to some compulsory means, and then they will have sold out their political ideals. And as I foresaw and warned Levers, telling them (which they were quite willing) that business men must do all they can to make the Labour govt. a success, the shadow of failure has made Labour not more sober but has brought out the extremists in full cry with demands for more extreme measures.\* Again my thanks to you, and all my good wishes. *John Mitrany*



Waterford, Conn.  
9 August 1947

Dear Mitrany:

Your letter of July 27th reaches me just as we have finished moving (though the new house is not yet settled) and come up here for a holiday. The next time I go to Princeton I shall be glad to have a talk with Oppenheimer and with the members of the School of Economics about your plans. Personally they seem to me fine, and I feel sure that the time is coming when you ought to settle down to your great book. I see no reason why the proposal you make should not be accepted, but I must, of course, put it up to Oppenheimer and to the School of Economics. Meanwhile I shall keep it completely to myself. I will let you know Oppenheimer's reaction as soon as I have a chance to talk with him.

With kindest regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

Dr. David Mitrany  
Lower Farm  
Kingston Blount  
Oxford, England

Lower Farm  
Kingston Blount  
Oxford

27.VII.1947

Dear Aydelotte, I take it that you are busy settling in your new home, and I hope that you and Mrs Aydelotte will have many happy years in it. I know the house well, having been friendly with the Smith family, and I hope I may come to know it still better.

I have not heard anything from my colleagues since I left and I have not yet written to Dr Oppenheimer - he must have his hands pretty full till he settles down a bit. But I should like to do so fairly soon, and I should like when I send him my wishes for his new work to be able to tell him also something definite about my plans, I should like to come over for March and April, if that is not too late in the academic year. I have two reasons for delaying: we are going to have a pretty awkward winter here, even if the weather should be gentler than last winter, and so I should like to be with my wife as large a part of it as possible; and as you know, I am working on a book on international organisation and would like to stick to it and if possible bring the draft over with me, for discussion. For this reason I am not taking time off this summer but will be here or in London, except for five days in Geneva in September to address an international peace conference.

By next spring I must, however, make also some decision about the future, and it is in regard to this I would be ever so grateful for your view. You can now do so without binding anyone, and yet you know the mind of those concerned and, if you will, could therefore assist me greatly in making up my own mind. I will tell you what I should like to do. All being well, I should like after next summer to end my connexion with L., or at most keep only a very loose one, extremely happy though our relations are. I hope I have been of some use to them, and I have certainly learnt a lot myself. But I am anxious to start soon on a work on political theory, on a sociological basis, which will take several years to do; all the more as in a revolutionary situation like the present I find myself concerned more with long-term problems and very reluctant to participate in the raucous topical debates. What I do not know is whether my personal problem will make it possible for me to be all the year in Princeton, and whether I may find it worth while to spend sometime in India and elsewhere to see new states in action, having been invited by Nehru and other to come and pay a long visit. Do you think the Institute would be agreeable to a compromise, as a start at any rate, to let me come for half-a-year at half salary from the fall of 1948? Please tell me your view frankly, and in absolute confidence, so that I may have your guidance before I write to O. I feel very well and full of ideas, but still, if I am to write that book on political theory which has been in my mind for so long, and for which I have quite a bit of material, I must get to it soon, all the more as I have now had as much experience as a man might hope to get both with the working of government and of the economic system; and I like to work my mental cud over and over before I bring anything out.

P.S. No one knows yet of these plans of mine, and I should not like anything to come to the ears of the L. people till I am ready to talk to them myself. Perhaps you will kindly keep that part of it strictly for yourself. D.M.

My gratitude for all your help and kindest wishes for your new home.  
Aydelotte, also for Bill. Always sincerely yours  
D.Mitrany



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.

# WESTERN UNION

JOSEPH L. EGAN  
PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter

NL = Night Letter

LC = Deferred Cable

NLT = Cable Night Letter

Ship Radiogram

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

.PA154

P.CDY110 INTL=CD LONDONPO VIA MACKAY 22 20

1948 A1 20 PM 1 47

NLT DR ROBERT OPPENHEIMER INSTITUTE ADVANCED STUDY=  
PRINCETON NJER USA=

SUBJECT YOUR AGREEMENT MAKING ARRANGEMENTS SPEND FULL FALL  
TERM AT INSTITUTE

MITRANY.

2580

*cc \* Prof Stewart  
Miss Tomterud*

TELEPHONE No. ....

TELEPHONED TO *by* .....

TIME *9:25/A* .....

TO BE *DE* .....

~~David Mitrany~~  
Gene

GUERNSEY  
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

21. III. 41

Dear Mr. DeLott, I should very much like  
to come to dinner on April 5th - thank you  
very much.

---

And thank you also for troubling to write to  
Darius. I shall be interested to hear what  
they decide.

Always yours sincerely  
David Mitrany

*copy to Prof. Mitrany*

March 21, 1947

Dear Sir:

Professor David Mitrany who is a permanent member of the School of Economics and Politics of the Institute for Advanced Study arrived in Princeton on January 31, 1947 on an annual visit. During the period of his residence here, Dr. Mitrany received a research stipend of \$1,200.00.

This stipend was given to Dr. Mitrany to facilitate his own researches and was not in compensation for services rendered. It therefore comes within the definition of non-taxable income as defined by the Bureau of Internal Revenue.

Professor Mitrany plans to return to England on April 9th, 1947, sailing from New York City on the Queen Elizabeth. His work in this country was entirely concerned with the advancement of scholarship and he seems to me to be qualified in every way to receive clearance papers and sailing permit.

Yours very truly,

Frank Aydelotte,  
Director

March 18, 1947

Dr. David Mitrany  
c/o Miss Ruth Carter  
Institute for Pacific Relations  
1 East 54th Street  
New York 22, New York

Dear Mitrany:

What about your plans? Do you still expect to be in Princeton March 20th to 24th or thereabouts or will you be here later? We want very much to have you at our house for a meal and a talk before you go.

Yours sincerely,

Frank Aydelotte

FA:jsr

Institute for Advanced Study  
Princeton, New Jersey  
18 March 1947

Dear Mr. Dennett:

I have your letter and along with it a letter from Mitrany expressing the greatest satisfaction over the result of his talk with you. It is, of course, for the Publication Committee to determine whether we can afford a reprint of Mitrany's pamphlet. I myself do not agree with it in every detail, but I think it an important contribution to the current discussion of the organization of the post-war world.

With kindest regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

FRANK AYDELOTTE

Raymond Dennett, Esq., Director  
World Peace Foundation  
40 Mt. Vernon Street  
Boston 8, Mass.

For  
Mrs. A.

