

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

Historical Studies - Social Science Library

ITEMS REMOVED : MITRANY, DAVID - 1933-1939

- 1) "scientists Let Themselves Go On Politics," Newa Chronicle, September 11, 1936.
- 2) "Oxford and Social Research : Rockefeller Gift,"
date and publication not specified.
- 3) "Hilary Term at Oxford : Study of Politics,"
January 29, 1935, publication not specified.

Telephone: ~~Wigmore House, 22, 23, 24~~ OXFORD 47471

Inland Telegrams

Foreign Telegrams

~~"Ambassadors, Oxford"~~

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All communications should be addressed to the Secretary.

~~CHATHAM HOUSE,
ST. JAMES'S SQUARE,
LONDON S.W.1~~
BALLIOL COLLEGE,
OXFORD.

December 2nd, 1939

PERSONAL

Dear Aydelotte,

Your very kind letter of November 8th came just when I was on the point of writing to you. I understand that you are about to take up residence in Princeton and I am ever so sorry that I am not there to join in the welcome to you and Mrs Aydelotte. But it will be none the less warmer for that, I am sure, and I hope that in time we may manage to make you as happy as you were at Swarthmore. For us it means a new life and a fresh purpose.

Will you be so kind to regard this as a personal letter? I should be grateful if you were to give me your very frank opinion about my position here, not only as Director of the Institute, but as a personal friend. I have had some rather curious messages from the other side and I should therefore appreciate your frank guidance.

There were a number of reasons which decided me to stay here. There is first the legal position. Though I have my first papers, I am legally still a British citizen. In fact this was the least weighty factor; not only am I not in any sense mobilised, but the authorities here were anxious (this^{is} confidential, of course) that people like myself with contacts in America should return there at once. If I were ordered to stay, I would of course have no alternative¹ but I am anxious to make it clear that this has not been the case and is unlikely to be the case, so far as I can see.

The question therefore resolves itself to whether you in your private and in your official capacity feel that it is proper for me to stay on here. The work, as you will have

seen from my previous communications, is of a political kind, but it is not propoganda, and I should resign at once if anything else were asked of me. We are working for the Government, but retain an autonomous organisation and control, with of course all the proper self-imposed restrictions which are inevitable in war. The main work consists at present of weekly reports on life and opinion in the various countries of the world, in relation to the war, based mainly on the press of those countries and such other sources public and private which may be accessible to us. These reports are confidential and for the use of the departments engaged in the conduct of the war. They are supplemented by individual memoranda on specific issues and problems as the need arises. In addition there is a beginning with a study of the post-war settlement and we may get more of this as we get on. The first is definitely war-work; the second is rather peace work, and by its nature could be done also outside, perhaps with somewhat less immediate information but on the other hand with more detachment.

This, then, is my formal position and my formal function here. There are of course a number of personal factors involved, but I am of set purpose keeping them out of this letter as I want you to keep them out of your consideration. I do not wish to influence your judgment one way or another, but on the contrary to have the benefit of your opinion and guidance based simply on this statement of the formal position here and on the position at the Institute. We never know of course what changes may happen here to affect my position, but taking the situation as it is at this moment, what is your view as to my applying for further leave of absence? I repeat that I want you to guide me unofficially and with utter frankness, as a friendly service; and if you wish to give me a definite advice without delay, perhaps you would be so kind to cable me briefly.

In the meanwhile I am not losing touch with things in America. I see the papers and some books as they are published, and I share a house with Professor Chamberlain, of Columbia, who is here as Eastman visiting Professor; through him I manage to see something of the American students here. But we are kept pretty busy to have much time for social intercourse. I will write to you again some time about things in general, ~~and~~ now I will only add my friendly wishes for you and Mrs Aydelotte and your family for Christmas and the New Year. And again I wish you the best for your new life and work in Princeton. Always your sincerely,

Dr. Frank Aydelotte.

S. Mitrany

MARK

THE ROYAL INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

CHATHAM HOUSE,
10, ST. JAMES'S SQUARE,
LONDON, S.W.1.
BALLIOL COLLEGE,
OXFORD.

OXFORD 47471

~~WHITFIELD 2200~~

All communications should be
addressed to "The Secretary."

December 2nd, 1939

PRIVATE

Dear Aydelotte,

I happen to have heard the rumour that the Rockefeller Foundation and possibly other sources may give ~~some~~^{lots of} money to the Institute. Will you allow me to express a purely personal and very heretical opinion? No doubt we can do with help, and I do not know what the immediate financial situation is. But I pray that the munificence of these kindly bodies will not be such as to make us into a "big" Institution! I hope we will grow, but that we will grow by maturing and not by artificial feeding. I have seen my old and beloved college, the London School of Economics, utterly deflected from its original character and purpose by a sudden influx of money; I have seen perfectly good professors become academic propagandists by a surfeit of endowed "research"; and I do not mind telling you, knowing that it will not go further, that the best group at the School have come to the conclusion that the Rockefeller money has been a disaster for the School and

its scientific standing. Much depends of course as to who has the spending of the grants and on the spirit which presides over the recipient institution; on that score my mind is perfectly at ease. But we have to begin only now to think out where we want to go and how best to get there, and at this stage of preliminary exploration a horse and buggy may be less misleading than a Cadillac!

Please do not take this amiss. I have a deep feeling, deepened still more by what I see around me here in this time of stress, that the great need, the desperate need, is for an effort to ^{begin by} understand^{ing} the meaning of our time and of our problems; and for that the kind of quiet work and intercourse for which the Institute is so well equipped is infinitely more fruitful than a restless beehive of hurrying researchers. We can always research when we shall know what we are after.

With many apologies for this bit of academic impertinence.

Yours sincerely,

S. Mitrany

Dr. Frank Aydelotte,
Fuld Hall,
Princeton,
New Jersey,
U.S.A.

As from
Kingston Blount,
Oxford.

November 30th, 1939.

Dear Mrs Bailey,

I am much obliged to you for your letter of November 3rd, referring to the request of Professor Whitton for room space in Fuld Hall. Very likely this has already been dealt with, but since you have been good enough to ask my opinion I am anxious to give you my view for such use as it might be made of in future.

I had understood from Professor Earle that he was likely to need all the room that could be spared in the School of Economics and Politics. Even if there is room to spare, however, I should have felt some hesitation about Professor Whitton's request, on two grounds. First, because one of our efforts in the planning of Fuld Hall was to get peace and quiet for the Professors, and the setting up of a radio listening post seems rather a doubtful beginning to that end. Secondly, it is clear from your letter that the present request would involve the setting up of some kind of machinery; we should

Therefore be in a somewhat delicate position, if after a while we should find that we need the space, from a sense that we should disturb an arrangement which has involved expense and trouble.

May I take the opportunity to express a general view on such requests, as they are likely to recur in future? Dr. Flexner and the Institute have always been generous in trying to satisfy requests for room from Professors in Princeton College, and I hope that we can continue to do so; but as space will of necessity be limited, I hope that we may as a general rule grant such requests when the work which the particular Professor wants to do has some relation to the interests of one or the other members of the Institute. I mean that we should use such resources in ~~the rooms~~^{space} as we may have, as an opportunity for encouraging contact with kindred workers in the University, rather than simply as ~~an~~ overflow room for its Professors. I am submitting this as a personal point of view, for the consideration of the Director and Faculty.

I am writing this under great pressure of work, otherwise I should have liked to tell you more about our activities. But I want to thank you for your kindness in looking after my insurance, and to send you our good wishes and kind regards. Please remember me also to Miss Eichelser.

Yours sincerely,

Esther S. Bailey

Mrs Esther S. Bailey

October 19, 1939

Dear Professor Mitrany:

Dr. Flexner has asked me to send to you the enclosed news release regarding his retirement as Director of the Institute.

We are wondering about you and our English friends and are hopeful that the war will be over soon.

With kind regards from us all,

Very sincerely yours,

ESTHER S. BAILEY

Professor David Mitrany
The Lower Farm
Kingston Blount
Oxford, England

ESB

INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY October 18 1940

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED	
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COPY OF WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

Mitrany
Balliol
Oxford (England)

Delighted inform you leave extended on terms
suggested my letter September twentyeighth

Aydelotte

October 15, 1939

My dear Mitrany:

At the Board meeting held on October 9,
I informed the members that you had been drafted to
work in Chatham House and that you had requested a
leave of absence for the first half year of 1939-1940.
The request was willingly granted, and it was stipulated
that you should receive full pay.

I may also say to you that at this meeting
I resigned the Directorship of the Institute, and I will
within the next few days send you the press release
announcing the fact.

These are troubled times, and I have the
feeling that a younger man should bear the responsibility
of the Institute.

With all good wishes to you and Ena,

Ever sincerely,

Professor David Mitrany
The Lower Farm
Kingston Blount
Oxford, England

ABRAHAM FLEXNER

AP:ESB

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED	
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1207-A

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ACCT'G INFMN.
TIME FILED

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

19

To Mitrany
Kingston Blount
Street and No. Oxford (England)

Place Will submit letter to Board October ninth

Cannot myself decide though personally favorable

Flexner

(Charge Institute for Advanced Study
Sept. 27, 1939)

2.1-2

Sender's address
for reference

WESTERN UNION GIFT ORDERS ARE APPROPRIATE GIFTS
FOR ALL OCCASIONS.

Sender's telephone
number

THE LOWER FARM,
KINGSTON BLOUNT,
OXFORD.

September 21st.

Dear Flexner,

A little while ago, while our fate was still in the balance, I wrote to Mrs. Bailey, not knowing you were about, begging her to find out what you would think of my position if war broke out. I have not yet had a reply from Mrs. Bailey, but in the meantime my position here is more definite and I can therefore write to you formally.

Quite apart from my legal situation, I am naturally anxious to do what I can to help. It so happens that I have been asked to do work which I trust will be both useful and at the same time will conflict as little as possible with academic considerations. A small group has been formed under Arnold Toynbee to advise on the political side of the issues involved, both as regards immediate problems and, we hope, future settlements. Practically everybody in the group belongs to the academic world and most of them are well-known people. We work as an autonomous group attached to Chatham House and we are not functionaries of the Government. Both for their own sake and for our own, the Council of Chatham House have insisted that we shall not be asked to function in any way which would conflict with the scientific freedom and standards to which we are accustomed.

Quite apart from whatever value my work may have in relation to the present task, I think that it would not be without instructive experience for my own academic work. But I am in a measure in your hands and I should like to have a decision as soon as possible. No-one knows how things will develop; perhaps the best thing would be,

- 2 -

THE LOWER FARM,
KINGSTON BLOUNT,
OXFORD.

until the situation clarifies itself, if the Institute were to grant me leave of absence for the first term of this academic year. By the end of the year we shall be able to review the position in the light of whatever conditions may prevail then. I should be much obliged if I could have a reply as early as is conveniently possible for you, and in the meantime remain,

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,

S. Mitrany

Dr. Abraham Flexner,
20, Nassau Street,
Princeton,
New Jersey.

September 12, 1939

Dear Mitrany:

Returning from Canada, I find your letter of August 23 to Mrs. Bailey.

Anne and I sympathize deeply with you and Ena in the loss of Ena's father, and I hope you will convey our deepest sympathy to her.

In respect to your inquiry regarding your status in the Institute if you remain in England associated with a group of scholars engaged in political work, I do not feel that I have myself power to give a decision, though my personal inclination is in the affirmative. I shall bring the matter before the Board at its meeting on October 9 and cable you their decision. I hope that they will take the same view as I do of the necessity of rendering the Allies all possible aid in every possible sphere.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

ABRAHAM FLEXNER

Professor D. Mitrany
Kingston Blount
Oxford, England

AF:ESB

King — Blount
Oxford.

23.VIII.39.

8/23

Dear Mrs. Bailey,

We are once again in the throes of a war crisis, and this time it looks as if there were no way out. At any rate, we have to face the possible consequences.

For this reason I would beg you to secure from Dr. Flexner his views as to my position in case of war. Though I have my first papers, legally I am still a British citizen; I am above army age, but the probability is that everyone who can be used at all would gradually be conscripted. Apart from the legal situation, I have been asked to join a group of scholars who will be engaged on political work, in case of war; it would not be academic work, but it would be detached work. The decision does not

depend wholly on myself, but in case
I should like to leave the Institute's ruling.

We have had rather a rough summer, apart
from the political situation. We have had my
wife's father seriously ill here, and he died
a few days ago. It's a great shock to her,
but she's bearing it as well as she can.
For the rest, we are in a state of complete
bewilderment, watching an event. I am
supposed to leave in 48 hrs. for Norway,
having been appointed a delegate to the International
Studies Conference; but we don't know yet
whether we can travel or whether the Conference
will meet.

I hope you have had a restful &
pleasant summer. Please remember me to
Miss Eichelsar and Mrs. Harte, and accept
our kind regards for yourself.

Yours sincerely
David Mitrany

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MRS ESTHER S BAILEY=
120 NASSAU ST PRINCETON NJ=

1939 SEP 6 AM 10 23

MANY THANKS FOR LETTER WILL HAVE TO REFER MITRANY REQUEST
TO BOARD WILL TELEPHONE YOU TOMORROW MORNING WARMEST GREETINGS=

ABRAHAM FLEXNER.

THE LOWER FARM,
KINGSTON BLOUNT,
OXFORD.

12.VI.39.

Dear Mrs. Bailey,

I thank you so much for your letter of the 1st. It is my fault that I did not speak to you again about Dr. Gilbert - as a matter of fact, I only saw him last to discuss further arrangements on the Monday morning before an pleasant institute ceremony, and I left Princeton early the next day, with my things only half packed.

Dr. G. is willing to go on helping me for the time being - he is of course too good for this kind of work, but he is out of a job at present, so that I can get his help. He may have to do some teaching during the summer, but he can keep on working for me, and I

would help you. Therefore, to continue his
payments till it returns we can revise
the situation as yet. Dr. Runways is
supposed to keep in touch with him. He
may have also some small claims for
expenses, but it would be a matter of only
a few dollars.

we are well here and the weather
is too good, for we need rain but for
the land. But the political situation
is bad, and I have not too much
London now has much hope for peace.
They expect trouble in the late
summer. There seems to be nothing
to be done but to wait and see.

With kind regards many thanks,

Yours sincerely
Shirley

June 10, 1939

Dear Mitrany:

I have received the enclosed comment on Aronson's pamphlet from a distinguished jurist, who is universally regarded as the person who most fully appreciates Cardozo's legal philosophy, and whose point of view in respect to legal philosophy and sociology he himself greatly minimizes in the letter which he has written me, for if you could ask any progressive member of the Supreme bench his opinion of the person in question, he would tell you that the author of this letter begins by belittling the breadth and depth of his scholarship and his sympathy with what was undoubtedly one of the main characteristics of Cardozo's thinking. Knowing the man and his reputation as I do, I cannot believe that Aronson is a person for whom the Institute should make itself responsible in so far as a study of Cardozo is concerned, for the responsibility would be upon the Institute rather than upon you or me, as neither you nor I can pretend for a moment to competence in passing judgment.

I am sorry that such is the case, but you are working in a field in which you must tread, as you well know, with the utmost caution. It is a field which has not yet established itself in America, and it can only establish itself by the production of a first-rate piece of work, and to this I hope you will contribute in due course.

The visit of the King and the Queen appears to be going on with a great deal of success and enthusiasm. On the other hand, the feeling

Professor Mitrany

June 10, 1939

2

the
against/Chamberlain government is rising if I can judge at all. That
Chamberlain should have so played his cards as to make Russia the arbiter
of English diplomacy appears to me to show inaptitude in the highest
degree.

I hope that you had a good crossing and that you found Ena
well and flourishing. Give her our love and believe me, with all good
wishes,

Ever sincerely,

DAVID MITRANY

Professor David Mitrany
The Lower Farm
Kingston Blount
Oxford, England

AP/MCE

May 6, 1939

Dear Mitrany:

I am sorry that our meeting with Habicht fell through. If he should come to Princeton in the future, let me know and I will, of course, be happy to renew my invitation for luncheon or dinner at some time that is mutually convenient.

A few days ago I had an interview with our Treasurer and went over in great detail the financial situation. We are in the same position as every other institution in the country, and, indeed, in a better situation than most, but in view of the unknown quantities that loom ahead of us next year, namely, the danger of war, the decline in income, and the impossibility of estimating what it is going to cost to keep up the new building, it is the judgment of Mr. Leidesdorf that we should make no expansion whatsoever at this time. I hope very much that the skies will brighten and, if so, my own relief will be even greater than that of any other person in the Institute.

The two studies which you recommended, namely the study of Islamic political theory and the study of Justice Cardozo, ought both, it seems to me after talking with you and others, to be made. I am not clear as to the persons in either case, but in any event they will have

Professor Mitrany

May 6, 1939

2

to go over until another year. However, keep track of them so that they are not lost in the shuffle.