Institute for Advanced Study  
Princeton, New Jersey  
18 March 1947

Dear Mitrany:

I have a letter from Dennett and have just written him the enclosed letter. If you go to Atlantic City from the 22nd to the 30th and then come to Princeton, what about dining with us Saturday evening, April 5th? We hope to have the Allens back from Bermuda and to have one or two other Princeton friends.

Yours sincerely,

Dr. David Mitrany  
The Gotham, New York City



The Gotham  
NEW YORK CITY

14. III. 47

By Mitrany  
Apr 5

Dear Toydelotte, I found your kind letter when I got to Cambridge, and I am much obliged to you for writing to Darnett. I had a pleasant talk with him yesterday. He himself seems anxious to print the pamphlet, and they would be a good publisher from my point of view, as they cater mostly for teachers and students. But he cannot of course commit his Publications Office, and his only way was, so it seemed, whether they have any funds to spare to tie up in a new publication - it seemed curious for such an establishment, but he said it repeatedly. He has offered to consult members of his Committee privately so as to be able to give me some idea of their standpoint, before their formal meeting in April.

It looks as if I shall be visiting you again  
next week. I am coming on the 20th., and  
I am booked to go to Atlantic City for on the  
22nd, for about eight days, before I come back  
to Princeton for a final visit over Easter (sailing  
on April 9). This will be my only chance to  
have something like a little holiday, so if you  
and Mrs. Ayrdalke will forgive me, I would  
rather keep to my present schedule and come  
to see you sometime during the Easter week-end.

My thanks & kind regards.

Sincerely yours

D. Mitrany

I have arranged to have a conference  
with R.affer Stewart on the 21st.

March 13, 1947

Dear Sir:

Professor David Mitrany who is a permanent member of the School of Economics and Politics of the Institute for Advanced Study arrived in Princeton on January 31, 1947 on an annual visit. During the period of his residence here, Dr. Mitrany received a research stipend of \$1,200.

This stipend was given to Dr. Mitrany to facilitate his own researches and was not in compensation for services rendered. It therefore comes within the definition of non-taxable income as defined by the Bureau of Internal Revenue.

Professor Mitrany plans to return to England on March 22, 1947, sailing from New York City on the Queen Elizabeth. His work in this country was entirely concerned with the advancement of scholarship and he seems to me to be qualified in every way to receive clearance papers and sailing permit.

Yours very truly,

Frank Aydellotte  
Director

Copy to Professor Mitrany  
Miss Horton  
Miss Miller

March 13, 1947

Dear Sir:

Professor David Mitrany who is a permanent member of the School of Economics and Politics of the Institute for Advanced Study arrived in Princeton on January 31, 1947 on an annual visit. During the period of his residence here, Dr. Mitrany received a research stipend of \$1,200.

This stipend was given to Dr. Mitrany to facilitate his own researches and was not in compensation for services rendered. It therefore comes within the definition of non-taxable income as defined by the Bureau of Internal Revenue.

Professor Mitrany plans to return to England on March 22, 1947, sailing from New York City on the Queen Elizabeth. His work in this country was entirely concerned with the advancement of scholarship and he seems to me to be qualified in every way to receive clearance papers and sailing permit.

Yours very truly,

Frank Aydelotte  
Director

Copy to Professor Mitrany  
✓ Miss Horton  
Miss Miller

WORLD PEACE FOUNDATION  
40 MT. VERNON STREET  
BOSTON 8, MASS.

March 10, 1947

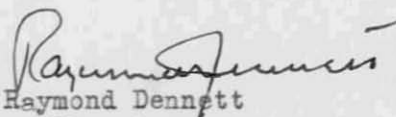
Dr. Frank Aydelotte  
Institute for Advanced Study  
Princeton, New Jersey

Dear Dr. Aydelotte:

The same mail that brought your note about Dr. Mitrany brought an exactly identical note from Bill Fox at Yale.

I certainly will have a talk with Dr. Mitrany this week and will let you know. It seems to me it is something that has to go before the Publications Committee, of which we are likely to have a meeting prior to the next Board meeting in May.

Sincerely yours,

  
Raymond Dennett  
Director

D:w

8 March 1947

Dear Dennett:

Dr. David Mitrany of the Institute for Advanced Study published a year or two ago in England a pamphlet called A Working Peace System. I imagine that you must have seen it but I am sending you a copy under separate cover on the off chance that it has not reached you. It was published originally by the Royal Institute of International Affairs, went through several editions and has now been republished by the National Peace Council in London. Mitrany has recently spent a month with us at the Institute and one result of his visit to this country is quite a demand for the pamphlet here. Is there any possibility that the World Peace Foundation would be interested in reprinting it? If so, I should like to put you directly in touch with Mitrany, and I think it extremely likely that he would want to write a special preface or introduction for the American edition. It so happens that Mitrany is now going up to Boston to give a lecture at Harvard and could be addressed at 50 Memorial Drive, Cambridge 39, Mass. If you are at all interested I suggest that you get in touch with him at once.

Yours sincerely,

FRANK AYDELOTTE

Raymond Dennett, Esq., Director  
World Peace Foundation  
40 Mt. Vernon Street  
Boston, Mass.





Pierson College · Yale University

Master's House  
231 Park Street

6.11.47

Dear Adelotte, I left for a postcard saying that I had failed to direct a reply from the tough Mr. Boery, but I have done him an injustice (about the replying if not about the toughness). This has just come. I have indeed been again pressing for a favourable decision on the grounds of international peace and America's reputation in the world - but he seems to be up to all this. Anyway, we'll wait and see.

Thank you again for all your kind help. I shall be based in Princeton on the 20th for 2-3 days, and would like to see Mr. Boery. Here I am being killed with kindness - so many groups have invited me to speak that last night I nearly went under after 9 hrs. of continuous talk. But I am really being treated & honored beyond my deserts.

In connection with this, do you think the World Peace Foundation would be interested in publishing an American edition of my pamphlet? Everyone is asking for it, and I know we can't supply many from England, or reprint it there, as with the shortage of paper it's almost inadvisable to think of a fifth edition of one

pamphlet. If you think the idea possible, would  
you care to send me a line to Cambridge (Glover Box,  
50 Memorial Drive, C. 39) or that I may get in  
touch with the Foundation?

I am looking forward to seeing you again, and in the  
meantime my good wishes and thanks to you and  
Mrs. Argalotte and Bill for all your kindness and  
help.

Very sincerely yours  
Thurston

# W. F. PRIOR COMPANY, INC.

MEDICAL PUBLISHERS



LOOSE LEAF PUBLICATIONS  
THAT ARE  
GEARED TO THE WHEELS OF TIME

HAGERSTOWN, MD.