With all good wishes,

Ever sincerely,

ABRAHAM FLEXNER

Professor David Mitrany
69 Alexander Street
Princeton, New Jersey

AF/MCE

June 1, 1939

Dear Professor Mitrany:

I received your note written just before you sailed, and Miss Eichelser and I thank you for your good wishes, and we hope that you and Mrs. Mitrany will have an excellent summer.

I attended to the items, as you requested.

Now I am wondering what is your wish about Dr. Felix Gilbert. On March 21 you asked that I send him "\$100. at the end of each month, until further notice". I have accordingly sent him such a check for the month of May, and I shall continue to do so at the end of each month until you notify me to the contrary. The balance of the Rockefeller Foundation fund for your studies is \$654.28. I should have made this report to you before your departure, but those were exceedingly busy days for you.

We are now having real summer weather, and I am sure that Kingston Blount is more comfortable than Princeton, though I did read that England was having a "heat wave".

With cordial greetings and all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

ESTHER S. BANLEY

Professor David Mitrany
The Lower Farm
Kingston Blount
Oxfordshire, England

ESB

May 18, 1939

Dear Mitrany:

I have yours of May 13, and I admit at once that there is a point to it, but it is by no means the whole story. In the first place, no business or financial anticipations - and upon cautious financial and business anticipations our organization was and is based - that were made a few years ago have been borne out by experience.

As a matter of history, we began on a large scale with mathematics. This was done advisedly, for I felt that, beginning at my age, unless we started something supremely well - better than it was done anywhere else in the world - our growth would be slowed down and should hardly have been noticed. A brief experience vindicated what we had done in the subject of mathematics. Two years later, more or less, we were confronted with a great opportunity. Hitler had dismissed some of the greatest humanistic scholars in the world. We had to take them or leave them. I decided in favor of the former, and I think I was right, but this entailed expansion in the humanistic field, which took place almost as rapidly as expansion in mathematics. I had been most anxious from the beginning to make a start in the field of economics and politics, particularly economics, for I had felt for many, many years that there something entirely new and something very important could be developed.

Professor Mitrany

May 18, 1939

2

I also was convinced that side by side with economics politics and modern history should be started. Unfortunately, the financial situation was such that we have not up to the present moment been able to do in these three fields what we have done in the other two, but we have, I think, laid a sound beginning, so that progress will be relatively easy when the financial situation is favorable.

I should add that, proud as I am of our achievements in the two fields which have been well developed, our next year's budget in both departments will reduce the sum allowed to them for stipends to half of what they now are - a step which I am most loath to take but which I cannot avoid.

The whole situation in respect to money is enormously more complicated and difficult than anyone who is not directly concerned with it is likely to know. I have spent, as you know, thirty years at this sort of thing, and I have never known anything like the conditions which have prevailed during the last six or eight years. I do not maintain that my judgment has always been correct, but, at any rate, I have tried to do the best I knew how and have the satisfaction of knowing that within a brief period the Institute has won a place for itself which, in my judgment, it would have been less likely to win had we not concentrated our resources in the manner in which I have described.

Regarding Aronson, the problem in his case is not merely financial. Cardozo was a social philosopher, a lawyer and a judge. Whether Aronson is competent to deal with Cardozo, I do not myself know, nor is there anyone in the Institute whose training and experience equips them to decide. It is therefore necessary to procure an outside judgement for which I am still waiting. This is the first occasion upon which I have sought outside advice in matters of this kind.

Ever sincerely,
ABRAHAM FLEXNER

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS AND POLITICS

PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

May 13, 1939

Dr. Abraham Flexner
20 Nassau Street
Princeton, N. J.

Dear Flexner:

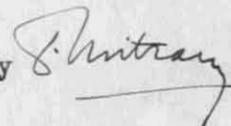
I have your letter of May 6th concerning the applications of Dr. Aronson and Dr. Jurgi.

In ordinary circumstances I would accept your decision without comment. But it is not merely a matter of my feeling and of my opportunities for work. I have to take account also of what you brought up this Spring, when you told me that various members of the Board of Trustees have been wondering, and have asked you, what I was doing. For their benefit, since this is only too well known to you, I am bound to put it on record that ever since my coming here all applications from people who want to work with me have been refused.

I am not speaking of Rumney, who is here temporarily as a paid assistant, and even that after three years of waiting and pressing on my part. But from Williamson to the original application of Einaudi, to the present cases — not to speak of others which in the meantime I had myself felt better to discourage — it has apparently never been possible to find means for them in the Institute. Nor am I aware that in any single case in which I was interested any effort was made to find the necessary funds outside.

I must also point out that the financial argument does not hold in regard to Professor Aronson's application. I made it clear when I passed on his application that money seemed to be a secondary consideration with him, and that in any case given the nature of his work the small sum that eventually might be ~~involved~~ ^{involved} could be easily raised from outside, even by myself, let alone by someone with your connections.

Yours sincerely



April 25, 1939

Dear Mitrany:

Thank you for your note of the 20th. As a matter of fact we understand exactly the situation in regard to Mr. Rumney, and my letter to you was unintentionally misleading.

Have you a set of Aronson's reprints? If so, could you let me have them for a few days? I was in Washington over the week-end and mentioned them to one of Cardozo's greatest admirers, who is also an outstanding American jurist and publicist. He has expressed himself as willing to give his opinion as to their merits.

Ever sincerely,

ABRAHAM FLEXNER

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS AND POLITICS

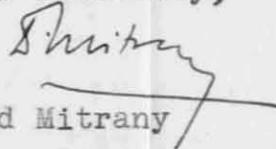
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

April 20, 1939

Dear Flexner,

I am obliged to you for your note of the 18th concerning the Rockefeller grant, and for having made the needed formal application. May I just clear up one point, for the sake of avoiding any possible misunderstanding. The Rockefeller grant is of course not for Dr. Rumney, but for any general assistance etc., I may need, according to my original request and their original grant. I should not like Rumney to think perhaps that I am depriving him of anything allowed in his name.

Yours sincerely,



David Mitrany

Dr. Abraham Flexner
DM:C

April 18, 1939

Dear Mitrany:

I have word from the Rockefeller Foundation
that a grant of \$2000 will be available for Dr.
Rumney for next year. Miss Walker writes as follows:

"I should be much interested in
hearing of the progress of Professor
Mitrany's project. I hope you will
tell him that when he is next in
New York I shall be happy to see him."

Ever sincerely,

ABRAHAM FLEXNER

Professor David Mitrany
69 Alexander Street
Princeton, New Jersey

AF/MCE

April 13, 1939

Dear Mitrany:

Thank you for yours of the 11th containing a memorandum regarding Jurji, Aronson, and Habicht. I would suggest that you take these requests up with Earle and get his reaction to them. I cannot myself arrive at any decision without further counsel.

In reference to Jurji, I wonder whether his background and previous training equip him to deal with the subject in which he is now interested, for his previous studies have lain in a quite different Islamic field.

I should think that it would be worth while having an opinion from the economists regarding the projects of Aronson and Habicht.

I am returning your memorandum so as to save you the preparation of duplicates.

Ever sincerely,

ABRAHAM FLEXNER

Professor David Mitrany
69 Alexander Street
Princeton, New Jersey
AF/MCE

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS AND POLITICS

PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

April 11, 1939

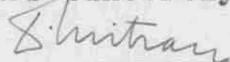
Dear Flexner,

With reference to our conversation of yesterday, I am enclosing herewith notes on three requests from advanced students who wish to work at the Institute next year. As I explained to you, these requests have come to me as a preliminary inquiry, and they would of course be made in the ordinary manner formally to you if the prospect is at all favorable.

Of the three, that concerning Dr. Jurji is already known to you. I know your position on this, but I am ~~now~~ submitting this request anew for consideration because it turns out that Professor Bender, whom I had not known before, has become deeply interested in the work to which Dr. Jurji would like to devote himself.

Dr. Jurji's case would involve a full fellowship, whether financed from Institute funds or from outside. Professor Aronson's work should not require, apart from office and secretarial facilities, more than about \$1000, and this should be easily obtainable from people like Judge Lehman, Judge Hand, and others like them, who are devoted to the memory of Cardozo and would also be interested in the general aspect of the subject. Dr. Habicht's financial needs are not known known to me and I did not make any inquiries, because if in other respects it should be possible to arrange for him to come here, you may think it proper to take the matter up with the Rockefeller Foundation, who I understand seem greatly interested in him.

Yours sincerely,



David Mitrany

Dr. Abraham Flexner
DM:C

17
March 15, 1939

Dear General Golovine,

Miss Valentine Tscheb^{ta}eroff has been good enough to let me see the manuscript of the "Sociology of War", which contains an English translation of four lectures recently published by you. I was very glad and very grateful to have the opportunity of seeing your manuscript as the subject is one in which I have been greatly interested, especially since my connection with the Carnegie Endowment's "Economic and Social History of the War." Like you I feel that the subject deserves much greater attention than it has received hitherto. For this reason I discussed your manuscript with a friend who is in the publishing business here, and knows much better than I do myself the demands of the American reading public. He did not think that in its present form the manuscript was acceptable here.

Paradoxically enough because the costs of printing and publishing are so high in America, it is difficult to find publishers and dealers for small books. My friend also felt, after glancing through the manuscript, that it was not in the form in which it would be acceptable here, where they prefer solid and complete studies to expositions of the general problem; and from my brief experience I had to concur in this. I realize of course that it was your very intention in these lectures to point out the need for a more systematic study, and that you did not claim anything more than that for them. Such a more comprehensive study, I feel pretty sure, could find a publisher here.

Will you please consider me always ready to assist you in anything concerning this matter and believe me,

Yours sincerely,

David Mitrany

69 ALEXANDER STREET
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

14. 10. 39.

Dear Flexner,

The scheme which Love and myself had in mind does not seem practicable. There is no occasion, therefore, for you to inquire about its financing, though I am obliged to you for your kind offer to do so and to support it.

Yours sincerely
David Mitran

Similar letter, Professor Mitrany

March 1, 1939

My dear Professor Lowe:

Mr. Bergen telephoned me today to say that he was afraid that the option had expired, that he had requested an extension but had not received word that it had been granted.

Sincerely yours,

ESTHER S. BAILEY

Professor E. A. Lowe
150 Fitz Randolph Road
Princeton, New Jersey

ESB

February 24, 1939

Dear Mitrany:

I have your memorandum with the accompanying letter.

I have been in New York up to late this afternoon and am returning tomorrow because Anne and I are going to Nassau tomorrow night. I shall read your memorandum and talk with you about your letter when I return about the middle of March.

I have called Mr. Bergen to see about extending the option, and he tells me that Mr. Armour is on the ocean on his way back to America. He will take the matter up with him as soon as he arrives.

Whether or not there will be funds available for increases in salary is something that I cannot myself decide. That will depend upon the Treasurer's estimates, and they will probably not be in my possession before the middle of May.

I am delighted to read the favorable review of Rumney's book, and I am so writing him.

Always sincerely,

Professor D. Mitrany
69 Alexander Street
Princeton, New Jersey

ABRAHAM FLEXNER

AF:ESB

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS AND POLITICS

PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

February 23, 1939

Dear Flexner:

I am enclosing the memorandum for which you have asked. I hope that it will make somewhat clearer to you the work which Dr. Rumney and I are doing. You will know better, of course, than anyone that it is not easy to describe briefly a general study, while it is still in the process of elaboration. For this reason I do not wish this memorandum to be distributed or discussed outside, though I should be glad to discuss the whole thing with anyone who may be interested and whom you may refer to me.

For myself, I discussed it with a few people, here and there, either so as to get their views on particular points or to see how the general idea struck them, from the point of view of consistency, etc. One of the most curious comments I got, and one least expected, was from Professor Huntington of Harvard. When I was staying with him last year we got to talking about my work and I described to him the ~~general~~^{general} hypothesis, because he has an unusually ingenious and quick mind. A little while afterwards he wrote me this:

"I am always looking for 'practical' examples of mathematical reasoning outside of the dull range of mere numbers and quantities, and I do not recall a more interesting illustration than your proposed theory.

"Your subdivision of the field of history into 'sectors' which are functionally defined is exactly analogous to the mathematician's habit of setting up sets of postulates. In each case the universe is divided on a functional basis, and not on a basis of merely verbal definition. This distinction, I take it, is a characteristic feature of the mathematical method, in the broader sense of that term. Whether you know it or not, I suspect that you have been talking mathematics all your life, like the man who discovered he had been talking prose all his life."

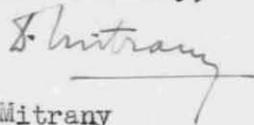
If the work should go as I trust it will, I hope to be ready to publish its main theme some time next year. At present I am not

-2-

decided whether to make it a purely theoretical essay, with a minimum of historical material as illustration, or to link it up to a critical survey of modern political theory, ending with a statement of my own position.

Dr. Rumney, of course, will have to try to get his particular study finished by the end of next year. But needless to say, I will not allow either his work or mine to go into print until I am satisfied that we have done the best which it was in our power to do.

Yours sincerely,



D. Mitrany

P.S. The latest issue of the Sociological Review has a review of Dr. Rumney's little book, which you may care to look at. Read Baine is the editor of the Review and has the reputation of being somewhat hard on those he deals with. Perhaps you will kindly return the review at your convenience.

Dr. Abraham Flexner
20 Nassau Street
Princeton, New Jersey

DM:FDB

Politics, like the other social disciplines, finds itself at present in a blind alley. And since politics - the ideas and the institutions - is the instrument meant to facilitate the activities which make up the life of a social group - the economic, and cultural, and other activities - it follows that in a way it is more urgent for politics than for the other social disciplines to find a clear road again. Politics is merely an instrument, but an instrument which is no longer effective hamper^s where it was meant to help.

Perhaps the general issue has been put as simply as one may by Professor W. R. Scott, some two years ago, in his presidential address to the Royal Economic Society. Speaking of Adam Smith, he said: "One cannot help feeling that his message is not yet exhausted. That has two great aspects - its content and its spirit. As to the first, while his principle of division of labor has given birth to organisation, our problem is to reconcile that with his other principle of freedom. Thus in this respect his work demands a sequel." Division of labor has by constant quantitative and changes brought about a qualitative change in social life/structure. But since division of labor means organisation of labor, one general effect of the change is^a/breakdown of the division between social disciplines, especially between economics and politics (as also between national policy and international policy). Mr. R. F. Harrod, in his presidential address last year to the Economic Section of the British Association, admitted that "the economist would be almost completely stultified if he were compelled to avoid all questions with political entanglements." Miss Barbara Wootton, speaking for the more leftward economists, said already three years ago that "in the end, perhaps, it will be through a clear alliance with the political scientists

that we shall once more struggle up to daylight." Now such an alliance has been recognized as indispensable by Mr. A. Loveday, from an exceptional experience, in the memorandum which he wrote for Dr. Flexner. Economic policy, he points out, "will be largely determined by the state of general politico-philosophical opinion, and by the current teleological conception of the state." *

With this general view one must agree in general. But put in that way it is too crude. It springs from what is still the general academic trend of basing the study of politics on a philosophico-juridical foundation, and and the discussion of abstract issues like "sovereignty", etc. so mainly on a textual study of the classics/ As an intellectual discipline that is desirable and useful; as an attitude of mind, one may still be a "Liberal" or a "Conservative" or a "Radical." But neither the academic philosophy nor the personal philosophy can give the answer to the modern problems of government - to what is, for instance, the most suitable political arrangement, and the adequate degree of political authority, which would make the T.V.A. work satisfactorily, both in what it does and in what it does not overdo. Nor would a philosophico-juridical discussion as to the division of sovereignty between states and commonwealth give that answer. Likewise, given such public enterprises, no mere philosophical discussion could give a full answer to those eternal political queries as to what should be the proper relation between Authority and the subject, whether a juridical person or a physical person.

If the traditional juridico-philosophical method no longer serves the ends of political study, what method can? I myself am working on the

* The need for an even wider cooperation is being felt everywhere. At Oxford, the home of individualism, those responsible for the new scheme of social studies declare that "the final test of success in our enterprise will not be in the foundation of individual lectureships or in the completion of isolated pieces of research, but in the creation of an organic Postgraduate School of Social Studies...." It is significant that this new mood has, so to speak, even a retrospective influence; at the Huntington Library an attempt is being made to bring together experts on the several aspects of the life of a particular historical period, so that by working together they may clarify it better than they could do by each working separately.

assumption that what I call the "functional" method can do that. Its aim would be to relate political forms and powers to the needs of the specific function. All issues of the kind now confronting us - whether the T.V.A., or ^{control of} labor conditions, or collective security, etc.etc.- require conclusions which can be derived only from a realistic analysis of the various factors involved therein - economic and physical, psychological and cultural, and so on; and the synthesis of the several particular conclusions would give the answer to the political problem. In other words, inquire into what the effective performance of the particular function requires, in the way of institutions and powers, and provide them in accordance with the general ^{equation.} It will be seen that, as far as that may be, this is "political science," since it neutralizes as much as possible political prejudices. Liberal or Conservative bias will incline towards "more or less"; but if the function is to be performed at all, the various groups of sentiment will have to bow to its essential needs, as they do to the functional demands of bridge building or road-building or radio control. This, it may be said, is no more than common sense. Let us hope it will be said so. The method and its sponsors will be fortunate indeed if, in the end, it will be said of them as has been said of the work of Grotius - that it was successful because it made original use of Conservative ingredients.