March 4, 1947

Mr. David Mitrany  
The Institute for Advanced Study  
School of Economics & Politics  
Princeton, New Jersey

Dear Mr. Mitrany:

We duly received your letter of February 18th but have been unable to locate in our files our previous correspondence relative to the matter taken up in your letter. Would you be kind enough to advise us whether our previous letters were addressed to you or someone else. Apparently there is some confusion in our files. If you did receive a communication direct from us and will be good enough to send us a copy of it, a prompt reply will be made to your letter of February 18th.

Regretting any inconvenience caused you by the confusion and thanking you in advance for your cooperation, we are

Yours sincerely,

W. F. PRIOR COMPANY, Inc.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'C. L. Beery', written in a cursive style.

C. L. Beery

CLB:MR

Dr. Hydelotte

I followed the suggestion in your kind note of Feb. 13<sup>th</sup>, but the publishers of Trice have not troubled even to reply to my letter. They seem determined to give way - at least, it looks like it. It is not very helpful for UNESCO's job. I am leaving you the correspondence, with apologies, because it is such a blatant case of indifference to scientific needs. A scientific spirit of that kind should not be under the absolute power of a commercial publisher.

Yours,

1/11/47.

Last night I had a long talk with Mr. Tannenbaum. He told me that he had read my remarks on his paper twice over and that it was the most searching criticism he has had so far. He cleared up some points by explaining that he used certain terms in a way of his own which did not come out clearly in his relatively short paper. For instance, he assumed that the church embraced every member of the community in the sense that sanction for marriage, etc. was part of the mores of the community. More important, he explained that in his view state and government were two separate and different things, in the sense that government might be influenced and controlled by any one section of the community (big business, labor, the military, etc.) whereas the state was something which could not be so controlled except in a totalitarian regime.

On my main criticism, Tannenbaum felt that his use of the concept of "struggle" left him open to certain criticism of his interpretation and that "balance" was more nearly what he meant and what he should have used. That, of course, would make a substantial difference to the whole of his argument: competition would then lead to balance or at least to adjustment, rather than to conflict and victory of one or the other institutions. It was also apparent from our talk that he inclined much more to accept the function<sup>3</sup> as the purpose and motive power behind social changes than appeared from his paper, and that his sociological interest in certain institutions had led him to put them perhaps too much in the foreground of his argument. He told me that he intends to work now in some detail on the part of the family in society, meaning the rather complex family organization as in China or the Scotch clan.

Thy.

February 28, 1947

Dr. Frank Aydelpotte

From D. Mitrany

You would no doubt like to have a brief report on my visit to the Institute. I arrived in Princeton on 30 January and will be leaving on 3 March. I am going from here to Yale, where I have to give four talks; then for an additional three days to Harvard (I was there from 18 to 27 of January) to give one lecture, and finally for one week to New York, to give one lecture at Columbia and visit the U.N. headquarters. I thought it useful after my long absence to visit some of the Universities with which I have had close relations in earlier years, but in a way I am sorry, as I realise that my stay here has been too short.

As you know, I am working on a book on international organisation and I brought with me material on certain sections which I was hoping to write up here. As it happens, I have done hardly anything of my own work, but this is not a complaint, as I was indeed glad to find that I could be of some use to various members in our School. Apart from conferences and personal discussions with the faculty of the School, and discussions with faculty members of Princeton, I have spent most of my time at the Institute reading work done or being prepared by members. I enclose for your personal interest copies of memos which I submitted to them on their respective work; they are not to be taken as definite appraisals, being obviously only my side of the argument. Moreover, they were written after preliminary discussions with the gentlemen concerned, and were followed by renewed long conferences with them - memos and discussions being intended as a help in clarifying their own ideas rather than as a judgment on them.

It is for that reason, in the first place, that I regret that my stay is short, as it would seem that I could be of some help to my colleagues. And I myself feel that my own work would have benefited from a longer stay. My hope is now that I can stay longer next winter, when my own manuscript will be ready for criticism. / I only have to add how grateful I am to the staff of the Institute, not forgetting the cafeteria, for their great friendliness and help.

28.II.1947

D.M.



CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM OF A CONVERSATION WITH PROFESSOR DAVID MITRANY

FEBRUARY 27, 1947

Professor Mitrany's five years at Unilever will end in 1948 and he raised the question whether it would be possible for him to return to the Institute on a regular professorial salary at that time, to remain until the age of sixty-five. He is not certain as yet that his domestic situation would make this possible but he very much hopes so. This visit was more or less of an experiment in Mitrany's mind, a chance to get acquainted with the atmosphere of the Institute and to decide whether or not it would be a place where he could work effectively. He expressed himself as delighted with the great improvement in the morale of the Institute which had taken place since he left in 1939. I think he rather regrets his resignation and he has now become very eager to return here for the last five or six years of his working career.

He would prefer some other status than Permanent Member, either Professor or Fellow. He would, of course, have to have an adequate salary and he seems very keen not merely to get on with his own researches but to direct the work of young men in his field.

F. A.

To: Mr. Frank Tannenbaum

February 27, 1947

From: David Mitrany

1. Your paper on "The Balance of Power in Society" states your general position very clearly and I have much sympathy with it. I am sure that the economic interpretation of history is inadequate: an interpretation of history must at least be historical, and outside the modern industrial society this particular interpretation hardly gives us the key to social and political changes. We all know that power can be held and plied without economic motive, and saints who have discarded all economic motive have been among the most intractable of men.

Therefore I am all with you when you argue that social change is misinterpreted when pressed into the notion of class warfare.

2. I am impressed with your own position which attempts to interpret social change in terms of social institutions. As you say, institutions may vary in form, but always play an active part. They are the means and channels through which men in society seek to achieve their purpose. They will always exist, though their part and power may vary.

(Incidentally, when you discuss the part of the family (page 487) you might be interested in taking notice of the south-Slav Zadruga, a form of family-community very close to the clan, and in economic respects going further, as the Zadruga was completely communistic.)

That seems a much sounder line of social inquiry than "class"; and for historical evolution more promising than arbitrary "eras" or "cycles", or other such forced categories.

3. On a number of particular aspects in your argument it is less easy to follow you. It may be that they suffer from inevitable condensation in a short paper. But your theories and argument are very clear, and these particular difficulties all seem to spring from a general trait of your theory. A few of these particular points will help to bring out the one general aspect on which one might question your theory.