That, as simply put as possible, is the basic idea. But while the idea is simple, as every central idea should be, its elaboration into a general system is not necessarily so. That ~~is~~, in fact, ^{is} a very complex task, with uncertain results. First, because it attempts something new, with all that this implies in the way of working out and checking, in a field in which what is new cannot be cut off at pleasure from what is already established, as attitudes and institutions. That is, while the system must be logical, it

must not be made so by conveniently divorcing it from reality. Moreover, a theory may be clear without being well-grounded; in the social disciplines the only test available is past experience. It is in the nature of this approach that ^{tests must} ~~its/cover~~ a wide range of material - and that is the second and special reason which makes the elaboration of the theory a hard task. The functional conception here used postulates the view that, at various times and places, political structure and life were shaped or changed by the trend of one or more of the major social functions. In periods of profound economic change, as during the period of the Industrial Revolution, the economic function, it is assumed, played the main part in determining the political trend; at the time of the Reformation, the religio-cultural function would have played that role; in times of prolonged war danger, it will be the "security" function. Now, if the functional relationship here implied between politics and one or ~~the~~ other of the sectors of social life is not to be stated simply as a dogma, it has to be tested at the hand of historical experience. One will have to use, of course, such material as the historians have already provided, but it has to be used in a form different from that in which it is most generally found, by taking functional cross-sections, chronologically and geographically, and relating them at all points with the particular political type.

That means a very considerable and long effort, beyond the knowledge and powers of any one scholar. All one may hope to do in attempting such a new theoretical basis is to prepare and verify the general conception sufficiently before announcing it; leaving it to others by a series of -like the special study now in the hands of Dr. Rumney - efforts to work out the various parts/ and coordinate them. But while at this stage historical material is needed only for illustration and verification of the central thesis, even so it cannot be picked out haphazardly; the illustrations must not be merely convenient, they must be adequate and generally

valid. For this reason, the cooperation of experts in the various fields is indispensable, which again complicates the task. Yet this difficulty holds what, one may hope, will prove also the virtue of the approach, as a conception and as a method. No social factor or function works itself out in actual life in independent isolation; it is affected and modified at every step by some or all of the other activities that go on at the same time - and even by traditional residues of past activities that have already spent themselves. The student, unfortunately, must specialize. But while this method, too, leaves the emphasis on the several specialisms, it should bring out where and how they (i.e. the several functions) impinge upon each other. In the process of analysis the several functions are brought into relief, for the sake of clarity and of the practical handling of the material, but they have to be continuously related to the central conception (as it were through connecting roads which at crucial points link up parallel highways), which should thus remain integrated. That corresponds to the true nature of the political factor. Politics is at bottom the function which coordinates attitudes and activities so as to achieve the best unfolding of life in society; political science must clearly be, therefore, essentially a study of relationships. Of political inquiry and theory it should be possible to say what Woodrow Wilson said, with acute characterisation, of Adam Smith - that "he was no specialist, except in the relations of things."

II.

Within the general framework of the conception outlined here Dr. Rumney is working on a special study of Security.

It has been argued by some schools of thought that certain political and social systems are more likely than others to bring about war. Much more certain it is that war brings about certain types of government. Throughout history the changing nature and needs of warfare have been reflected in the organization of government and society. Today such a change is insinuating itself deep into politics and economics, national and international.

That is a direct relationship between the organization of national defence and political organization. But it is too limited a viewpoint. By national defence we mean, after all, only the weapon; the important issue is the purpose behind it, that is the function of security. Security is one of the major functions of all political organization (held by many, indeed, to have been the origin of the state), and as a term it is now in constant use in these unsettled times. But it is significant that, to our knowledge, no one has sat down to inquire what is meant by "security," to find out first, in a detached way, what we want to secure. The whole widespread debate turns round the means, when no intelligent answer is possible without first examining the end, the function.

Dr. Rumney's work, we hope, will do precisely this - at any rate, as a preliminary contribution. For its ^{first} purpose, for us, is to test the general validity of the political theory outlined in the first part of the memorandum. We want to find out what has been, historically, the view and end of security (sometimes physical, sometimes economic, at other times religious or national - minorities - etc.), and how, as we assume, each particular stage or view of security affected political organization and life. Then we can draw some conclusions as to what political world our present view of security will produce;

and in the process the nature of national security itself should have been made clearer.

As a preliminary step, so that he should not overlook any useful study already available, Dr. Rumney has surveyed a great amount of the literature dealing with the social aspects of war. He has paid special attention to these three aspects:

1. causes and effects of war
2. the role of war in social evolution
3. the relation between war and social and political structure.

He has much material in hand which may possibly prove useful at some point or another. But this survey has shown more clearly than ever that a new approach, both as regards method and organization of material, is needed. The existing literature is mainly descriptive, or limited to certain technical aspects of security (i.e. restriction of armaments, adjustment of boundaries, etc.), but ~~does not relate the material to~~ ^{shows no conception of} the wider social purpose of security. According to Dr. Rumney, war cannot be regarded as simply opposed to peace. It is rather a species of violence which seemingly aims at security, but in fact undermines it, since the means contradicts the end. ~~But~~ ^{The} problem of war involves a consideration of why political failure occurs ⁱⁿ ~~in~~ ^{the} relations between groups. From this angle it is no paradox to say that insecurity brings about war, in the search for security.

Neither war nor peace are ends in themselves. They are means for attaining certain socially desirable ends. Where the means have not been devised or are not available for securing those ends by peace, war (i.e. the use of violence) is likely to be resorted to, especially as long as war is a socially sanctioned mode of political change. The problem of maintaining peace is to find satisfactory substitutes for war in the quest for security. And this,

as we have said, requires as a preliminary a real understanding of what has been and is now the content and the end of security.

None of these questions can be answered by a purely technical or by the general philosophical-juridical approach. We hope to get nearer to a true sense of the problem by our functional method, using what we can learn from examining historical experience to put on a realistic basis the study of our contemporary political problems and institutions.

Princeton, February 18th, 1939

Dear Flexner,

With reference to our conversation, concerning the possible purchase of property by us both, here are the bare facts and figures:

1) The property is part of the Armour estate, now parcelled up for sale in lots. It consists of a piece of land of about four acres, divisible in four lots. Two of these have on them certain brick buildings which, after alteration, would make two small houses for us.

2) The price asked for the land and buildings is \$25,000. Two lots we would dispose of as soon as possible, for which we should get back at least \$5000.

3) The cost of alterations, on a simple and modest scale, is roughly estimated at \$8000 - \$10,000 for Lowe and about the same for Mitrany. Lowe can provide \$10,000 towards his share of the total cost.

Therefore, the figures would be approximately as follows:

Lowe	Approximate share of original cost	\$17,500	
	Alterations (maximum)	<u>10,000</u>	
		27,500	
	Approximate loan required	17,500	17,500
Mitrany	Approximate share of cost	7,500	
	Alterations (maximum)	<u>10,000</u>	
	Approximate loan required	15,000	15,000

We have an option on the property till noon, March first

Yours sincerely

S. Mitrany
E. A. Lowe

February 16, 1939.

69 Alexander Street.

Dear Flexner,

I am troubling you with this letter because I have to make a decision within the next ten days in a matter in which you have shown a friendly interest.

You have at various times complained mildly about my seeming failure to settle down here; and last fall you said that even friends of mine have in your presence given voice to similar feelings. Those who did so could not of course know, as you do, my peculiar problems. There was one problem which until now determined all my life, without choice left to me. That, however, is about to resolve itself happily. I can now look ahead and try to make plans for a regular life here. But this raises a new problem, and one which again cannot be solved solely by my own will.

Unless the Institute can do something for me now, I cannot see that I can do much to change our present life, however unsatisfactory it may be. Our requirements are modest enough, but even such are not easy to meet in Princeton, all the more as I shall have ~~to overcome~~ a heavy burden of debt to clear off during the coming years. Housing, as you know, is a desperate problem here. At the same time, Ena needs a home. She needs one after such a long period of isolation; and she ~~will~~ will need it all the more here, if the tearing away from old roots is not to be too great a strain. She not only deserves a home, after having missed so much of it, but she needs it by temperament, I know it, if her fine gifts are to have a chance to come to fruition; and that

is the one thing she craves from life, to be able to write, and the one thing that would make her happy. I could not contemplate depriving her of the attractive comforts which she has elsewhere unless I can give her at least some part of them here.

It so happens that, by joining hands with the Lowes, I now have a very exceptional chance to make a pleasant if modest home for us here. It is really quite an exciting chance, that would not easily reccur. But with the best of wills, I cannot see how I can take on new responsibilities, unless by a change in my financial prospects I can at least foresee the day when I shall be clear of debt. Lowe and I have an option on a property and I must make a decision before the end of this month. In England, too, if I am to make a change, I must set it afoot before the end of March.

Yours sincerely

D. Mitrany

February 6, 1939

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN:

This is to certify that

Dr. David Mitrany was appointed to a permanent professorship in the Institute for Advanced Study in September, 1933, that he is in receipt of a salary of \$10,000.00 a year, and that he has been a resident of Princeton, New Jersey, since the autumn of 1935.

ESTHER S. BAILEY

Secretary

69 ALEXANDER STREET
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

February 4, 1939

Dear Mrs. Bailey:

As I mentioned to you the other day I have arranged with Miss Tschebotareff to work for us full time during February and March. Her remuneration will be \$100 per month. On both sides we have left open any other arrangement that might be made after that date, and in the meantime I have spoken to Mr. Rieffler about the possibility of their employing her.

Sincerely yours,

D. Mitrany

D. Mitrany per F.B.V.

January 25, 1939

Dear Mitrany:

Now that the Board Meeting is behind me I should like some time to have a conversation with you. I should have done this earlier in the year, but I have been so occupied with refugees that I have postponed everything else in the effort to help the victims of intolerance abroad.

If you will call Miss Eichelser by telephone she will make an appointment which is entirely convenient to you.

I hope you have good news from Ena and that you yourself are well.

Ever sincerely,

ABRAHAM FLEXNER

David MITRANY

Born January 1, 1888, at Bucarest, Rumania.

Educated at the Deutsche Evangelische Realschule, Bukarest.

Partial studies at the University of Hamburg, and the Sorbonne.
Studies at the London School of Economics, mainly under Professor
B. Sc. (Econ.)) L.T. Hobhouse.
Ph. D.) London
D. Sc.)

With the Rumanian armies in the Second Balkan War (1912-13).

During the Great War attached (as an officer of the reserve)
to the Rumanian Legation in London, at the request and
at the disposal of the British Government. Worked
mainly for the Intelligence Departments of the Foreign
Office and of the War Office.

1919-1922 Editorial staff of the 'Manchester Guardian' (foreign
affairs).

1922-31 Assistant European Editor of the Carnegie Endowment's
'Economic and Social History of the Great War'. (Division
of History and Economics).

1927-31 Special Correspondent for south-eastern Europe,
Division of Intercourse and Education.

1931-33 Visiting Professor of Government at Harvard.

1932 Dodge Lecturer at Yale.

1917-18 Research Lecturer of the English League of Nations
Society ('Bryce Group')

1917-32 Non-Party member of the English Labour Party's Advisory
Committee on Foreign Affairs.

1924 Technical adviser to the private 'American Delegation'
at Geneva (General Bliss, David Hunter Miller and J.T.
Shotwell).

1934 Member of the British Delegation to the Conference for
the Scientific Study of International Relations (Paris,
Sorbonne).

Member of the Publications Committee of the Royal Institute of
International Affairs.

Representative of the Council of the Royal Institute on the
British Coordinating Committee for International Studies.

Member of the Advisory Committee of the New Commonwealth Institute

Publications.

- 'The Balkans' (Oxford University Press) (with David Hogarth and Arnold Toynbee)
'Marx v. The Peasant' (London Essays in Economics in Honour of Edwin Cannan).
'The Land and the Peasant in Rumania' (Oxford University Press)
'World Agriculture' a collective work of a Group at the Institute of International Affairs (Oxford University Press)
'The Problem of International Sanctions' (Oxford University Press) (also published in French)
'The Progress of International Government' (Yale University Press)
'The Problem of Collective Security' - a collective work by a Group at the Institute of International Affairs (In Preparation).

Contributor to the 'Oxford Pamphlets' and
Contributor to the Foreign Office Peace Conference Monographs;
Contributor to the American Conciliation Pamphlets, to the Encyclopaedia Britannica, to the Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, to the Papers on Collective Security of the International Conference for the Scientific Study of International Relations (International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation), &c.

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

November 26, 1938

Dear Professor Mitrany:

Herewith the check for

Miss Tchebotareff.

Sincerely yours,

Esther S. Bailey

Professor David Mitrany

received:

V. P. Tchebotareff.

11/30/38.

November 8, 1938

Dear Mitrany:

Since sending you Loveday's memorandum
I have had a comment on it from Robert Warren, a
copy of which I enclose. . . I think the group at
69 may find it worth while to discuss Loveday's
memorandum as well as Warren's comment.

Very sincerely yours,

ABRAHAM FLEXNER

Professor D. Mitrany
89 Alexander Street
Princeton, New Jersey

AF:ESB

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS AND POLITICS

69 Alexander Street
Princeton, New Jersey

November 8, 1938

Dear Dr. Flexner:

Many thanks for your note with the copy of Loveday's memorandum.

You know, of course, that I have a definite point of view in this matter, which makes me in a sense prejudiced in favor of Loveday's position. We have discussed this together many a time. But my prejudice does not spring from any preconceived, dogmatic idea, but from my reading of the historical nature of our problems. We are, as is clear, passing through a time of intense change, and at such times forms and methods of government and the instruments and problems of economics are constantly acting and reacting upon each other, till some adjustment brings them to a fairly fixed point and allows them to continue so for another period of relative stability.

It is clear, for instance, that no amount of economic thinking and arguing will either supply the key to the present trend towards self-sufficiency, much less affect it, without taking account of the main cause of that trend; and that cause is not economic -- it is in fact uneconomic because essentially linked to the new ideas of security for war.

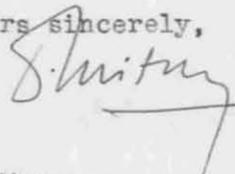
If you sometime have a few minutes to look at a paper which I read in the spring of last year, you will see how in a broad way I tried to show that connection to be both clear and inescapable. It is easy therefore for the political scientists to predict that Mr. Hull's brave efforts for freer international trade will come to nothing or to very little, because the new economic individualism is but an expression of the intensified military individualism, and that without some system which might mitigate the latter, there will be no chance to check the former.

-2-

Loveday's conclusion seems to me, therefore, sound and inevitable, in a time when a simple decree can change the whole financial practice of a country, with inevitable repercussions elsewhere. That is why, from the outset, I ventured to put to you the need for collaboration, and that is the kind of collaboration which I had in mind and which is alone practicable. The kind of thing which Mr. Farrand is now trying to do at the Huntington Library, as a means to securing a greater insight into events far away in the past, is infinitely more desirable when dealing with the complexities of our own fast-flowing time.

There is only one point at which I might differ from Loveday, but I do not know whether it is a real difference, as it may be merely a matter of terms. When at the bottom of the second page of his memorandum he says that what is needed is "a group of students not of the science of politics, but of political philosophy", he seems to have in mind American rather than European academic trends. For our training has been such as to make us put any work for what we call political science always upon a general philosophical basis, which alone would give it unity with the past and possibly throw light on the future. That is so much so indeed that, as you well know, when we speak of political philosophy in England, we mean rather, in an academic sense, mainly the study of the classics in which Oxford has specialized; and that work would be the last thing you would wish to put alongside those economists inquiring into the realities of the present time. But I do not think Loveday meant that; I take it that he felt that an interest in the general political characteristics of the time was the thing needed, whether you call it philosophical or sociological, rather than a concern with the minutiae of this or that truncated political phenomena.

Yours sincerely,



D. Mitrany

Dr. Abraham Flexner

November 4, 1938

Dear Mitrany:

When I was in Geneva last spring, I told Loveday, head of the Economic Section of the League that we were contemplating some expansion in the field of economics, and I asked him if he would think over the problem and let me know how it looked to him. I am sending you a copy of a personal memorandum which I have just received from him. You will see on reading it the importance which he attaches to close collaboration between economists and political theorists.

I should be glad to have any reflections that occur to you after you have read the memorandum.

Always sincerely,

ALEXANDER FLEXNER

Professor David Mitrany
69 Alexander Street
Princeton, New Jersey

AF:ESB

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS AND POLITICS

69 Alexander Street
Princeton, New Jersey

November 2, 1938

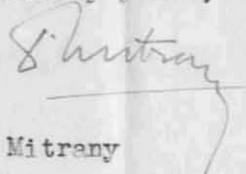
Mrs. Esther S. Bailey, Secretary
Institute for Advanced Study
Princeton, N. J.