4. Pluralist political theory of course regards the state as being on the same footing as other institutions-- family, church, etc. being among those which you yourself mention. But from a sociological standpoint that is a difficult view to work with:

- (i) The state is arbiter among, and above, the other institutions. Not because it is an "instrument of power", in the Marxist sense, but because it is the only instrument of complete community. All other institutions are partial, embracing only a section of the community (like a church) or a cross-section of interest (like a trade union).
- (ii) Each individual member is himself a pluralist, with mixed sectional ties to family, church, trade union or professional association, local government, etc. It is true, for instance, that as you say (page 496) unions now exact loyalty from their members, but only a particular or professional loyalty. In contrast, all individuals in the community have a political tie with the state, and that is the only tie they all have in common.
- (iii) Whatever else may vary in the form and standing of the other institutions, the state alone and always has charge of security--the function which has always been regarded as a primary purpose of political organization (and by some sociologists indeed as the origin of the state).  
(Incidentally, you have left out the military institution altogether, though it is one of the oldest and most recurrent, with a strong "competitive" and "all-embracing" tendency.)

5. Accepting the extreme pluralist position, it is not unnatural to go on from that to maintain that all of those institutions ~~xxxxx~~"tend to be all-embracing" (page 484) and also display a "competitive tendency" (page 484, 489).

- (i) That seems too strong an assertion, even on the basis of your own argument which shows that even in simple societies a variety of institutions are always found (page 482), and that institutions are organized responses to social needs and ends.
- (ii) When this contention is applied to the church "at the height of its power" (page 484-5) no notice is taken of guilds, estates, barronial feudality, not to speak of princes and their officers, all of whom had important functions and powers. The illustrations enumerated on page 485 show indeed that in that period the religious factor was all-pervasive, not that the church as an institution was all-embracing.
- (iii) In any case, what might be imputed to the church as extending to "embrace all of the life of man", can hardly be imputed to your other institutions--family, economy, trade union, etc.
- (iv) Having asserted that it is in the nature of these institutions to tend to be all-embracing and competitive, this recurring argument at one point is qualified by saying that all that is "quite without deliberate intent" (page 488).

6. On the ground of that theory it is argued that the idea of social progress, as "an all-embracing concept," is "a snare and a delusion", because one institution, now the state, only grows at the expense of another, (page 490).

- (i) Is this incompatible with "progress"? The institution is, and should be, only an instrument; when it becomes an end, it becomes stagnant and reactionary, as in totalitarian states.
- (ii) Progress is evidenced in the performance of certain social functions -- in the delicacy of the method and the general benefits of the result. Do not the changes here indicated represent the occasional salutary re-apportionment of functions as between institutions, either for the sake of more refined methods or fairer results, i.e., for the sake of social progress? Progress is not definite and finite; it is a process which in response to changed conditions or conceptions attempts at each step to improve on past performance. When, for example, it is said (on page 487) that many social changes which in the past had been the province of the church have not been taken over by the state, is it not relevant to recall that what in the past had been "poor relief" is now "social security", and what had been "charity" is now "social rights"? Public authority (more often local authority rather than the state) took over these activities when it became a matter of making them methodical rather than haphazard, and of making them a matter of right, on an egalitarian basis, rather than of charity or favor. Both changes sprang directly from the new conception of democratic society, in place of the older hierarchical view; not from the "competition" of church and state, but from the maturing of a fairer social outlook and more systematic social methods. The church and other groupings are not forbidden to go on performing these social activities if they want to--charity, administering to the sick, education, etc. Nor are those who need them forbidden to take these benefits from such particular bodies if they prefer it. But they are assured these services in any case through the community as a matter of right.

7. The paper comes nearer to touching the heart of the matter when it says (page 500) that "if one institution destroyed the others, it would have to assume their role". True, the author regards such a destruction as well nigh impossible. But even as a hypothesis he himself shows that if an institution were destroyed its role would not vanish with it,

but would have to be taken over by another institution. That means that the functions are permanent, not the particular instruments or their form. And the essential purpose of government then is not "the details of the relationships among institutions" (page 500), but supervision of the continuous and effective performance of social functions. The institutional readjustment is merely a means to that end.

8. And the paper comes still closer to the heart of the matter when it discusses property (page 402). Incidentally, property has usually been regarded as one of the essential social institutions; it is interesting that your paper regards it rather as "instrumental to the institution". But having said at the top of the page that "when the state grows powerful, it proceeds to absorb an increasing share of the property" of other institutions (the "competition" theme), later on the same page it suddenly concedes that "power goes with responsibility, and responsibility with the exercise of infinitely variable functions" (a "social service" theme). If that means anything, it means that whoever is charged with the function must be given the means-- that is a 'constant' in the evolution of all governments, no matter how the change in functions has come about. It is not only the key to the reason for the change, but also the test for the validity of the change.

9. I could not agree more with the statement that there is a great need "for reconsideration of the doctrine of evolution as applied to society" (page 500). Yet this solid start and the brilliant conception of the paper has not saved you from a number of difficulties, and even from certain contradictions, as would appear from the few points which have been picked out and mentioned above. And I myself would trace those difficulties to the central fact that while soundly rejecting the Marxist position, you have thrown out only half of it. You reject the "class", but retain the "struggle", merely transferring this to institutions. Incidentally, Marxists might embarrass you by accepting your thesis, as they regard most institutions, and especially the state, as the tools of "class". At any rate, all the difficulties and some forced interpretations seem to derive from that demi-anti-Marxism. They appear to be not so much ~~psychological~~ psychological observations and demonstrations but rather deductions from the postulate of "struggle". The process is the same as in the Marxist analysis-- evolution through conflict-- only the protagonists are classes in one case and institutions in the other. Like the balance of power in international politics, your institutional balance of power may describe a situation at any given time and place, but hardly an inherent social principle, let alone an aspiring social philosophy.

Society is not established to maintain certain institutions, but to achieve certain communal ends through the performance of functions which correspond with those ends. The only test at any time is this: how well are those ends being satisfied, in comparison with other times and through other institutions? By adopting the conception of "struggle" the paper is led to advocate that we should "strengthen those institutions that seem to be losing ground" (page 501). That is certainly a quietist view in contrast with a revolutionary Marxist view. But is it adequate as a social philosophy? Would social peace have been safeguarded by keeping up the old power of monarchy, or the old control of the church? Do not institutions lose ground, so to speak, because of functional senility? Have not revolutions sprung precisely from such attempts to keep up institutions beyond their time? Decay is also ~~part~~ part of the process of growth. Does not this argument overlook the fact that ~~all~~ all institutions have survived when they have been capable of remaining useful by adapting their nature to new conditions and conceptions? The old institutions of the Privy Council and of the Lord Chancellor in England are now very different from what they were originally--in a sense, in fact, the opposite, no longer instruments of royal power but guardians of constitutional rights. If an attempt had been made to keep them what they were originally they probably would have vanished long ago, and not peacefully. Here again therefore, the key to such historical evolution can be found only in an analysis of the changing function, and not in an assumption that Privy



Council and Lord Chancellor, and so on, have survived because they have been victorious in a competitive struggle.