Dear Mrs. Bailey:

I had seen the enclosed statement of expenses of Dr. Rumney, and I had myself given it to Miss Wise to be transferred to you; I did not know that a formal endorsement was necessary.

There will probably be quite a number of such small accounts for expenses, incurred by Dr. Rumney and Miss Tschebotareff and myself in our search for material, and all of them chargeable, of course, to the Rockefeller account. I am anxious to save you and myself any unnecessary bookkeeping, and I wonder whether it would not be better either to let me advance such expenses to my helpers and then send in a monthly account for the lot of them? Or, if that is ~~not~~ possible and preferable, to draw an amount in advance from the Treasurer, as is done with petty cash, and use it against receipts until exhausted? Either the one or the other arrangement would suit me and I hope one of them can be put through so as to avoid the accumulation perhaps of several dozen small payments each month.

Sincerely yours,



D. Mitrany

P. S. I will hold Dr. Rumney's account back until I hear from you about this.

69 ALEXANDER STREET
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

October 26, 1938

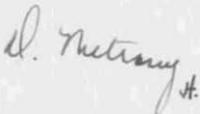
Mrs. Esther S. Bailey, Secretary
Institute for Advanced Study
Princeton, N. J.

Dear Mrs. Bailey:

I have seen Miss Tchegotareff this morning and have offered an arrangement on the terms which I discussed with you yesterday -- \$60.00 a month for a half-time appointment. I have made it clear to her that it is a personal arrangement, not an Institute appointment, as I want to keep the arrangement as flexible as possible for the time being.

I would leave it to you to deal with the remuneration for the few days which remain of this month, as you kindly suggested yesterday.

Sincerely,



D. Mitrany

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS AND POLITICS

69 Alexander Street
Princeton, New Jersey

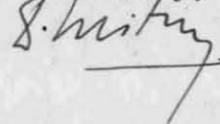
October 25, 1938

Dear Flexner:

Many thanks for your letter of yesterday concerning Miss Wassermann. The procedure which your letter indicates is obviously the only one which can be followed for any appointment to the Institute. But your comments do not quite cover the present case.

The whole issue of my getting someone to help me with library research was thrashed out by you and me at the time when the Rockefeller grant was made, before I went to Europe, and both the person and the terms were mentioned in those conversations; the only thing that was left open was whether on my seeing Miss Wassermann I would find her suitable or not. But in any case, Miss Wassermann does not hold an appointment by and to the Institute, she is in no way a member. She is simply a helper which I have engaged within the grant made to me by the Rockefeller Foundation, and the Foundation made it clear, I think, that they wanted to help me and were not concerned how the money was used as long as it was used for the purpose for which the money was asked. You will see, therefore, that while I felt it quite natural to discuss with you Miss Wassermann's possible appointment, it is not really a case in which the Institute is called upon to assume specific responsibility.

Yours sincerely,



October 24, 1938

Dear Mitrany:

I have found in the files your letter of June 5, 1938, to Mrs. Bailey. As I was in London at the time, Mrs. Bailey assumed that you had spoken with me about Miss Wasserman - and perhaps you did, but I have no recollection of it. Your letter to Mrs. Bailey reads, after a reference to Rumney, as follows:

"In the meantime I have also agreed to give Miss Wassermann a fellowship of \$1200 for one year, beginning July 1, etc."

The form employed by the other schools is illustrated by the following letter from Professor von Neumann:

"Dear Dr. Flexner:

This is to recommend that Dr. V. Bargmann, of Zurich, be admitted as a member of the School of Mathematics of the Institute for the year 1937-1938."

My action takes the following form:

"Dear Dr. Bargmann:

On the recommendation of the professors of the School of Mathematics of the Institute for Advanced Study, I have pleasure in inviting you to become a member of the Institute for the academic year 1937-1938, with a stipend of -----."

By adhering to this model the practice is uniform and the Institute is not committed until, if it should seem to me essential, I could make inquiry on my own account, though, as a matter of fact, I believe I have never done so.

Ever sincerely,

ABRAHAM FLEXNER

Professor David Mitrany
69 Alexander Street
Princeton, N. J.

as from Kingston Polonut

Oxford.

Sept. 27.

Dear Flexner,

When I wrote you a week ago we all (including T.J.) assumed that by capitulating to Hitler, the thing was finished, and it was a matter merely of seeing the repercussions on the European system and on polshes here. Now we are all, even in the villages, preparing for probable war. It seems more senseless than ever, but I have little hope left - not because the issue itself is insoluble, but because the Germans are so incredibly infantile in their political judgment. They still think, we know, that at the last moment England will let the Greeks in the lands. In fact they have raised everybody here - there was no such unity and determination in 1914, it is quite amazing.

All Americans are naturally get away, but with some difficulty I got a berth on the *Concorde Amsterdam*, Oct. 8. However, that is now on the lap of the Gods. We are all sick with anxiety and distress - the strain is heavier, unless, for those who have experienced the Great War. Please do not make things worse for us - but you will understand, I am sure, what it means to us here.

W. J. Mitrany

October 24, 1938

Dear Professor Mitrany:

I showed Dr. Flexner the enclosed correspondence regarding Miss Wassermann. He is very sorry that there is nothing that he can do to help. When he was in Washington recently, he was told by the government officials that there were 27,000 on the "waiting list" of Germans, and that it was practically impossible to get action promptly, as the number of applications was so large.

Before you take any further steps in reference to Miss Wassermann or her successor, Dr. Flexner would like to talk to you about the problem.

Sincerely yours,

ESB

ESTHER S. BAILEY

1206-A

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CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

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FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

CHECK
ACCT'G INFMN.
TIME FILED

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

September 22, 1938

Mitrany
Kingston Blount
Oxford, England

Regard it utterly unnecessary for you to remain abroad until this mess is settled Shall expect you here October first

Flexner

3.12

Charge Institute for Advanced Study

WESTERN UNION MESSENGERS ARE AVAILABLE FOR THE DELIVERY OF NOTES AND PACKAGES.

THE LOWER FARM,
KINGSTON BLOUNT,
OXFORD.

20-IX-38.

Dear Flexner,

I hope you will agree with me that it was worth while to put my going for a fortnight - this place is like a political laboratory at the moment, in which political opinion for or against action is made & changed from moment to moment. A few days ago I expected that we should be all mobilised. Today, after lunching with T.D.'s group, I realised that England was passing through a period of ^{hence} searching as I have not seen even in the Great War, and strong as my feelings are for getting away from this painful mess, I felt that I could not help but be a bit by looking on.

I have never seen, or thought possible, such dejection as I meet everywhere - in Whitshill as in this village. Even those who think that the Government could do ~~so~~ other, have a sense that something has snapped in English life and tradition. Really, I would have to make use of a fictional style to give you any impression of the mood here. Even I. J., who used to be all for an understanding with ~~fig.~~, said today - 'Perhaps we are a debile and tired nation'.

I have just come from town and I am writing these few lines in a hurry to catch the 'Normandie'. I will write again, and unless things blow up after all, I shall get whatever boat I can in a fortnight at the latest.

We are so sick here that we can neither eat nor talk. Write kind
 notes for Misty

P.S. The curious thing is that the French seem to have cracked up as badly as the English. It did not take much persuasion to bring them to accept the English view. And while the Trade Union & Labour groups are furious, I hear that they have been afraid to act because their own womenfolk are solidly against any risk of war.

THE LOWER FARM,
KINGSTON BLOUNT,
OXFORD.

1. VII. 38.

Dear Mrs. Bailey,

From the London School of Economics
you will get the second Supplement to their
Bibliography of the Social Sciences, together
with a bill. It is a thing which we
should have handy, on our own shelves;
and as I own myself the four original
volumes and the first Supplement, I will bring
them with me and use them for our Library.
The latest volume was a limited edition,
and I thought it better to get one while we could.

I may order a few more books while
here - nothing substantial, and only things
which we might need to have close at hand;
anything which is not second-hand and too cheap
to drop, and which I don't happen to need for
immediate use, I will leave to be ordered by
you when I return.

I hope you are having a pleasant
summer & some rest. We are having a curious
time - cool & dry, much to dry for the garden,
with all good wishes

Yours sincerely
David Mitrany

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1201-S

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION⁽²¹⁾

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter

NM = Night Message

NL = Night Letter

LC = Deferred Cable

NLT = Cable Night Letter

Ship Radiogram

R. B. WHITE
PRESIDENT

NEWCOMB CARLTON
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

J. C. WILLEVER
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

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

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

1938 SEP 20 PM 8 23

NN128 CABLE=LONDON 21 20

NLT VANSTITUTE=
PRINCETON NJ=

BECAUSE OF EXTREMELY COMPLEX AND STILL UNCERTAIN SITUATION
THINK WORTH WHILE DELAYING FORTNIGHT TO WATCH WRITING=
MITRANY.

WESTERN UNION GIFT ORDERS SOLVE THE PERPLEXING QUESTION OF WHAT TO GIVE

Kingston Blount
Oxford

22.IX.1938

Dear Flexner,

Your cable has come. No, I did not think of staying till the mess is cleared up, as that will take a long time. At present I have put off my sailing by only a fortnight because I want to get away -who would not-, but I should stay really till the crisis is over. What would you think of a geologist who walked away from an eruption, or a pathologist from an epidemic? However unpleasant the conditions, must they not take their chance to watch realities while they can? Here is a historical crisis unrolling itself before our very eyes, with all the ingredients of war and revolution, and certainly with grave effects on the international system and, possibly, on government everywhere.

When I cancelled my passage last Tuesday I asked them to try to get me a berth a fortnight later, on the 'Washington'. I have not yet heard about this and I hear that the boats are being rushed, but I shall be again in town tomorrow.

Yours sincerely

DMitrany

July 2, 1938

Dear Professor Mitrany:

Thank you for your letter of June 5 telling us of Dr. Rumney and Miss Wassermann. I shall follow your suggestions.

I wish to report that the check for \$1,000 towards your studies in 1938-1939 has been received from the Rockefeller Foundation, and I have already requested the Treasurer of the Institute to have checks, payable in London in U. S. dollars, drawn as follows:

J. Rumney	\$300.00 ✓
Ursula Wassermann	\$200.00 ✓

As soon as they come through, we shall send them to Dr. Rumney and Miss Wassermann, respectively.

On the July requisition I shall ask for \$416.00, payments for July and August on Dr. Rumney's stipend (not salary), as his status is membership in Institute for 1938-1939 not membership on the faculty.

We are now having summer weather in Princeton, which makes us desire to go ^{to} some place less warm and muggy. Dr. and Mrs. Flexner and Miss Eichelser returned on Monday. Miss Eichelser will hold the fort here while Dr. and Mrs. Flexner go to Canada, and next week or the week after I shall go North to visit my relatives.

With kind regards and all good wishes to you and Mrs. Mitrany, I am
Sincerely yours, ESTHER S. BAILEY

ESB



THE LONDON SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS AND POLITICAL SCIENCE.
(UNIVERSITY OF LONDON)

HOUGHTON STREET,
ALDWYCH,
LONDON, W.C. 2.

Telephone: Holborn 9783-8.
Telegrams: Poleconics, Estrand, London.

Replies to this letter should be addressed to:
THE BRITISH LIBRARY OF
POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SCIENCE.

28 June 1938

WCD/EW

Dear Sirs,

At the request of Dr. David Mitrany we are to-day posting to you a copy of the Second Supplement to "A London Bibliography of the Social Sciences" which we trust will reach you safely. Our account for the Supplement is enclosed herewith, and we shall look forward to receiving payment from you in due course.

Yours faithfully,

Librarian

The Institute for Advanced Study,
Princeton,
New Jersey,
U.S.A.

15 June 1938

Dear Mitrany:

I am very much interested in your letter, and look forward with keen pleasure to meeting your new assistant. I am afraid it will not be possible for me to take up the question of a course here until the members of our faculty return in September, but I will see what can be done then.

It will give me great pleasure to see you this summer, and I shall be in Oxford and London from about the middle of July until the first of September. Rhodes House, Oxford will always be a suitable address.

Einstein's visit at commencement time was a great success. We all admired your excellent translation of his address. I think he enjoyed the day. He said to me, walking about our lawn, "I feel as if I were among friends."

Yours very sincerely,

Professor David Mitrany
Kingston Blount
Oxford, England

Kingston Blount

Sept.

5. vi. 38.

June 5, 1938

Dear Mrs. Bailey,

I have seen Dr. Rumney and he would be grateful if he could have his July & August salaries sent together, as he will have various expenses with rooms, railway etc. I have also seen Mrs. Rumney, who seems a nice, sensible person.

In the meantime I have also agreed to give Miss Wassmann a 'fellowship' of \$1200 for one year, beginning on July 1. So that the payments due to these two during the summer are:

Dr. Rumney	Travelling allowance	x \$ 300
	Salary July & August	416.-
Miss Wassmann	Grant July & August	x 200.-

The x items are Rockefeller money and could be sent as soon as the money is available. I have not said to either of them where this money comes - if they hear of 'Rockefeller' they are apt to think that there is no end to it.

The Rumneys propose to sail late in August. Miss Wassmann will probably live with the Lones, she tells me.

All is well here, relatively. I hope Princeton is still pleasant and that you are keeping well. Let me hear from you soon.

Yrs.

David Mitrany

Miss Ursula Wassermann

6 Balvedere House

Belize Rd.

London N.W.6.

as from Kingstan Blount
Oxford.

31. v. 38.

Mitrany

England

Dear President Aydelotte,

You know, I believe, that I am to have next year a young English sociologist, Dr. J. Rumney, as my assistant. We will no doubt keep him for a second year, but after that, under the unwritten rule of the Institute, we shall have to let him go.

For that reason I am anxious not to cut him off altogether from teaching. As Princeton has no Sociology at all, I had assumed that they would be glad to have a course given them for nothing; Dr. F. saw President Dobb, and rather only told me that 'there were great difficulties'. I know them.

I will eventually try elsewhere. But I remembered the talk we had in purchase the year before last, with some members of your faculty; and I wondered whether you might not like to test the interest of the students in Sociology, by getting Rumney to give a free introductory course in general Sociology. He could give one in Social Psychology, too, if

that were desired.

Naturally, I shall want all the help he can give me, but there should be no difficulty in releasing him for one day a week; he has all the material ready. He is an able fellow; he has held a Rockefeller fellowship some few years ago. The enclosed is an announcement of a book which is due next week. He is at present finishing, for the Institute of Sociology, a small study on Race.

If you are coming over, please give me a chance to see you. With many kind remembrances for yourself and two.

Aydelotte,

Yours very sincerely

J. Mitrany

4 from Kingston Blount
Oxford.
29. v. 32

Dear Flexner,

Many thanks for your note. I
expect to be most of the time at the above
address - Tel. Kingston Blount 236 ;
but Eva would always know my whereabouts,
another phone is Woburn 2729. (London)

With many kind regards,

Yours S.M.

May 7, 1938

Dear Mitrany:

On returning from New York I find your note regarding Jurji whom I shall see in the course of the morning.

You say "there is no doubt that the arrangements have been hampered by some misunderstandings within the Institute". This is not a correct statement, in so far as any rate as I am concerned, for there have been no misunderstandings whatsoever as between Jurji and myself. When Jurji came on Hitti's recommendation, there was a distinct understanding that he would receive a stipend for a year and perhaps a second year. Beyond that the use of money within each school was to be determined absolutely by the members of the faculty of the school concerned. In addition, stipends are necessarily limited to one or two years and are given only to persons who have shown distinct promise in their field of work. Further, only under the most exceptional circumstances has any stipend ever been extended beyond two years, inasmuch as the vitality and influence of the Institute depend upon its having a steady stream of able and advanced workers flowing through it. Of course, almost everyone would like to remain here longer, some of them indefinitely, but the function of the Institute would be frustrated if we did not adhere to the principle which I have stated above and which is, by the way, the principle upon which the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research

D.M.

May 7, 1938

2

has been operated from the beginning over forty years ago.

In Jurji's case, as well as in certain others more than a year ago the humanistic group met in this office and discussed the question of stipends, and it was then decided by the humanists interested in the particular cases that Jurji's grant like certain others should not and ought not to be continued beyond the present year. I therefore notified him more than a year ago that the current year would be his last year in the same way in which I notified others. There has therefore been absolutely no misunderstanding within the Institute in so far as I am concerned or, as far as I have ever known, in so far as any member of the humanistic group is concerned.

Should Jurji have been retained, I would never have agreed to transferring him to your field. Surely the field of Islamic political theory is not a field for an amateur who has never given any study to or displayed any interest in political theory. Of course, he could serve as a translator from Arabic into English, but no appointment to a stipend would be made to a person of such limited qualifications. If you will read the current bulletin, you will see that stipends go only to persons who have already received a doctor's degree in the subject in which they wish to work at the Institute and who beyond this have given evidence of exceptional ability and promise. Jurji's case therefore is not helped by your willingness to use him in your field in which you are working out a new and fundamental approach to political theory which certainly requires wide knowledge of the entire subject as a prerequisite. In the field to which he has devoted himself and in which he has been working his opportunities here are considered to be exhausted by those who are competent to judge.

I may add that I am deeply concerned personally for the welfare of Jurji and his family, as is Hersfeld also, but we should be absolutely swamped if considerations of this kind determined our policy in general or in particular.

With all good wishes,
Sincerely yours, ABRAHAM FLEXNER

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS AND POLITICS

69 Alexander Street
Princeton, New Jersey

May 6, 1938

Dr. Abraham Flexner
20 Nassau Street
Princeton, N. J.

Dear Flexner:

Though I realize the difficulties which are pressing upon you, I should like before leaving to beg you again to consider, if at all possible, whether anything could be done for Jurji. There is no doubt that the arrangements have been hampered by some misunderstandings within the Institute, and I know that you would want to take this into consideration. Apart from that, what he wants to do now is really original and worthwhile, as for some peculiar reason no one has worked as yet systematically in the field of Islamic political theory.

Yours sincerely,

Dm.

D. Mitrany

69 ALEXANDER STREET
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

May 2, 1938

Dear Mrs. Bailey:

Dr. Flexner tells me that the Rockefeller Foundation will be sending a first payment of \$1,000 on July 1. I have promised Dr. Rumney a contribution of \$300 towards his traveling expenses, and I should be obliged if you would send him a check for this amount as soon as you get the money from the Foundation.

Handwritten note:
- told
6.28.

Yours sincerely,

DM.

D. Mitrany

Mrs. Esther S. Bailey
20 Nassau Street
Princeton, New Jersey
DM:MBG

April 29, 1958

Dear Mitrany:

Thank you for letting me see the Chatham House publication. I should have written you more promptly but for the fact that I had to be in town for two days this week. I am glad to see that you are included in this publication. There is, however, a doubt which occurs to me which I will explain to you when next we meet.

I have had a talk with President Dodds about Rumney, and I shall tell you its substance when I see you. I need not say that Dodds appreciates our willingness to cooperate, but there are difficulties which I myself see more clearly now than I did some months ago.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Professor David Mitrany
69 Alexander Street
Princeton, New Jersey

ABRAHAM FLEXNER

AF:ESB

April 26, 1938

Dear Mitrany:

The Rockefeller Foundation writes me that they will forward the check for \$1000, representing payment for one-half their grant to the Institute for the year 1938-1939, on July 1. Check for the second half will be sent on January 1, 1939.

Ever sincerely,

ABRAHAM FLEXNER

Professor David Mitrany
69 Alexander Street
Princeton, New Jersey

AF/MCE

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS AND POLITICS

69 Alexander Street
Princeton, New Jersey

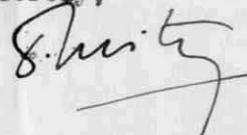
April 18, 1938

Dear Dr. Flexner:

If the University is interested, I am sure that Dr. Rumney would be willing to offer some teaching in sociology during the coming year. I cannot, of course, release him for a full course, but there should be no difficulty in his finding time for a weekly seminar for more advanced students.

Dr. Rumney has had exceptionally fine training as a student of Hobhouse and of Ginsberg and he later acted as Ginsberg's assistant. He has done a great deal of work for the Institute of Sociology in London and has acted as correspondent for England for the Institute of Social Research now associated with Columbia. He was chosen by the Spencer Trustees to write a volume on the sociology of Herbert Spencer, as a concluding volume in an edition of Spencer's works. A small general volume on sociology is coming out in London sometime this Spring.

Sincerely,



D. Mitrany

February 12, 1938

Dear Professor Mitrany:

I have your letter of February 9 and with Dr. Flexner's approval I have asked Miss Wise to communicate with Mr. Warren regarding the necessary carpentry work to make the room next to yours at 69 Alexander Street suitable for use.

Sincerely yours,

ESTHER S. BAILEY

Professor David Mitrany
69 Alexander Street
Princeton, New Jersey

ESB

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS AND POLITICS

69 Alexander Street
Princeton, New Jersey

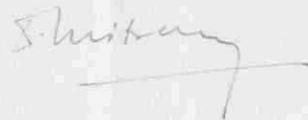
February 9, 1938

Dear Mrs. Bailey:

On the assumption that Dr. Rumney will be willing to come next fall, may I lay claim to the little room next to mine on the third floor, which is now unoccupied? We shall need the space and, of course, it would make a great difference, especially as I am to have him for a limited time, to have him near at hand.

The room now has a bath and other things in it, but as we are here only temporarily, I don't think it would be necessary or worthwhile to remove those fixtures. They could easily be covered over by some kind of box which would also serve as a table for papers, books, etc. But we can discuss these details when we know whether Mr. Rumney is coming.

Sincerely yours,



D. Mitrany

Mrs. Esther S. Bailey
20 Nassau Street
Princeton, N. J.

INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS

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OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

57 Post Street
San Francisco, California
January 8, 1938

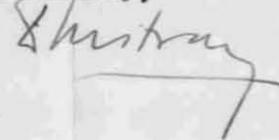
Dear Flexner:

You could hardly be as surprised as I am myself to be here. As you know, I was not particularly inclined to come, but since they seemed to think that I would be of some help in the work that they are contemplating, I could not well refuse. Needless to say, it will be a very useful education for me, and I have been able to have some interesting talks in Chicago and on the train en route. In Chicago, curiously enough, I ran straight into a medical group who are bringing up-to-date your earlier inquiry into the standing of the medical schools.

I expect to be back towards the end of next week, and hope to see you then. I should be greatly obliged if by then you could find it possible to give me a more definite answer concerning Dr. Rummey - I hope, of course, a favorable answer - but in any case something which I might communicate to him, without keeping him waiting unduly. I am mentioning this because I do not know whether or not you intend going on a holiday soon, in which case it would be helpful to all concerned if the matter were settled before you go.

I hope you have had some rest during the vacation. With kind regards to you, and also to Ann,

Sincerely,



David Mitrany

Dr. Abraham Flexner
20 - Nassau Street
Princeton, New Jersey

69 ALEXANDER STREET
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

November 29, 1937

Dear Mrs. Bailey:

Enclosed is a copy of Mr. ~~Mitrany's~~
memorandum prepared for the Social Science
Research Council which Mr. Earle wanted
Mr. Flexner to see.

Very truly yours,

Hattie H. Zavis

Secretary

MEMORANDUM
on
STUDIES IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

I. A few years ago a historical accident presented the world with the framework of a system of international government, and students of politics threw themselves with zest into the work of fitting rules and organs and functions into it. Some of the students, especially the jurists, approached the task from the theoretical side, others rather with reference to the practical ends in view; but one and all started from the constitutional milestone where they had been suddenly put down by the emergence of a League of Nations.

In a way that was inevitable. Given the task, as an accepted and defined purpose, it was proper and necessary to inquire into the means best suited for its performance. But, for whatever reasons, this has proved a false start. That common international purpose now seems neither accepted nor defined. As a consequence the institutional devices worked out upon that assumption find themselves orphaned, and their students bewildered. Some of them conclude that we have gone too far and retreat into the familiar fastness of the national state. Others, on the contrary, assume that we have been too half-hearted and press for the ideal unknown of the world state. Hardly a study now comes forth which does not give fresh expression to that conflict of loyalties, to those subjective-deductive 'ideologies', in which the realities are apt to be trampled down by the side which retreats in a panic and to be passed over by the side which presses onward with its eyes to the stars.

II. In such a state of things, the whole standpoint of the relation of academic study to the facts of life in this field, and not merely some particular matter in it, is clearly in question. For the student the issue would seem to be this. Through a chance situation the attempt to set up a world order

was made without those preliminaries of inquiry, and informed advocacy and education which have usually prepared a community for political action. Assuming that this stage has to be retrieved, what is the line of work which would bring out, in a detached mood, the realities of international life?

At the moment such things as are written almost suggest that national society and world community represent two opposed, mutually exclusive and, therefore, for ever irreconcilable entities. Yet that wider political sphere, in which one side sees everything to be feared and the other side everything to be hoped, does not in truth exist as a thing in itself. International life has no realm and can therefore have no political being of its own. It is made up, so to speak, of the arterial extension of certain communal activities beyond their national limits.* International trade and banking and communications, international health and police activities--all these are not separate and separable from their national aspects, but merely take them farther. And as that extension is of necessity willed, it must be presumed to be in the interest of the national units who participate in it.

III. As soon as the subject is defined in this obvious and accurate way it leads to certain propositions which, in their turn, indicate the line of a scientific approach to international studies.

1. International discord cannot be in the nature of things: it must be due to some flaw in understanding and organization. It should be possible to bring such flaws to light by studying those activities each as one organic and continuous function, over the whole of its range, without regard to the artificial division of political control

*When, i.e., people say that the League has or has not done something, or should or should not do something, in this form the statements are meaningless. The League has no being - authority of its own - just as a shell has no motive power of its own unless propelled by its own garsmen. What it means is that the combination of policies of the states concerned has merged or failed to merge with such action.

into national and international sectors.

2. Not all communal activities reach that international scale (they show a whole range of functional dimensions even within each country). The approach suggested before would detach and study those activities which are international, and upon which international institutions could therefore be built. The institutional approach is of necessity comprehensive, and thinks rather of institutions which might build up international activities. That is a possible process, but only in the hands of an already existing and controlling central authority.

3. Those activities differ, often greatly, in their nature. They must differ correspondingly in their needs. A rigid and uniform pattern of organization and control will not necessarily be effective merely because it is international or even global. Specific functional studies should bring out the structure best suited to each; then it will be possible to see if and how they might be gathered together in some more general international system.

4. The same international activity is shared by, and performed for, a number of peoples and countries. Its performance is therefore unlikely to depend on the political nature of that variety of government. The approach here contemplated should be able to remain detached from the battle of the ideologies; and thereby test the view, held by many students, that an orderly international system cannot be organized except by governments who are like one another. (Just as the liberal revolutionaries of 1848 felt sure that peace would come of itself when the kings departed).

5. Merely because it is on an international scale a communal activity

cannot hurt the national groups who share in it. The approach suggested should also be able to circumvent those subjective juridical-ethnical arguments which play a part as large as it is barren in the discussion of international relations. Here indeed may be found the greatest promise of this approach. The institutional way cannot help implying a competition of allegiance and authority. From its standpoint external authority cannot seemingly be increased without some surrender by national authority. By its very nature the specific functional approach must deal with what is common and continuous in the life of the two spheres; it brings into relief not the division of power but rather the link of purpose.

IV. In the light of these propositions, and leaving aside the passing chance for an institutional approach, it would seem that it is least suited in the present stage of history to the international field. International life is of vast importance - perhaps of decisive importance for any progress beyond the point we have reached -, it is something unique and real, yet something, so to speak, without fixed abode. It is, as said already, but a complex web of extended national activities and policies.

While it can never be useless for a student to study institutions, in this field it is premature, an inversion of the indispensable analytical process. We have probably been led astray by working with a plausible but false analogy with national territorial authority, on the assumption that all that was needed was to adapt the traditional conceptions and national organization to a wider field. But the analogy does not apply - unless we contemplate indeed a full-fledged world state. New ideas and devices are needed to deal with what is a dynamic complex of contacts and relations among fixed unities. In so far as analogies will help at all, they will come rather from federal organization and

experience.

Even in regard to federal problems the best help is not got from studies and proposals which, on theoretical grounds, think in terms of a wholesale transfer of constitutional authority. Such formal argumentation offers no assurance that the transfer was truly needed, or that if carried out it would be effective. And, in any case, the sheer demand for power is bound to rouse as much resistance in one side as it may rouse enthusiasm in another. How much deeper will be the shock of any such claim in the world of states, set hard as it is in the imponderables of national individualism and in a constitutional tradition to which the idea of non-interference with one another is fundamental. In both cases, and much more so in the second, the transfer of power can hardly be done comprehensively on theoretical or ideal grounds. It will be conceded willingly only for specific functions, when the need for this has been proved. The study and the offer of these proofs, of "the reason of the thing", in Lord Mansfield's words, seems at this stage the very appropriate object for international studies.

V. A question which is likely to be asked may be anticipated here. How does all this relate to the problem of war and peace? From the standpoint here envisaged, war is a pathological state, a disturbance of the normal; the study of a function should throw light not only on how it works, but also on how it is impeded or distorted. A functional study of the now much-discussed problem of Security, for instance, with its historical evolution, would probably show how at a certain stage social life overflowed beyond the limits of the national territory, but "security" did not follow suit. At the same time its whole sense changed. It came to be looked upon no longer as a political function but as a national prerogative; and from having been an instrument of security, to protect social life, the state became the chief object of security, all social life having to be subordinated to that end. The method thus seems naturally capable

of taking in its stride both the physiology and the pathology, if one may use these expressions, of international life.

It will be apparent that in such an approach the several social sciences not only can but must collaborate. That will make the work more difficult, but it should give the results more meaning. And when the ground has been substantially covered, the whole should form something like a sociology of international life, and the material for an intelligent conception of the next stage in political evolution.

A POSTSCRIPT

To round up that sociology of international life to which reference has been made before, attention might be drawn to two groups of inquiry which are greatly needed, but which fall outside the line of work and the method dealt with in the Memorandum.

1. The new psychology offers a chance to discover the motives, other than material interests, which move men in social life. The psychology of the subconscious is in its infancy, and care will have to be taken not to use students who discover things too easily. But it is evident that when studying Security, for instance, even if it should be shown that it can best be achieved materially through international arrangements, there will still be a residue of factors which will cause men to feel that war is 'inevitable', etc. The political scientists cannot in these regards do without the help of psychologists.

2. It would be equally important to secure some scholarly work on the philosophy of international relations. Perhaps in no other section of communal life do we find such continuous and fervid appeals to certain abstract valuations - 'rights', 'honour', 'national dignity' (see Mr. Cordell Hull's recent statement on the events at Shanghai), and so on. Yet while social philosophers have probed

deeply into the issues involved in the relations of individuals to authority, nothing has been done so to probe the relations between national groups. Such everyday terms as 'equality' and 'self-defence' clearly need to be subjected to a close philosophical scrutiny, by students of philosophy.

Additional Note on a Study of Planning.

A few years ago I suggested the advantage of studying the new and widespread movement for economic planning, while it was still in its beginnings, in its effects on international relations.

As an aspect of this, it would be of great value to initiate a study on the relation of military preparedness to the trend for economic self-sufficiency. That relation is now so close that in many countries new economic arrangements are guided by the military general staff. Other factors contribute to the trend, as unemployment, the cost of living, etc. But these economic and social factors may be transient, and they could be changed by international arrangements. The defense factor is likely to harden, if things stay as they are, and it is clearly one that will hamper rather than further international arrangements.

Such a study would bring to light the close and growing inter-relation between the economic and political spheres in this field. How little this is realized is shown by the general demand, public and private, for a return to freer international trade, coupled with an indifference to political arrangements. The study here suggested would delimit the sections of international trade which may thus be opened up. For the rest, it will probably supply evidence that the growing economic individualism is but an aspect of the present military individualism. It will not pretend to determine policy, but merely to enlighten it.

November 1, 1937

Professor David Mitrany
69 Alexander Street
Princeton, New Jersey

Dear Professor Mitrany:

I have your note of October 28 with enclosures. I am sending today foreign checks to Hans Preiss and E. Baer in accordance with your request. I shall send you the Law book immediately upon its receipt.

Sincerely yours,

ESTHER S. BAILEY

ESB:MBG

69 ALEXANDER STREET
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

October 28, 1937

Dear Mrs. Bailey:

Here is another book account -- I am sorry. I ordered the book early in the summer, when I failed to get a copy of it in London, and also when I didn't know that it would be so expensive. Both the delay and the cost would appear to be due to its being a limited edition. I should like the book kept here for the time being.

Yours sincerely,



D. Mitrany

October 25, 1937

Dear Professor Mitrany:

I have placed the order for the Hans Preiss second-hand books which you desire with Mr. Heyl. Will you please instruct him as to where they are to be delivered? I am not sure whether you wish them at 69 Alexander Street or in your study nook in the Library.

I shall take care of the bill for the French books which you have received. Miss Wise has a supply of book plates. Mr. Heyl will, however, have book plates placed in the books that he orders for the Institute.

Very sincerely yours,

ESTHER S. BAILEY

Professor David Mitrany
69 Alexander Street
Princeton, New Jersey

ESB

69 ALEXANDER STREET
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

Dear Mrs. Bartley,

(1) I enclose a list of second hand books which I picked out in London and we should like to have these. You will see from the bookseller's letter the countries on which we can have them.

(2) A few french books I picked out in Paris, and part of them have come. Would you kindly settle the account - or you can keep it till the other account comes and settle them together.

Many thanks
D. Mitrany

20.1.37.

Has Mrs. Wise any institute bookmarks, so that she may gift them to these books?