In short, I am in the curious position that your whole approach and analysis not only appeal to me but would have been extremely useful for my own work. But by diverting your eye from the evolutionary process to particular landmarks, I feel that you have been led to an analysis and to conclusions which are difficult to uphold, and which would be lost, without social continuity, if some of our institutions, like so many others in the past, were to vanish in the great welter of change through which we are passing. If I may paraphrase an old proverb, institutions pass, the functions remain.

D. M.

Feb 26, 47

This morning I had a long conference with Dr. Schiffer about his work, in connection with a criticism which I had submitted to him last week. Dr. Schiffer cleared up some points, especially the fact that part of the manuscript which I read was not a statement of his views but an exposition of a certain trend of political thought. He also made it clear that he had taken certain particular writers as exemplifying the kind of trend with which his argument was concerned.

That corrects to some extent what I had gathered from my limited reading of his work, though I was aware of course that I was reading only a small part of it. We had a long and useful discussion and he has evidently considerable knowledge and intelligence. I told him that I still felt some difficulty with his main argument. He maintains that the so-called progressive thinkers were working upon the idea of a League of Nations as something beyond politics, something, as he put it, in the realm of pure reason and justice. Hence, in his view there is an inherent contradiction of ~~presenting~~<sup>accepting</sup> not at the same time ideas of force. If Dr. Schiffer produces such interpretation of the progressives I am sure that he has good evidence for it. But it is something quite outside my own knowledge and experience of progressive writers and thinkers in England and elsewhere, and I ~~would~~<sup>did</sup> say at the end of our talk that I still felt that in a sense he had exaggerated his interpretation. If he did not exaggerate what a particular group said, he did exaggerate by implication in selection what must be some extreme exponents of a particular trend of thought.

However, I realize that one cannot judge fairly Dr. Schiffer's interpretation unless one sees a good deal more of his arguments than I have seen so far. I asked him to put down on paper for me a brief description of what particular type of group of progressives he used for his examination, but he said that it would be very difficult to do that.

D.M.

February 26, 1947



Mitrany

February 24, 1947

Dear David:

I am very pleased to get your memorandum on the Report which I prepared for the Committee on Foreign Economic Relations of the Twentieth Century Fund. The questions you raise in your points 3, 4 and 5, lie at the heart of the Report. They are not positions which I took without careful consideration, particularly because the line which you propose would have been much more welcome to the public to whom the Report is addressed. Our whole hope of getting an international approach to economic policy rests in the whole-hearted support of the internationally minded in the community. They are highly organized in this country at the present time and desire a program with as few qualifications as possible. My problem was to reconcile my scientific conscience with my desire, as a citizen, to say that an international approach in itself is not only necessary but enough. I went as far in this direction in the Report as I possibly could.

I think you have missed our point in your third paragraph. We said distinctly that a multilateral system should, by its nature, be open to all and that it would be preferable if all joined. We did not advocate exclusion in any point or in any sense. What we did say was that the negotiations now going forward should keep an eye on the minimum requirements of a multilateral system and that they should not negotiate away that minimum for the sake of verbal adherence by all. In other words, they should avoid the errors of the Kellogg Pact. If the minimum requirements were acceptable to enough nations, then we should go forward on that basis and not insist on universality.

The problem of free versus controlled economies is a more difficult one. All international trade is "international" by definition. It cannot be national. The problem arises as to how this trade can be made beneficial and expansionist to both parties, in the broad sense, and how it can avoid domination of one by another. The world has had great experience with international trade on a free multilateral basis and has learned the principles, rules and regulations

- 2 -

Professor David Mitrany

February 24, 1947

for policing it. It is these rules, regulations and principles that we are trying to write into the proposed trade charter at the present time. There is no similar experience in international trade on a state-trading basis. Such experience as exists points to strong possibilities of coercion. Below the level of experience there are the basic facts in the situation. International trade on a free basis has the advantage that it is more subject to the discipline of a market, and if there is competition in that market, it is less subject to monopoly. State trading is by definition monopoly trading--that is the purpose for which it was instituted. A considerable volume of careful, scholarly work has been done to try to see how international state trading can be conducted on a fair basis. It has not been fruitful. The most elaborate of these was Jacob Viner's study for the League of Nations with which you are doubtless familiar. He canvassed every possibility and came to generally negative conclusions. The experts and consultants drawn into the State Department in preparation for the current negotiations also worked very hard on this problem. The department was fully aware of the absolute necessity of making our proposals politically acceptable to the state trading countries. They have consulted the leading economists abroad. The only solution that they have been able to come to so far is that contained in the proposed charter, namely, a pledge on the part of state trading countries that they will try to observe "commercial" principles in their conduct of their foreign trade. This is, of course, a weasel because "commercial" can be used to cover monopolistic practices as well as competitive practices. It is difficult in fact to see how the minister in charge of foreign trading in a state-trading country could psychoanalyze himself to distinguish his motives in concluding or not concluding an agreement. Certainly there is no basis of objective fact on which his performance could be judged. The phrase represents, therefore, a hope that by tolerance and goodwill and liberal-mindedness, we will be able to avoid dangers that so far as we can see are unavoidably implicit in monopoly organization.

I am glad you raised the points you did and am glad that I have this opportunity to discuss them. They are very real points but they are points that are implicit in the situation--not ones that have been dug out for extraneous purposes in our Report. We worked very hard on them and the answers that we have given represent the very best of our conscientious thought.

As ever,

Professor David Mitrany  
Institute for Advanced Study  
Princeton, New Jersey

Winfield W. Riefler

To: Mr. Winfield W. Riefler

February 20, 1947

From: David Mitrany

Re: Twentieth Century Fund Report of the Committee on Foreign Economic Relations

1. I am much impressed with the whole Report of the Committee on Foreign Economic Relations, its careful and liberal argument, and especially with its wholesome insistence on policies and steps which this country can take herself. We have all too long indulged in the habit of telling the other countries what they should do. It is also satisfying to see the Report insist that the broad aims of United States Foreign policy cannot be achieved with a restrictive economic policy; and conversely, that economic recovery implies freedom from the fear of political insecurity. It is right and proper to insist at the same time that the policies which the Committee recommends can be adopted by any country to its own advantage, even if some of them may have to temporize until their economic situation is fairly normal again.

2. I am also in complete sympathy with the view urged (on page 11) that any economic aid must be realistic. In spite of my being aware, long before the end of the war, of the urgency of the need for relief and rehabilitation, I feel now as I did then that it was a mistake to let the international aid of UNRRA be administered by national agencies. To see that international means given for the sake of a common interest are used to the best possible advantage of the people concerned, is the kind of interference which would have been wholly justified; not least because it would have helped develop the habit of joint international action on a practical basis.