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

September 21

1937

To Mitrany
Kingston Blount Oxfordshire (England)

Request granted Regret indisposition

Charge Institute for Advanced Study

1.08
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Mitrany

THE LOWER FARM,
KINGSTON BLOUNT,
OXFORD.

22.IX.1937

Dear Flexner,

Many thanks for your cable. I am sorry to have had to change my sailing, with a berth booked and trunks labelled, but it seemed to save trouble in the end. The old wound has started to discharge - it did so last year, which almost makes one suspicious that it is 'functional'; last year I took no notice of this and sailed, with the result that an infection developed, and I had to have the wound opened on board ship, and again twice in Princeton. After seeing the Oxford surgeon who had operated on me, yesterday morning, I realized that it would be more sensible to give the thing a chance to heal before sailing, and I am obliged to you for making this possible.

I was to sail on the 29th, on the 'Ile-de-France', as the conference on the Social Sciences will be over on the 27th. Now I am asking for a transfer to the 'Normandie', a week later, October 6.

With all good wishes,
Yours sincerely

D. Mitrany

x You may be interested
in the programme.

THIRD CONFERENCE

ON

THE SOCIAL SCIENCES:
THEIR RELATIONS IN
THEORY and in TEACHING

“SOCIAL STRATIFICATION AND CLASS CONFLICT”

KING'S COLLEGE OF
HOUSEHOLD AND
SOCIAL SCIENCE

CAMPDEN HILL ROAD, W.8

24th September to 26th September, 1937

INSTITUTE OF SOCIOLOGY

LE PLAY HOUSE

35 GORDON SQUARE, W.C. 1

The Institute of Sociology is arranging a Third Conference on the Social Sciences to be held in London from the *24th to 26th September, 1937.*

The General subject of the Conferences is: *THE SOCIAL SCIENCES: THEIR RELATIONS in THEORY and in TEACHING.* They aim at giving an opportunity to University teachers and other students of the social sciences for discussion of the present position of these sciences in academic studies, of their relations in the academic curriculum, of the ground that is, or might be, common to them in outlook, in theory and in method. It is thought that post-war developments in the social sciences and in their position in universities make the time ripe for such discussion.

At the First and Second Conferences the relations between the Social Sciences were discussed in general terms. At the Third Conference the contributions of the various Social Sciences towards the discussion of a particular problem will be considered. The problem selected is *SOCIAL STRATIFICATION AND CLASS CONFLICT.* As will be seen from the programme a number of leading students and teachers of the Social Sciences have undertaken to deal with aspects of this problem from specialist standpoints. It is hoped that the result will be an approach to a comprehensive and synthetic view.

Membership is being arranged by invitation. The membership fee will be ten shillings, which will include an advance copy of the printed contributions.

The Conference will be held at King's College of Household and Social Science, Campden Hill Road, London, W.8, where residence will be arranged for members not living in London. Particulars are given on page 4.

PROGRAMME

Friday, 24th Sept., at 8 p.m. PROPERTY, INCOME AND CLASS.

Chairman : Professor Ernest Barker.

- a. Legal Aspects of Property. Mr. B. A. Wortley.
- b. Distribution of Property.
- c. Social Levels and Patterns of Family Expenditure. Mr. R. G. D. Allen.

Saturday, 25th Sept., at 10.30 a.m. THE PROBLEM OF BRIDGES AND BARRIERS.

Chairman : Mr. H. D. Henderson.

- a. Education. Professor A. M. Carr-Saunders.
- b. Occupation. Professor John Hilton.
- c. Occupation. Dr. Brinley Thomas.

At 4.30 p.m. CLASS CONFLICTS AND THEIR CAUSES.

Chairman : Professor P. Sargent Florence.

- a. The Nature of Class Conflict. Mr. T. H. Marshall.
- b. The Economic Basis of Class Conflict. Professor L. Robbins.
- c. The Economic Basis of Class Conflict. Mr. Maurice H. Dobb.

Sunday, 26th Sept., at 11 a.m. BELIEFS, ATTITUDES AND VALUATIONS.

Chairman : Professor R. H. Tawney.

- a. Beliefs and Attitudes in Class Relations. Dr. C. A. Mace.
- b. Valuations in Democratic States. Dr. H. A. Mess.
- c. Valuations in Fascist and Communist States. Professor John Macmurray.

At 2.30 p.m. ETHICAL IMPLICATIONS.

Chairman : Dr. W. D. Ross.

- Equality as an Ideal. Professor G. C. Field and Professor L. S. Stebbing.

All accommodation and meals will be in King's College of Household and Social Science, Campden Hill Road, London, W.8.

The College is situated in Campden Hill Road, and may conveniently be reached from High Street Kensington Station (District Railway), and from Notting Hill Gate (Central London Railway.)

The charge for board and lodging will be 33s. for the whole period from Friday before dinner to Monday after breakfast, or 11s. for each whole day. Both these charges include tips. No rebate can be allowed for meals not taken.

To enable non-resident members to take meals with the rest of the Conference, arrangements will be made as below, for those who wish to take these meals :—

Friday—Dinner. Saturday—Lunch, Tea, Dinner. Sunday—Lunch, Tea.

Tickets will be issued for each meal (Lunch 1s. 6d., Tea 6d., Dinner 2s.). Tickets for all meals can be obtained from H. T. Clark, 35 Gordon Square, London, W.C.1, up to and including Thursday, 23rd September, or (in the case of meals on Saturday and Sunday) at the College itself before the first session on each day. Inclusive charge for all the meals, 8s.

It is hoped that all members of the Conference (resident and non-resident) will arrange to be present at dinner at 6.45 on Friday, 24th September, as this is the first occasion on which members will meet. Tickets must be obtained in advance.

Those receiving invitations are asked to reply on the enclosed form, not later than 4th August, to—

H. T. Clark, Le Play House, 35 Gordon Square, W.C.1.

4 October 1937

Dear Professor Mitrany:

Many thanks for the reprint of your very interesting article on American Neutrality. I admire your tempered analysis of the defects of that act. I thoroughly agree with you that it is a step backwards so far as the cause of peace is concerned. The first neutrality act failed to anticipate the situation in Spain, and the second one has apparently failed to anticipate the situation in the Far East. I should think Congress would learn eventually that they cannot lay down rules applicable to all conceivable cases in the future and that they might reconcile themselves to entrusting the conduct of foreign affairs to the President in accordance with the Constitution.

With kindest regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

Professor David Mitrany
The Institute for Advanced Study
Princeton, New Jersey

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

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PRINCETONNEWJERSEY=

IF YOU SEE NO OBJECTION SHOULD LIKE TO SAIL WEEK LATER
ARRIVING OCTOBER TEN SLIGHT FOOT TROUBLE NOTHING SERIOUS
PLEASE CABLE=

MITRANY.

WESTERN UNION GIFT ORDERS ARE APPROPRIATE GIFTS FOR ALL OCCASIONS

Kingston Blount
Oxford,

10.11.37.

Dear Mrs. Bailey,

It is all Princeton distressed on my account - I feel they should, for I have lost my nice cottage. Mr. Paris has suddenly sold the farm, having received apparently an offer which he could not resist from a Mr. Eno. I am really distressed, not only because it was so nice there and suited me perfectly, but also because I am again in the street with no place to settle down in. Well, we shall see.

This is my little account for the Paris Conference - I put it in pounds to approximate to the francs, and a re-translation into dollars would have been still more approximate. So, please, just pay it into my account. The Conference did not go very deep, but it was interesting to hear what the various groups thought of the state and need of the social sciences.

Unfortunately, the Germans did not leave, and so we missed some business. Paris was awful, hot & was crowded, and one had to go out in hand to beg a room at an hotel, with prices rising from day to day.

Ileanor was here for the day before I left - she seemed well and had an excellent appetite. I also had a visit from the Wade family, who are going to Canada first, and saw Mr. Wade before they sailed.

Eva has made wonderful progress since last year - she is quite plump, which has been unknown in her family, though they are great eaters, and she is more easy and confident than ever before. She is still under treatment, but we all hope that it will end soon, and very successfully.

I hope you will have a pleasant rest - with all good wishes and kindest regards,
 Very sincerely,

Shirley

Kind regards to
 Mrs. [Schleser] & Mrs. [Wade].

June 3, 1937

Dear Professor Mitrany:

Thank you for your kind note of May 24. We are delighted to hear that Mrs. Mitrany has made great improvement and hope that she will soon be entirely well.

I can imagine what a lively place London - and for that matter any European city - is these days, but I hope that you will not be kept too long away from your beloved Kingston Bleunt. Dr. Mommsen was calling the other day and told me about that peaceful little village and asked particularly to be remembered to you when I wrote. As you probably know, he is planning to spend the summer at Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, before he goes to Yale in the autumn.

Let me know what your expenses are in case you attend the conference in Paris, July 4-6. It would probably be best to deposit the sum to your credit in your Princeton bank, but I shall be guided by your wishes.

Princeton has been unusually lovely all the spring. I have bicycled out Quaker Road and can report that your sweet, little cottage is still there and looks very inviting.

Dr. and Mrs. Flexner are still here. We all send kindest regards and best wishes to you and Mrs. Mitrany. Very sincerely yours,

STHEM'S COPY

to your Kingston Belmont

24.v.37. (X) p. 5.

Mitrany

Dear Mrs. Bailey,

Thank you so much for your prompt reply. I am glad to have the letter to Dr. Holmes.

Things are very hopeful here. My wife has made great improvement - physically she seems better than I have ever known her, and for the rest she is cheerful and full of hope for an early end to her treatment, and for well-knowledge. I am only disappointed that the treatment is not yet finished, but there is no doubt about the good results so far.

There is so much to do and so many people to see here, that I am staying in London for a while, on the political scene is very lively. Tomorrow I am going to a party to meet the American Peace Ministers, and there is every day something going on. I have also received an invitation to go to Paris to a conference on the Social Sciences - I have not yet seen a detailed programme and list of membership, but it may prove worth while to go and meet the people - in short I shall come down in two or three weeks, and I can't afford to write a very long word. I don't think the discussions will be profound, but the getting may be useful to get the various European points of view. Of course, my own depend also on my private problems here.

I hope all is well with you, and I am sure that Princeton is lovely. Summer has not yet come here. Kiss my love to my wife, and again my thanks and good wishes to you.

Yours truly
David Mitrany

69 ALEXANDER STREET
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

Received from Dr. D. Mitrany, for
technical assistance during the second
half year 1936-37, the sum of
\$200.- (two hundred dollars).-

February 2nd, 1937.

Rene de Visser Villiaussen

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

January 27, 1937

Professor D. Mitrany
69 Alexander Street
Princeton, New Jersey

My dear Professor Mitrany:

I am sending you herewith check
of the Institute for Advanced Study drawn to
your order for \$200.00 on account of technical
assistance to you in connection with your
work in the School of Economics and Politics.

Very truly yours,

Ester S. Bailey
Secretary

Referred to the Secretary 2-4-37

FEB 4 1937

Mitrany



ROYAL CONSULATE GENERAL OF ROMANIA
NEW YORK CITY

February 3 ,1937.

The Registrar
Princeton University
Princeton, N.J.

Dear Sir :

I have been recently told that Prof. DAVID
MITRANY of London is now lecturing at your university.
If this is correct I would appreciate it very
much if you could give us his correct address.
Thanking you for your courtesy , I am ,

Very truly yours ,


Carol Tarcauanu
V. Consul In Charge.

February 5, 1937

The Honorable Carol Tarcauanu
Royal Consulate General of Romania
New York City

1919 Building

Dear Sir:

Your letter of February 3 addressed to the Registrar of Princeton University has been referred to us for reply, as Professor David Mitrany is on the staff of the Institute for Advanced Study. His address is 69 Alexander Street, Princeton, New Jersey.

Very truly yours,

ESTHER S. BAILEY

Secretary

January 27, 1937

Professor D. Mitrany
69 Alexander Street
Princeton, New Jersey

My dear Professor Mitrany:

I am sending you herewith check
of the Institute for Advanced Study drawn to
your order for \$200.00 on account of technical
assistance to you in connection with your
work in the School of Economics and Politics.

Very truly yours,

ESTHER S. BAILEY

Secretary

Dear Flexner,

Mitrany II
9/14/36
Oct. 1936
Mitrany

The brief Memorandum which I prepared, at your wish, last winter, put in a somewhat stark and tentative way the line of work to which I am increasingly being drawn. It was tentative and oversimplified, because it tried to convey, as clearly as was possible in the circumstances, a conception which is yet in the stage of germination, having only recently, since my connection with the Institute, taken root in my mind.

My interests, as you know, have ^{been} for a number of years in the field of international politics. My government and other work during the War; the editorial connection with the 'Manchester Guardian' during three fatefully pregnant years in foreign politics; my extensive travelling and contacts, and access to material, during the ^{assistant} editorship of the 'Economic and Social History of the Great War', together with various other activities in international affairs during those years - these all were instructing and increasing the same general interest in the problem of relations between States. More particularly, it seemed that two aspects of the problem - in the field of theory rather than of diplomacy - needed investigation. One was the disturbing and baffling phenomenon of nationalism; the other was the possibility and nature of some kind of international organization, which would maintain law and order among States.

These were really two aspects of the same general problem - one negative and rather psychological (or economic,

as some would hold), the other positive and more institutional. From my early life amidst Balkan politics I had grown much interested in the nature and working of nationalism, and along the years, from my work and from my reading, I had collected a great deal of material on the subject, with the hope of one day trying to throw some light on it; for though the literature is considerable, it cannot be said that the phenomenon of nationalism has as yet been satisfactorily elucidated. [At the same time, since the war, I had taken also great interest in the idea of a League of Nations, and had made various contributions to its ~~elucidation~~ elaboration (including the proposal for an American policy, which I worked out, at the request of an American group, ^{during 1924-25,} and which has held the field to this day as the most practical line of approach). It so happened, that while visiting at Harvard, I was honoured with an invitation to deliver the Dodge lectures at Yale. This gave me an opportunity, using the accumulated knowledge and experience of a number of years, to attempt to put down on paper something like a coherent theory of international government. (The lectures have since been issued by the Yale University Press under the title 'The Progress of International Government')

Of necessity, ^{my thesis in these lectures} the statement was excessively concise and condensed, because of the nature of the commission and because it was performed while doing full duty at Harvard, but I had

to leave it at that. A chance to develop the subject came with the offer from Yale, in the spring of 1933, of a chair in the Graduate School, in the place of the late Mr. Charles P. Howland. It was at this stage that ~~you~~^{you} improved upon that chance, by inviting me, on behalf of the Trustees, to join the staff of the Institute, and allowing me leave of absence in England, until the School of Economics and Politics should be organized. My intention then was to spend the year in elaborating the Dodge lectures into a substantial treatise, and some time was spent in preparing material for this and reconsidering at more leisure the issues involved. It was during this work that I was struck by certain characteristics of traditional political theory which, together with certain new tendencies in politics, to which I will refer again, have served to change somewhat the direction of my interests and of my line of work.

Those characteristics of traditional political theory are very evident, and have no doubt come to be taken for granted just because they are so general. Modern political theory has seemingly been unable to adapt itself to the new dimensions and mobility of social life, so utterly transformed during the 19th. century, and since ^{then} in a constant state of rapid change. There has been no lack of effort, since Comte, to solidify political theory into something like a political science. Yet in spite of that, it has remained, like the ^{more} classical theory,

wedded in its fundamental assumptions to the ~~idea~~^{framework} of the national State - whether in its more Conservative moods it was for the State or in its more Radical moods against it. This seemed so curious that, not to rely wholly on memory, I spent some time going again over the chief relevant literature, but without having to correct the impression.

A first consequence ~~was~~ went right to the core of my problem. Social life may expand or contract across political frontiers, according to changing conditions and needs, but political theory remained aloofly ~~separated~~ divided into its municipal and international ^{branches} (with the solitary exception of the Austrian school associated with the name of Hans ~~Kelsen~~^{Kelsen}, which however works with abstract legalistic concepts). At a time when an attempt was actually being made to create a form of international government, that state of things was very incongruous; instead, as ~~its~~ its function^{is} of clearing the way, theory was lagging behind practical experiment. I realized therefore that a more important and heavier task was facing the student than the one upon which I had ~~contemplated~~^{contemplated} / ~~the~~ ^{the institutional} The elaboration of details of an ~~international~~ international system would remain very much in the air if it rested on existing political theory. The very foundation for the development of something like a political

science was lacking, as long as we could not provide a consistent body of principles which could evolve with and adapt itself to the eternally changing realities of social life.