3. My one difficulty with the Committee's argument, and it is a very serious difficulty, is where the Report makes a sharp division between countries with controlled economies, as a set policy, and those outside that category. In the first place, and as a matter of principle, is it not somewhat inconsistent to base the whole discussion on an "open" multilateral system, and then in effect to urge that it be closed to those who do not qualify for it? Should the question of "admittance" arise if the system is one of free international trade? Exclusion would seem to amount as a practical effect to economic ostracism, or at best to something like the preferential system of the British Empire, which would in a way be a negation of the very meaning of a free system. Moreover and secondly, is such a clear-cut distinction justified? Are tariffs, immigration restrictions and many restrictive administrative devices not in fact deviations by government action from a free multilateral system?

4. The differences are therefore a matter of degree, all the more as the governments of countries with "free" economies naturally reserve to themselves the right to use additional restrictive measures in emergencies -- as the United States, Great Britain, France, etc. did during the years of depression. Admittedly, that is the kind of thing which international economic action is intended to prevent or make unnecessary. But does not this suggest -- and this is my third and main point -- that the real issue is not a particular form of international economic arrangement, but the joint achievement of economic stability as a prerequisite for social prosperity? Can it be taken as axiomatic that only a free capitalist economy could achieve that? You and I may believe this to be so. The others are even more certain that only a socialized economy can do it, and they can point to the failure in this respect of liberal economies in the past. My point is that it failed insofar as it was national, or rather nationalistic, and that the real issue is how to establish joint international policy and action.



5. In my view therefore the emphasis is wrongly put in the Report on "freedom", and should be rather on "international", leaving the question of form to experience and possibilities. For the obvious fact is that a general "free" economy is not now possible. The Report says that it is a mistake to aim at universality, but is it not equally a mistake to take the present division in economic outlook as final and intractable? Universality is not necessary, but a hard division, because of its political consequences, may be fatal to the very purpose the Report has in view. For good or ill, a large part of the western world, parts of Latin America, soon probably India, are committed to controlled economies. I should feel that the task of economic and political experts is precisely not to let the present difference harden into an accepted division, but to try and find ways and means by which those varied units may cooperate with regard to specific and mutual problems of world economy. To assume from the outset that this is impossible seems to me both unscientific and unstatesmanlike: it means in effect to accept domination by the ideologies in the way in which dogma dominates the difference between Catholics and Protestants; and that would be to my mind an implicit abandonment of <sup>the</sup> liberal philosophy ~~as~~ <sup>which is</sup> the core of liberal economics.

D. M.

To: Mr. Winfield W. Riefler

February 20, 1947

From: David Mitrany

Re: Twentieth Century Fund Report of the Committee on Foreign Economic Relations

1. I am much impressed with the whole Report of the Committee on Foreign Economic Relations, its careful and liberal argument, and especially with its wholesome insistence on policies and steps which this country can take herself. We have all too long indulged in the habit of telling the other countries what they should do. It is also satisfying to see the Report insist that the broad aims of United States Foreign policy cannot be achieved with a restrictive economic policy; and conversely, that economic recovery implies freedom from the fear of political insecurity. It is right and proper to insist at the same time that the policies which the Committee recommends can be adopted by any country to its own advantage, even if some of them may have to temporize until their economic situation is fairly normal again.

2. I am also in complete sympathy with the view urged (on page 11) that any economic aid must be realistic. In spite of my being aware, long before the end of the war, of the urgency of the need for relief and rehabilitation, I feel now as I did then that it was a mistake to let the international aid of UNRRA be administered by national agencies. To see that international means given for the sake of a common interest are used to the best possible advantage of the people concerned, is the kind of interference which would have been wholly justified; not least because it would have helped develop the habit of joint international action on a practical basis.

3. My one difficulty with the Committee's argument, and it is a very serious difficulty, is where the Report makes a sharp division between countries with controlled economies, as a set policy, and those outside that category. In the first place, and as a matter of principle, is it not somewhat inconsistent to base the whole discussion on an "open" multilateral system, and then in effect to urge that it be closed to those who do not qualify for it? Should the question of "admittance" arise if the system is one of free international trade? Exclusion would seem to amount as a practical effect to economic ostracism, or at best to something like the preferential system of the British Empire, which would in a way be a negation of the very meaning of a free system. Moreover and secondly is such a clear-cut distinction justified? Are tariffs, immigration restrictions and many restrictive administrative devices not in fact deviations by government action from a free multilateral system?

4. The differences are therefore a matter of degree, all the more as the governments of countries with "free" economies naturally reserve to themselves the right to use additional restrictive measures in emergencies -- as the United States, Great Britain, France, etc. did during the years of depression. Admittedly, that is the kind of thing which international economic action is intended to prevent or make unnecessary. But does not this suggest -- and this is my third and main point -- that the real issue is not a particular form of international economic arrangement, but the joint achievement of economic stability as a prerequisite for social prosperity? Can it be taken as axiomatic that only a free capitalist economy could achieve that? You and I may believe this to be so. The others are even more certain that only a socialized economy can do it, and they can point to the failure in this respect of liberal economies in the past. My point is that it failed insofar as it was national, or rather nationalistic, and that the real issue is how to establish joint international policy and action.

5. In my view therefore the emphasis is wrongly put in the Report on "freedom", and should be rather on "international", leaving the question of form to experience and possibilities. For the obvious fact is that a general "free" economy is not now possible. The Report says that it is a mistake to aim at universality, but is it not equally a mistake to take the present division in economic outlook as final and intractable? Universality is not necessary, but a hard division, because of its political consequences, may be fatal to the very purpose the Report has in view. For good or ill, a large part of the western world, parts of Latin America, soon probably India, are committed to controlled economies. I should feel that the task of economic and political experts is precisely not to let the present difference harden into an accepted division, but to try and find ways and means by which those varied units may cooperate with regard to specific and mutual problems of world economy. To assume from the outset that this is impossible seems to me both unscientific and unstatesmanlike: it means in effect to accept domination by the ideologies in the way in which dogma dominates the difference between Catholics and Protestants; and that would be to my mind an implicit abandonment of liberal philosophy in the core of liberal economics.

D. M.



February 18, 1947

Dear Mr. Beery:

We were informed a little while ago that you had a request to supply the issues of *Tice* for the last three or four years to a distinguished Czechoslovak doctor and scholar who came to England in 1938 and is now working there, not in private practice but mainly on research. The gentleman in question works in Glasgow and no set of *Tice* is available there. This is a serious handicap and we would regard it as a real contribution to the needs of the group in Glasgow if you could see your way to supply them with what they ask and continue it regularly from now on.

We shall be glad to cover the cost from here. I take it that a complete set of *Tice* would be too difficult to offer to the Glasgow group.

I shall be glad to have a favorable reply from you and remain

Sincerely yours,

David Mitrany

Mr. C. L. Beery  
W. F. Prior Company, Inc.  
Hagerstown, Maryland

To: Mr. Walter Schiffer

From: David Mitrany

Date: February 14, 1947

I have read with real interest the section of the manuscript which you were good enough to let me see and which, I gathered, indicates the main trend of your subject. I realize, of course, as you said, that what I have read is only a very small part of your manuscript. My remarks are therefore subject to correction in the light of your complete work. But I think that I grasp your central position and that I can therefore venture some comments on it.

1. The substance of your argument seems to me to emerge very clearly in passages on page 260-61. "Without the optimistic assumption of an increase in rationality and morality it need not be hoped that this regime (of the League) would work. But the idea that compulsion was necessary implied the pessimistic assumption that states were not reasonable and moral enough to live peacefully together without a system of law enforcement similar, if not identical, with that existing within the individual states. The new organization therefore was based on two ideas which were not easily reconcilable with each <sup>other</sup> nation. It may be said that as far as the sanctions were concerned the League would be supposed to work only under conditions which, if they had existed, would have made the organization unnecessary."

And on page 261 -- "Consistent progressive thinkers who unlike Pufendorf believed that the rule of reason would eventually become an effective guarantee of international security could ask why an international organization relying on the use of power was necessary once ~~the~~ war had eliminated the last obstacles to permanent peace," (i.e., autocracy).

Your argument is very clear. There runs through it an underlying assumption, which is not however stated in the section which I have read. The logic of the argument implies an extreme organic view of the state. For if the state were not, in your view, a complete and unique entity, it is difficult to see why the same assumptions, as to the contradiction between a generally reasonable attitude and the sanctions which usually attach to a legal order, should apply only externally and not internally. The "rule of reason" in the democratic state does not eliminate the need for sanction<sup>s</sup>.

2. All the other points stand or fall by what I am led to assume to be your view of the complete organic and unique nature of the state. On page 262 you say that "the international community was expected to enjoy under an effective legal order a degree of security and peace similar to that prevailing within the various national communities, without being transformed into a super-state which would have deprived it of its character of a community of free persons guided by reason." Why should a new political dimension imply the submerging of freedom and reason any more than does the present habitual political entity of the state? Of course the above statement would be logical on the Marxist or anarchistic view of the state as an instrument of ~~aggression~~. But if one accepts the national state as being <sup>their power</sup>

the political organization of a social community for mutual advantage, why should it be impossible, as your statement seems to imply, to transfer that purpose to a wider political entity for a still greater mutual advantage?

3. On page 262 you say in connection with this that the new development seemed to lead back beyond Grotius to a type of unity as it had existed in the Middle Ages "based on and vitiated by power." I should have thought that whatever view one takes of the Middle Ages, the political power of the Emperor was much less real and effective than the spiritual power of the Pope based on the unity of the Christian Church.

4. On page 262 again you continue the argument by saying that "there actually was a contradiction inherent in the idea that the international legal order depended on the good faith of the states and the influence of the public opinion of mankind, and that at the same time the international community required some means of compulsion for the maintenance of peace and security." In what way was that different from the general system prevailing in even the most democratic of national states? Has not every legal system, as indeed even the divine system, a panoply of sanctions attached to it as a matter of course? Does that mean a regime of oppressive power? Sanctions are not, I would think, for normal conditions and ordinary behavior, ~~anything~~ but a warning and a check against possible abuses.

5. On page 263 you suggest another contradiction between the assumed unity of mankind and the continued existence of national states. "Unity of action within the world community seemed thus guaranteed. On the other hand, the various independent states remained the most important elements of the global community. Every action of this community was in fact an action of states." Unity in variety is not so illogical, again unless one takes an extreme organic view of the state and also the view that it cannot be anything else but an instrument of power. One need not be a convinced pluralist to admit that the elements of society are multiple, and that the "unities" vary. An individual usually belongs to a whole group of unities -- as a trade unionist, as a party member, as a member of a church, etc. -- yet all of these do not preclude the existence of an inclusive social unity, which is a nation. In any case, isn't it going rather far to say that every action in the international field is an action of states? Trade, scientific and artistic and religious relations, etc. are usually the relations of particular groups. The multiplicity of social relations, as distinct from the purely diplomatic-political, was already apparent in the specialized sections of the League of Nations and has now been formally established in the special international agencies which are being set up for all sorts of purposes, without even the obligation that they need to be attached to the central political organization, the United Nations. The distinction between these spheres is also recognized in the fact that, on the one hand, a state can be a member of some specialized agency without being a member of the United Nations; and on the other hand that private bodies like the World Federation of Trade Unions, the International Cooperative Alliance, etc. are given a voice in the shaping of the United Nations.

6. On page 263 you also say that the international legal order was made necessary by "the divergent interests of states supported by power." That again seems to me to look at occasional abnormal conditions. The normal condition in world society as ~~in~~ national society is rather a community of interest, the interest

in peace and good life; and the greater the community of interest, the greater the need for some common guidance and control. It was the community of interest in checking epidemics which gradually brought about international action in that field. It was the discovery that the locust plague in the Middle East could not be checked by the action of any one state which recently led to joint controlled action for ending this Biblical plague. It was because the great depression of the 30's made everyone aware that economic collapse in one country affected the well-being of almost every other country that joint economic action against depression is now being attempted.

7. On the same page, if I may refer to a particular point, you say that "as long as progress could not be regarded as having reached its goal" the progressive thinker is in a dilemma. But is there anything as definite and final about progress, especially political progress? Is not any step which improves on past practice a part of the process of progress? No one could foresee what steps may be desirable in future practice: it all depends on conditions and our aspirations. A good many things which are regarded as progress at one time may come to be viewed in a different light a generation later; or progress in one field, for instance in mechanical transport and aviation, may necessitate regress as regards the freedom of the individual to do as he pleases on the road or in the air. Social progress, one could well argue, has not meant so much a change in human nature as in the relations between ~~them~~<sup>men</sup>, in the provision of instruments for dealing with mutual problems. Why should this be unthinkable in the relation of national groups without assuming the need to wait for the complete abolition of the state?

8. In short, in making your case it seems to me that (i) you are using an exaggerated interpretation of the reliance by progressives or optimists on "reason"; (ii) from that exaggeration you deduce that they are caught in the dilemma "reason or force"; (iii) from that you are led to set up in estimating a particular international experiment certain absolute premises and tests which have not been applied in ~~more, than~~ theory and practice in relation to the national state.