More recently still, the incongruity of which I have spoken was shown up by yet another tendency in practical politics. Everywhere the traditional methods of parliamentary government were working badly, and in a few important countries, after a period of great efflorescence after the War, they had broken down altogether. Traditional political theory was able to offer neither explanation nor remedy for this. One section denounced the parliamentary system as ~~cramping~~ ^{hampering} the business of government, the other section denounced government for ~~interfering with~~ the parliamentary system; both clearly inspired by the traditional political tenets as to the 'rights' of one political factor or the other. Yet the root of the trouble is not difficult to see. If one compares the problems of our time with those of a hundred years ago, the old ones appear as 'pure' political problems - questions of franchise, of religious liberty, of the right of association, and so on-, while those of our time are essentially 'social' problems, requiring technical rather than debating solutions. For this the parliamentary system ~~is~~ ^{seems} unfit, without considerable modification. The Carnegie Endowment intends to bring out this autumn, I believe, a small study which I wrote at their invitation some years ago, on the effects of the War in south-eastern Europe. It is

really an essay on the relation of war to government; and the inevitable conclusion is that while there may be some truth in the assumption that certain types of government facilitate conflict and war, what is altogether certain is that war brings about certain types of government.

Much more is to be learnt, for our immediate problems, from the experience with government during the late War, than students have troubled to find out. In any case, besides the paradox to which I have referred, the student of politics ~~was~~ is now faced with a second one, not less disconcerting. The ^{fact is that} ~~fact~~ simultaneously with the attempt to dilute the sovereignty of the national State, in theory and in practice, through the League of Nations, a ^{national} ~~modified~~ State was taking shape for practical action tighter, more self-sufficient and self-assertive than ever known before. Traditional political theory, ^{again,} offers little help ^{regard to this tendency,} in ~~its~~ ^{missiveness}. It still disputes round the question, 'What are the rights of government?' whereas ^{more} the ^{real} ~~real~~ ^{the} question would seem to be, 'What is the right government?' - ~~in~~ in our present conditions and needs.

For the student the ^{problem is this} ~~question~~ : 'Is it possible to work out a body of political theory capable of answering that question?' As I said, I spent some time in surveying the field again, lest some previous possible answer be overlooked, and then I set to to find out, by trial and error in a measure, a working hypothesis which would offer a more

hopeful approach to the problem. The Memorandum which I prepared for you last winter, ^{explains} briefly and generally, the hypothesis with which I am working.

During the time when I was on leave of absence, I had made sufficient progress, if only negative, with clearing the field -and my own mind-, to ~~begin with~~ hope that I could ^{begin with} ~~begin with~~ the positive work when I went into residence in Princeton. Various circumstances have in fact prevented me from making much headway during the past winter. But now it should be possible to move ahead with the work. The few scholars whom I have cared to consult so far, have encouraged me to think that it is not without promise; and the organization of the Institute, with its freedom from routine work and its discouragement, ^{if anything,} of hasty publication, should be ideally adapted for what ~~it~~, I am only too conscious, ~~is~~ an ambitious and difficult undertaking. It would be easy, of course, simply to formulate a theory and assert it as a doctrine. But that would be a poor, and perhaps wasted, contribution towards a political science. If the theory is to carry conviction, the hypothesis upon which it rests must first be tested at the hand of historical experience; and it is in the nature of this particular hypothesis that it involves the reconsideration, on original lines, of the political and social life of the civilized world.

~~This involves more arduous work than one would willingly~~

~~submit to, yet it is unavoidable, from the nature of the task.~~
~~Moreover, it is also a question of enabling other students,~~
~~Other students, if the work is successful, should be able to~~
to use its results for dealing with isolated specific problems
of government. But it is not possible to begin that way.
In the Social Sciences each type of theory claims, so to speak,
its own method. That is the first task really involved in ^{any}
~~that~~ general ^{approach} ~~method~~ - to work out and test and perfect a
method which might then become readily available to students
of politics. At the same time, and in the second place, the
general approach is needed as a means of shaping the hypothe-
sis from which I start into a fairly consistent theory or
philosophy. It is of little use taking a separate fact or
group of facts in isolation, for the sake of specialized study,
unless one has first worked out a sketch or a map of the
interpendent ~~of the~~ social landscape in which that fact or
group of facts is embedded. The single fact gets its true
meaning not through so-called pure description, but by the
analysis of its place and function in the social texture,
the nature of which can obviously be interpreted only through
a theoretical approach.

That is a general truism, ^{one which is} yet ^{of} special significance at
the present time. In ~~the~~ general remarks on scientific ~~method~~
method, with which Dr. Albert Einstein introduces ^{recent} his ^{essay}
on 'Physics and Reality' (Journal of the Franklin Institute,
March, 1936), he asks why ^{one} should not leave the philosophising
to the philosophers, and then answers: "That might be allright"

when the physicists believe that they have at their disposal
a solid, unquestioned system of fundamental concepts and laws,
but not when, as now, the whole foundation of physics has
become problematical. At a time when experience forces a
search for a new, more solid basis, it is not possible for
the physicist to ^{simply} leave ~~it to the~~ philosopher the critical
weighing of the theoretical foundations, for he alone knows
and feels best where the shoe pinches. In the search for
a new foundation, he must to the best of his powers try to ^{grasp}
clearly the justification, and the necessity, of the concepts
^{with} which he is ^{working} ~~using~~. " [At the present time, that is
of course ^{infinitely} ~~more~~ more true ^{for} the social scientist.

Kingston Blount
Sept. 14, 1936.

Yours sincerely
D. Mitrany

THE LOWER FARM,
KINGSTON BLOUNT,
OXFORD.

24. IX. 36.

Dear Mrs. Bailey,

I have just written to Mr. Wise about housing arrangements for myself, and I have taken the liberty to say, that you would be glad to advise him, if necessary - I know you are always glad to help.

I am due on the 12. by the Normantli

Very curious things seem to happen in Atlantic traffic; usually one can pick and choose the time of the year, in fact after Sept. 15, but this year the boats are still full. I tried the 'Queen Mary' the 'Île-de-France' (even telegraphing to Paris), but they are full; then I tried the 'President Harding' on Oct. 1. - not a place, and ten people with guaranteed accommodation still waiting for berths; then I tried the 'American Banker', on Oct. 2, not a place. The only thing offered me was what looked like a bench in the engine-room of the 'Carinthia', Oct. 2. (per Liverpool, but she goes to Ireland & Boston, and will not

(get to N.). at last till the 11th., originally
the 12th. In the circumstances I preferred
the 'Normandie', which gets there at the same
time, and leaves me a few more days here
with my wife.

Now I realize that it was foolish not to
look before, but no one thought of that, and
the shipping agencies are completely puzzled.
The only explanation they can offer is the
'bonus' - it seems far fetched, but there may
be something in it; that a lot of people have
come over rather late in the summer, and
are staying till the money lasts.

Dr. Flexner has written me that you
have moved into the new house, and I
am much looking forward to seeing it
and being in it. I am sure you
have made it a very attractive place.

I trust that you have had a real
holiday and you are feeling well and
ready for all the trouble as put on you,
with your kids and many kind regards,

Yours sincerely
David Mitrany

INSTITUTE OF SOCIOLOGY

35 GORDON SQUARE, W.C. 1

**THE SECOND
CONFERENCE**

ON

**THE SOCIAL SCIENCES:
THEIR RELATIONS IN
THEORY and in TEACHING**

TO BE HELD AT

**WESTFIELD COLLEGE
HAMPSTEAD, LONDON, N.W. 3**

25th September to 27th September, 1936

The Institute of Sociology is arranging a Second Conference on the Social Sciences to be held in London from the *25th to 27th September, 1936.*

The General subject of the Conference will be: *THE SOCIAL SCIENCES: THEIR RELATIONS in THEORY and in TEACHING.* The aim of the Conference is to give an opportunity to University teachers and other students of the social sciences for discussion of the present position of these sciences in academic studies, of their relations in the academic curriculum, of the ground that is, or might be, common to them in outlook, in theory and in method. It is thought that post-war developments in the social sciences and in their position in universities make the time ripe for such discussion.

As will be seen from the programme, a number of leading students and teachers of the social sciences have undertaken to be present and to take part. Membership is being arranged by invitation. The membership fee will be ten shillings, which will include an advance copy of the printed contributions.

The Conference will be held at Westfield College, Hampstead, London, N.W. 3, where residence will be arranged for members not living in London. Particulars are given on page 4.

Those receiving invitations are asked to reply on the enclosed form, not later than 5th August, to—

J. E. Dugdale, Le Play House, 35 Gordon Square, W.C. 1.

PROGRAMME

FRIDAY, 25TH SEPTEMBER.

At 8 p.m.

Chairman : PROFESSOR A. M. CARR-SAUNDERS.

“Biology and the Social Sciences.”

DR. JOSEPH NEEDHAM and DR. S. ZUCKERMAN.

SATURDAY, 26TH SEPTEMBER.

At 10.30 a.m.

Chairman : PROFESSOR C. G. SELIGMAN, F.R.S.

“Anthropology and the Social Sciences.”

MR. E. E. EVANS-PRITCHARD, DR. RAYMOND FIRTH and MR. JOHN LAYARD.

At 4.30 p.m.

Chairman : PROFESSOR F. C. BARTLETT, F.R.S.

“Psychology and the Social Sciences.”

PROFESSOR MORRIS GINSBERG, DR. EDWARD GLOVER and
PROFESSOR GODFREY THOMSON.

SUNDAY, 27TH SEPTEMBER.

At 11 a.m.

Chairman : PROFESSOR ERNEST BARKER.

An informal discussion of the results of the Conference.

Opener : MR. T. H. MARSHALL.

The discussion will be continued at a further meeting at 2.30 in the afternoon, if this is felt to be desirable at the close of the morning session.

All accommodation and meals will be in Westfield College, Hampstead, London, N.W. 3.

The College is situated near Finchley Road, and may conveniently be reached by bus to Platts Lane from Finchley Road Station (Met. Rly., fare 2d.) or Golders Green Underground (fare 1d.).

The charge for board and lodging will be 33s. for the whole period from Friday before dinner to Monday after breakfast, or 11s. for each whole day. Both these charges include tips. No rebate can be allowed for meals not taken.

To enable non-resident members to take meals with the rest of the Conference, arrangements will be made as below, for those who wish to take these meals :—

Friday—Dinner.

Saturday—Lunch, Tea, Dinner.

Sunday—Lunch, Tea.

Tickets will be issued for each meal (Lunch 1s. 6d., Tea 9d., Dinner 2s. 6d.). Tickets for all meals can be obtained from J. E. Dugdale, 35 Gordon Square, London, W.C. 1, up to and including Thursday, 24th September, or (in the case of meals on Saturday and Sunday) at the College itself before the first session on each day. Inclusive charge for all the meals, 9s. 6d.

It is hoped that all members of the Conference (resident and non-resident) will arrange to be present at dinner at 6.45 on Friday, 25th September, as this is the first occasion on which members will meet. Tickets must be obtained in advance.

THE LOWER FARM,
KINGSTON BLOUNT,

OXFORD.

Sept. 14,

14. IX. 1936

Dear Flexner,

Your letter of the 3rd came this morning. I could only give you what you ask in time by drafting it at once, as best I could. (I should be glad if the office would keep a copy for me.)

I appreciate your wish to be as explicit to the Board as possible, and that is why I have given you the whole of what is really a private story, perhaps to excessive length. How nice and impressive it would be if one could, as I might, give it in figures: During the period in question I have read a hundred books, consulted several hundred other books and articles; I have made ~~some~~ 4000 notes from reading, etc, and another 1000 or so on ideas of my own; I spent a sickening number of hours and at times almost developed something like a mental squint trying to follow up a possible line of of thought. One could say such a lot of this kind, and yet it would not tell much.

Separately I am sending you a paper with some extracts from a meeting of the British Association which saw a remarkable outburst from every kind of scientist on the need of social control. I thought it might interest you for your Report.

I have also to thank you for your nice earlier letter, about which I must not write now, if I am to catch the mail. Things are pretty well here, and I hope that you and Ann and the children feel refreshed by your holiday.

Yours sincerely

S. Mitrany

Apr. 14, 1936 Mitrany

C O P Y

Dear Flexner,

The brief Memorandum which I prepared, at your wish, last winter, put in a somewhat stark and tentative way the line of work to which I am increasingly being drawn. It was tentative and oversimplified, because it tried to convey, as clearly as was possible in the circumstances, a conception which is yet in the stage of germination, having only recently, since my connection with the Institute, taken root in my mind.

My interests, as you know, have lain for a number of years in the field of international politics. My government and other work during the War; the editorial connection with the 'Manchester Guardian' during three fatefully pregnant years in foreign politics; my extensive travelling and contacts, and access to material, during the assistant-editorship of the 'Economic and Social History of the Great War', together with various other activities in international affairs during those years - these all were instructing and increasing the same general interest in the problem of relations between States. More particularly, it seemed that two aspects of the problem - in the field of theory rather than of diplomacy - needed investigation. One was the disturbing and baffling phenomenon of nationalism; the other was the possibility and nature of some kind of international organization, which would maintain law and order among States.

These were really two aspects of the same general problem - one negative and rather psychological (or economic, as some would hold), the other positive and more institutional. From my early life amidst Balkan politics I had grown much interested in the nature and working of nationalism, and along the years, from my work and from my reading, I had collected a great deal of material on the subject, with the hope of one day trying to throw some light on it; for though the literature is considerable, it cannot be said that the phenomenon of nationalism has as yet been satisfactorily elucidated. At the same time, since the War, I had taken also great interest in the idea of a League of Nations, and had made various contributions to its elaboration (including the

proposal for an American policy, which I worked out, at the request of an American group during 1924-25, and which has held the field to this day as the most practical line of approach). It so happened, that while visiting at Harvard, I was honoured with an invitation to deliver the Dodge lectures at Yale. This gave me an opportunity, using the accumulated knowledge and experience of a number of years, to attempt to put down on paper something like a coherent theory of international government. (The lectures have since been issued by the Yale University Press under the title 'The Progress of International Government'.)

Of necessity, the statement of my thesis in these lectures was excessively concise and condensed, because of the nature of the commission and because it was performed while doing full duty at Harvard, but I had to leave it at that. A chance to develop the subject came with the offer from Yale, in the spring of 1933, of a chair in the Graduate School, in the place of the late Mr. Charles P. Howland. It was at this stage that you improved upon that chance, by inviting me, on behalf of the Trustees, to join the staff of the Institute, and allowing me leave of absence in England, until the School of Economics and Politics should be organized. My intention then was to spend the year in elaborating the Dodge lectures into a substantial treatise, and some time was spent in preparing material for this and reconsidering at more leisure the issues involved. It was during this work that I was struck by certain characteristics of traditional political theory which, together with certain new tendencies in politics, to which I will refer again, have served to change somewhat the direction of my interests and of my line of work.

Those characteristics of traditional political theory are very evident, and have no doubt come to be taken for granted just because they are so general. Modern political theory has seemingly been unable to adapt itself to the new dimensions and mobility of social life, so utterly transformed during the 19th century, and since then in a constant state of rapid change. There has been no lack of effort, since Comte, to solidify political theory into something like a political science. Yet in spite of that, it has remained, like the more

classical theory, wedded in its fundamental assumptions to the framework of the national State - whether in its more Conservative moods it was for the State or in its more Radical moods against it. This seemed so curious that, not to rely wholly on memory, I spent some time going again over the chief relevant literature, but without having to correct the impression.

A first consequence went right to the core of my problem. Social life may expand or contract across political frontiers, according to changing conditions and needs, but political theory remained aloofly divided into its municipal and international branches (with the solitary exception of the Austrian school associated with the name of Hans Kelsen, which however works with abstract legalistic concepts). At a time when an attempt was actually being made to create a form of international government, that state of things was very incongruous; instead, as its function is, of clearing the way, theory was lagging behind practical experiment. I realized therefore that a more important and heavier task was facing the student than the one upon which I had contemplated. The elaboration of the institutional details of an international system would remain very much in the air if it rested on existing political theory. The very foundation for the development of something like a political science was lacking, as long as we could not provide a consistent body of principles which could evolve with and adapt itself to the eternally changing realities of social life.

More recently still, the incongruity of which I have spoken was shown up by yet another tendency in practical politics. Everywhere the traditional methods of parliamentary government were working badly, and in a few important countries after a period of great efflorescence after the War, they had broken down altogether. Traditional political theory was able to offer neither explanation nor remedy for this. One section denounced the parliamentary system as cramping the business of government, the other section denounced government for hampering the parliamentary system; both clearly inspired by the traditional political tenets as to the 'rights' of one political factor or the other. Yet the root of the trouble is not difficult

to see. If one compares the problems of our time with those of a hundred years ago, the old ones appear as 'pure' political problems - questions of franchise, of religious liberty, of the right of association, and so on-, while those of our time are essentially 'social' problems, requiring technical rather than debating solutions. For this the parliamentary system seems unfit, without considerable modification. The Carnegie Endowment intends to bring out this autumn, I believe, a small study which I wrote at their invitation some years ago, on the effects of the War in southeastern Europe. It is really an essay on the relation of war to government; and the inevitable conclusion is that while there may be some truth in the assumption that certain types of government facilitate conflict and war, what is altogether certain is that war brings about certain types of government.