Quite apart from your conclusions, as far as I can see this process is valid only if it is made to rest on two assumptions: (i) that the state is such a unique and completely organic entity that international relations can be nothing but relations between states; (ii) that this organic state is by its nature an instrument of power which could not be led into willing cooperation with each other (and therefore as a corollary, as you say, a world system of international government could exist only by suppressing the freedom of national states). For unless these were your underlying assumptions, I cannot see the logical validity of the argument that the restraints and social concessions operating in national life cannot be expected to work in international life; and why the provision of sanctions against abuses which is a normal part of every national legal system should in a world system be taken to imply the hopeless failure of the rule of reason. As I have said, these are questions which come up to my mind in reading your brief philosophical section on the ideas underlying the experiment of the League of Nations.

D. M.



THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY  
*Founded by Mr. Louis Bamberger and Mrs. Felix Fuld*  
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

February 13, 1947

Dear Mitrany:

Why don't you write to the W. F. Prior Co. and ask them for the price of the whole set. Would it be worthwhile at the same time to ask whether they would sell certain recent volumes separately?

Once we get the answers to these two questions, I should like to talk to you about the matter.

I suggest your writing in the first instance because you have it so much more clearly in mind than I do.

Yours sincerely,



Frank Aydelotte

FA:kr

Professor David Mitrany  
Institute for Advanced Study

To: Mr. Cooper

From: David Mitrany

Date: February 13, 1947

As I mentioned this morning in our talk, and quite apart from any question of difference of views on policy, I feel that there is a slight inconsistency in some of your references to sovereignty.

On page 189, in speaking of the position of the United States at Chicago, you say that it insisted on the maintenance of its sovereignty but that subject to that it wanted international flying to be as free as possible. Obviously the two things cannot go together, and you may be open to the criticism that you are making rather light of the American position on that occasion.

On page 193 you say that the four major proposals at Chicago could "assume continued sovereignty of each nation in its own air space." That does not seem consistent with the statement about the middle of page 195 that the Australia-New Zealand proposal would have made it unlawful for any nation to use the air-space at its pleasure, insofar as certain parts were internationalized, -- nor with the statement at the bottom of page 215 that at Chicago Great Britain and Canada had asked that actual police power should be put into the hands of an international organization.

Perhaps this confusion would be avoided if one spoke of "authority" rather than of "sovereignty", for obviously authority to do a particular thing or to exercise a particular control could not lie at the same time both in the hands of national governments and of some international organ.

On page 222 you inquire whether if the ICAO were to fail of its purpose, that purpose could be carried through by the Economic and Social Council of U. N. There seems to be implied a suggestion that the latter has superior authority, but in fact and in principle this is hardly the case. Perhaps what you had in mind was that if the special agency failed for one reason or another to achieve its purpose, the Economic and Social Council might try to take over the initiative in starting the thing again.

D. M.



John W. Cadbury, 3rd  
12 High Street  
Moorestown, N. J.

*Return to Mitrany*

February 12th, 1947.

Dear Mit:

Thank you for a truly lovely letter, which warms me all through, and which gives me many ideas about persuading Tessa to break away on a weekday. Certainly we should not want to feel that you were not where you ought to be, and yet would not want to be generous and let you be there! I'll try to see whether Tessa can't get away during a week, on the excellent grounds suggested by you. On the chance that I can't, however, let's leave it still the 22nd unless we hear further from you.

*fa. and suggestions:*

As for Tice, details are the following: The Practice of Medicine is published by W. F. Prior Co., Inc., and my correspondence has been with one Mr. C. L. Beery. The address of the company is simply Hagerstown, Maryland. If Dr. Aydelotte or you are going to take this up again, it has occurred to me that to enquire the price of the entire publication might be worthwhile, as that is one thing I never did and one might discover it was not as high as we might imagine. If Dr. Karel Blum hasn't the work at all, he might welcome the whole thing protests to the contrary notwithstanding. However, I'm sure the cost of the whole work will probably be prohibitive. Still, it might be an opening wedge for renewed negotiations with Beery. Whatever you do, I will be more than eager for news of your success and of course want to help further if I can.

Tessa is making spectacular headway with Norah's trousseau (however you spell it) and is now nearly through the long list of items. She is having some difficulty with one or two items, but will no doubt get exactly what she wants before she is finished. I have never known such a shopper as she is, and Norah has done well to give her the contract!

With love from us both,

*J.W.C.*

To: Mr. John C. Cooper

February 6, 1947

From: David Mitrany

I have read your paper on Air Transportation and World Organization with much interest and complete sympathy.

I should like to submit to you only one point for your consideration. Using the ideas advocated by Grotius, you make a very interesting and effective comparison between the old problems of freedom of the seas and the new problem of freedom of the air. But there is one difference between the two which seems to me vital and which makes the new problem rather more complex. Ships may be free to enter any port, but from their very nature they have to use port facilities which are under the control of the particular national authority. From the moment they are tied at the pier, the cargo of the ships and the movements of their personnel are thus under continuous observation and control. They could not land troops or explosives or supplies unless they can elude customs and immigration authorities. Aeroplanes could drop all these things while on route. It is true that they also can be held to a fixed route, but that either creates difficulties for them in bad weather, etc., or may lead to arbitrary reprisals (as in the recent American-Yugoslav incidents). In their case, therefore, freedom of entry involves a risk to national security which does not exist in the case of ships. It is for that reason, no doubt, that freedom of entry into ports does not apply to warships, and by your own unanswerable argument, in the case of flying there is no possibility of differentiation between aircraft use for peaceful ends and those used for abusive ends (such as might drop poison or bacteria or saboteurs). It seems that because a much greater freedom of movement is innate in flying a correspondingly greater political restriction is bound to be the counterpart as long as aviation is a national instrument.

D. M.

Lincoln and Political Dogmatism.

A friend once remarked to Lincoln how strange it was that in a great crisis the country should pick a 'one-horse lawyer' for President; he would not have believed it if told that it might happen. Lincoln replied:

'Neither would I. But it was a time when a man with a theory and a set policy would have been fatal to the country. I have never had a theory. I have simply tried to do what seemed best each day, as each day came.'

(From Sandburg's 'Lincoln'.)

(The same completely true of F.D.R. and the crisis of the 'thirties.)

Extract from Dr. Mitrany's letter of January 19, 1947

"...My present arrangements are to return to New York on the 27th as I want to see Dr. Niebuhr, who is sailing for Europe the day after. I shall stay for 2-3 days to see some of my friends at Columbia and come to Princeton either late on Thursday afternoon, Jan. 30, or more likely about midday on Friday, January 31. I have spoken to Mrs. Marquand on the 'phone and she is kindly going to take me in for awhile-- I don't know how long she can keep me, and I must try and get a room at the Inn or some other quiet place afterwards..."

Copy to: Miss Richardson ✓