Much more is to be learnt, for our immediate problems, from the experience with government during the late War, than students have troubled to find out. In any case, besides the paradox to which I have referred, the student of politics is now faced with a second one, not less disconcerting. The fact is that simultaneously with the attempt to dilute the sovereignty of the national State, in theory and in practice, through the League of Nations, a national State was taking shape for practical action tighter, more self-sufficient and self-assertive than ever known before. Traditional political theory, again, offers little help in regard to this tendency. It still disputes round the question, 'What are the rights of government?', whereas the more realistic question would seem to be, 'What is the right government?' - in our present conditions and needs.

For the student the problem is this: 'Is it possible to work out a body of political theory capable of answering that question?' As I said, I spent some time in surveying the field again, lest some previous possible answer be overlooked, and then I set to find out, by trial and error in a measure, a working hypothesis which would offer a more hopeful approach to the problem. The Memorandum which I prepared for you last winter explains, briefly and generally, the hypothesis with which I am working.

During the time when I was on leave of absence I had made sufficient progress, if only negative, with clearing the field -and my own mind-, to hope that I could begin with the positive work when I went into residence in Princeton. Various circumstances have in fact prevented me from making much headway during the past winter. But now it should be possible to move ahead with the work. The few scholars whom I have cared to consult so far, have encouraged me to think that it is not without promise; and the organization of the Institute, with its freedom from routine work and its discouragement of anything, of hasty publication, should be ideally adapted for that is, I am only too conscious, an ambitious and difficult undertaking. It would be easy, of course, simply to formulate a theory and assert it as a doctrine. But that would be a poor, and perhaps wasted, contribution towards a political science. If the theory is to carry conviction, the hypothesis upon which it rests must first be tested at the hand of historical experience; and it is in the nature of this particular hypothesis that it involves the reconsideration, on original lines, of the political and social life of the civilized world.

Moreover, it is also a question of enabling other students, if the work is successful, to use its results for dealing with isolated specific problems of government. But it is not possible to begin that way. In the Social Sciences each type of theory claims, so to speak, its own method. That is the first task really involved in any general approach - to work out and test and perfect a method which might then become readily available to students of politics. At the same time, and in the second place, the general approach is needed as a means of shaping the hypothesis from which I start into a fairly consistent theory or philosophy. It is of little use taking a separate fact or group of facts in isolation, for the sake of specialized study, unless one has first worked out a sketch or a map of the interdependent social landscape in which that fact or group of facts is embedded. The single fact gets its true meaning not through so-called pure description, but by the analysis of its place and function in the social texture, the nature of which can obviously be interpreted only through a theoretical approach.

That is a general truism, yet one which is of special significance at the present time. In general remarks on scientific method, with which Dr. Albert Einstein introduces his recent essay on 'Physics and Reality' (Journal of the Franklin Institute, March, 1936), he asks why one should not leave the philosophising to the philosophers, and then answers: "That might be all right when the physicists believe that they have at their disposal a solid, unquestioned system of fundamental concepts and laws, but not when, as now, the whole foundation of physics has become problematical. At a time when experience forces a search for a new, more solid basis, it is not possible for the physicist simply to leave to philosophy the critical weighing of the theoretical foundations, for he alone knows and feels best where the shoe pinches. In the search for a new foundation, he must to the best of his powers try to grasp clearly the justification, and the necessity, of the concepts with which he is working." At the present time, that is of course infinitely more true for the social scientist.

Yours sincerely,

(signed) D. MITRANY

Kingston Blount

Sept. 14, 1936

September 3, 1936

Dear Mitrany:

I had a long conference with Mr. Stewart yesterday regarding the Institute in the course of which he gave me in a tentative form his views regarding the future development of the School of Economics and Politics. He has suggested something which I had already had in mind, namely, that in my next report to the Trustees at the meeting on October 13 I should develop at some length the recent activities and future plans, in so far as they have taken shape, of the several members recently added to the two newer schools - The School of Economics and Politics and the School of Humanistic Studies. I am writing you because my report must be ready for distribution to the members of the Board at least a fortnight before the Board meets, and I would appreciate it very much if you would write me very concretely and at any length you please an account divided as follows:

(1) Your activities during the two years which you spent on leave of absence in England

(2) Your activities and any ideas that you may have had under consideration last year here in Princeton

(3) The future as you foresee it, though of course nothing that you say under this heading will be binding on you if ideas or circumstances arise which lead you to change your course of thought and action

On reading Princeton yesterday I went through the remodelled house on 69 Alexander Street, and I found it very charming and tasteful.

Professor Mitrany

September 3, 1936

2

I hope that all is well with you and Ena.

Always sincerely,

ABRAHAM FLEXNER

P.S.

I need hardly say that time is a factor and that I will appreciate it if you prepare the memorandum for which I ask as promptly as possible.

A.F.

Professor David Mitrany
The Lower Farm
Kingston Blount
Oxford, England

AF:ESB

August 27, 1936

Dear Mitrany:

I was glad and really relieved to receive your note this morning, for I have been wondering about you and Ena.

There is of course no reason in the world why you should not delay your departure from England long enough to attend the social sciences meeting, and there is also no reason why you should not make a leisurely getaway from England when it is over.

We have during the summer remodelled the house at 69 Alexander Street, Princeton, which was acquired last year, and are expecting to house the social scientists and some of the humanists there. It is a quite roomy house and will, I believe, be a good place in which to work. At any rate, as we shall occupy the whole house, there will be no noise above your head, and Mrs. Bailey has reserved a northern room for you, as you desired.

Your description of the situation in England tallies with what I have myself heard from friends and read between the lines in English newspapers. I hope profoundly that nothing will happen until England is in good shape from a military and naval point of view to defend her principles and traditions in case she should be attacked.

Tom Jones unfortunately could not come to America, as he had hoped, on account of illness in his family.

Panofsky has written me from Brussels and Paris that he will get no farther this summer.

We have had the quietest summer in years. The weather has hardly been up to its usual Canadian standards. Anne and I have been quite well and have engaged in our usual avocations, very simple and free from strain.

Since dictating the above, I have read through with care the leaflet issued by the Social Science Conference. I know what biology and anthropology and psychology are, but what is included under the term, social sciences? That seems to be assumed as a matter of common knowledge to all those participating, but I hope for the sake of those who do not attend the conference the very term, social sciences, may be defined. I am inclined to think that one of the reasons why these sciences make such slow and uncertain progress is that persons who might be in a position to promote them don't know what the term means.

I hope that Ena has really made some distinct improvement and that she may be near the end of her long illness.

Both Anne and I join in kindest regards and best wishes for you both.

Ever sincerely,

ABRAHAM FLEXNER

Professor David Mitrany
Kingsdon Blount

THE LOWER FARM,
KINGSTON BLOUNT,
OXFORD.

16. viii. 36.

Dear Flexner,

The group who met last year to talk over the position relative of the Social Sciences have decided to meet again, to discuss those subjects which were not touched upon a year ago. They have asked me to attend, and it may be worth while doing so - all the more as they are contemplating, if this year's gathering so decides, to try and get a joint Anglo-American conference next year (as the historians do).

If I stay for the Conference, I can catch a fast boat a day or two after, and be in Princeton in the early days of October. I take it that there is no objection to this.

Things are fairly well with us. But instead of a quiet summer I seem to have returned home to a bomb's nest, and until Gus came home, a fortnight

ago, I spent most of my time in London.
 The change I have found, since last
 year, is astonishing and distressing; if
 Tom Jones has come to stay with you, he
 will tell you more about it. But, to
 me, it is a new experience to find the
 British ruling groups in a state which
 can be described only as panic, and
 ready to stampede for all their vested
 principles and traditions in search of
 safety. I deeply hope that I
 am mistaken, but my impression is
 that we are facing in Europe a period
 akin in its restlessness to that which
 was announced by the revolutions of 1848
 - but much more bitter and destructive
 in its incidents.

I hope all will with you and
 that you are having a good rest with
 good winds for yourself and among the
 children (see both of us,

Yours sincerely
 S. Mitrany

Kind regards to Mrs. Bailey.

Mrs. Margreant was here this weekend, and I was
 pleased to hear from her that the Bundsleys had not
 gone to Paris after all - she saw him in Paris.

Magnetawan
via Burks Falls
Ontario, Canada
July 15, 1936

My dear Professor Mitrany:

I have your notes of June 30 and
July 3 which reached me here yesterday. I referred
to Dr. Flexner the question of the purchase of
the Zeitschrift, 1844-1935, which he has approved,
and the order has already been given to Mr. Heyl.

Thank you for your good wishes. I
trust that you and Mrs. Mitrany will have a good
and pleasant rest.

Very sincerely yours,

Esther S. Bailey

Professor David Mitrany
The Lower Farm
Kingston Blount
Oxford, England

THE LOWER FARM,
KINGSTON BLOUNT,
OXFORD.

3. III. 36.

Dear Mrs. Bailey,

I spoke to Dr. Flexner, when I saw him in N.Y., about Mr. Hayl's letter, and we agreed that I should take an opinion in London. From the enclosed note of Dr. Dickson, the chief Librarian at the I.S.E., it would seem that Mr. Hayl has done pretty well. If Dr. Flexner is interested in purchasing the set, you could communicate direct with Mr. Hayl.

With kind regards,
Yours most truly
David Mitrany

THE LOWER FARM,
KINGSTON BLOUNT,
OXFORD.

30.11.36 -

Dear Mrs. Bailey,

Thank you so much
for the new certificates - sent
with your usual promptitude.

I think I am in order now.

The point is that professors rank
as non-quota immigrants, if
they can show that they have
held a professorship for at least ^{two} years
preceding the demand for
an immigration visa. It should
be straight now; and I can
keep my appointment for term
at the consulate.

We are having a poor summer
 so far - wet & cold. The farmers
 are in difficulties with their hay.
 But the country is looking looser,
 and I very much hope things will
 improve by the time the girls arrive.

I trust you will have a good
 and pleasant rest with our good wishes,
 and thanks again.

Yours sincerely
 Shostrom

Kind remembrance to Miss Nichols &
 to Miss Wise.

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN:

This is to certify that Professor David Mitrany has been a professor in the School of Economics and Politics of the Institute for Advanced Study, located at Princeton, New Jersey, since September 1, 1933, and that he is abroad for a brief period for study and research and will return to Princeton to resume his duties in the autumn of 1936.

ESTHER S. BAILEY

Secretary

Dated, Princeton, New Jersey
June 19, 1936

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

1201-S

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 (59)

R. B. WHITE
PRESIDENT

NEWCOMB CARLTON
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

J. C. WILLEVER
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter
NM = Night Message
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.

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

1936 JUN 15 PM 7 08

NAQ438 CABLE VIA RCA=CD LONDON 26 15

NLT VANSTITUTE=

PRINCETON NEWJERSEY=

KINDLY MAIL FIRST BOAT FORMAL STATEMENT LIKE THAT YOU GAVE
ME BUT ADDING THAT PROFESSORSHIP WITH INSTITUTE DATES
SINCE 1933 THANKS=
MITRANY.

WESTERN UNION GIFT ORDERS ARE APPROPRIATE GIFTS FOR ALL OCCASIONS

Law School of Harvard University,

Cambridge, Mass.

June 2, 1936

Dear Mit,

I wish we might have talk, but it doesn't seem possible.

The enclosed note⁺ to Ray Atherton will, I think, do the trick. If he happens not to be at the Embassy when you have need for him, you will of course put that letter in the hand of some subordinate acting for him.

I wish you would send me a typewritten memorandum that I can pass on, of what you learned regarding homestead resettlements and the suggestions that occur to you.

Godspeed, and all kinds of good luck. We shall probably see you over there.

Ever yours,

David

Prof. David Mitrany

*A courier will be at Embassy
in London*

DAVID MITRANY
1936-1939

- Economic eq. w/led - some 7/20
- security
- Important for reclaiming land -
w/eq. of 1937

From

May 29, 1936

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN:

This is to certify that the bearer of this document, Professor David Mitrany, is a professor in the School of Economics and Politics of the Institute for Advanced Study, located at Princeton, New Jersey, that he took up his residence in Princeton, New Jersey, in the autumn of 1935, that he is going abroad for a brief period for study and research and will return to Princeton to resume his duties in the autumn of 1936.

ESTHER S. BAILEY

Secretary

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN:

This is to certify that the bearer of this document, Professor David Mitrany, has been a professor in the School of Economics and Politics of the Institute for Advanced Study, located at Princeton, New Jersey, since September 1, 1933, that he took up his residence in Princeton, New Jersey, in the autumn of 1935, that he is going abroad for a brief period for study and research and will return to Princeton to resume his duties in the autumn of 1936.

ARTHUR S. BAILEY

Secretary

Dated, Princeton, New Jersey
May 29, 1936

May 11, 1936

Dear Mitrany:

I was very much interested in your letter and, of course, surprised and gratified to learn that you have discovered in our backward southern country analogies to problems which exist in the Balkan regions. I am sure that this analogy has never been observed or pointed out before, and something helpful to both countries may be evolved from it.

I realize that you have been travelling under great pressure for time. I hope, however, that you will take things as easy as you can, for I am afraid that the warm weather may make the going harder for you than for a person acclimated to it.

This birds-eye view of southern conditions ought, I think, before you tackle another region, to be elaborated by a study of southern history and a pretty thorough acquaintance with the sociology and literature of the south, both before the Civil War and since that event. Though I was born and reared in the south, I found in 1912, when I went into the General Education Board, how little I knew and understood it; so after my first trip through this region with Dr. Buttrick, who knew it well, I devoted two years to study of the country in which I had grown up. As a result, I prepared a history of the General Education Board between 1902 and 1914, which is, as a matter of fact, a sketch

Professor Mitrany

May 11, 1936

- 2 -

of the efforts made in the south towards recovery from the destruction of slavery and the ravages of the Civil War. The south has not recovered yet from either, nor will it for a century to come.

Your letter gives me the feeling that you have your feet on the ground, and I hope that you may take all the time that is needed to make yourself thoroughly at home with the problems of this section of the country. Then in due course others will naturally engage your attention, and wherever you will go you will have what seemed to me from the beginning the advantage of a man who is not an American, namely, a basis of comparison with conditions abroad, which, as far as I know, no American possesses.

I am going to New York next week, because I have allowed a lot of problems and questions to accumulate, but I will be either in New York or in Princeton until after the 1st of July, so that we shall have no difficulty in seeing one another.

I have word from Anne that she has reached England after a comfortable trip and is now meeting once more her old friends in London.

With all good wishes,

Ever sincerely,

ABRAHAM FLEXNER

Professor David Mitrany
Black Mountain College
Black Mountain, North Carolina

AF/LCE

HOTEL ANDREW JOHNSON
KNOXVILLE, TENN.

8.V.36.

Dear Flexner,

You may be leaving Princeton before I return, but perhaps I shall see you in N.Y., if you are still there.

My trip has, so far, been interesting and instructive. It started with the meeting at Atlanta of the Southern Sociological Society, which was rather dreadful, except in as far as it gave me a chance to meet people from all over the south-east. From there I travelled first into Georgia, and then towards the coast, up north as far as Charleston, then to Chapel Hill and Charlottesville, taking in a brief trip to Knoxville, to hear something about the I.V.A. and see some of its doings. At present I am getting a glimpse of the mountain regions and its people, and here will travel north through West Virginia, ending the formal trip at Pittsburgh, which I feel I must see to complete my education.

I have taken in the same shade the various colleges, white schools, which use as my units, and also various experimental activities - resettlement schemes, T. V. A., agricultural schools, etc. I have seen a good many of the people in this region, both leaders & workers; among them Du Bois & various interesting negroes, at Atlanta University and elsewhere. At Palmer College, by the way, I had a most interesting talk with Miss Beat, who wishes to be remembered to you.

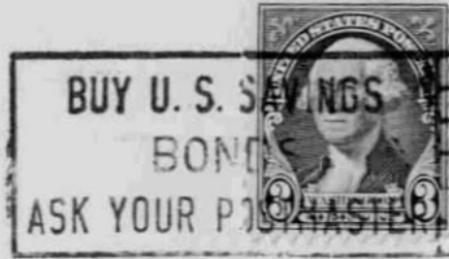
The more I saw and heard, the more surprised I was to find how my Balkan background helped me to grasp the problems of the deep South - in fact, I was able to tell them of how some of the similar problems were being solved in the Balkans, not only the general agrarian structure - but the share cropping system, the political and racial details etc., was astonishingly alike. So it gave me much pleasure to find that many people at the Conference knew my writings, and that at several colleges my book on the Rumanian peasants was used for graduate work. At the Conference, to my flashing embarrassment, I had to stand up & talk 'a curtain'. But, as I say, the whole thing was a revelation, to find how my past experience at one end of Europe let me straight

into the heart of the problem here, because of this

The trip has been a little tiring, because of the distances I had to cover, but I have (except very fit and our surprising it all. I regard the South as

Princeton on the 23rd.

Please give my best to Eleanor, and tell her with my regards from myself & Mrs. Mitrany.



Dr. David Mitrany,
20 Nassau Street,
Princeton, N.J.

March 28th 1936.

..... As regards the possibility of giving Riggs a chance, I am facing the usual quandary which the highly Puritanised individual faces. I don't know whether to continue in the present rather pointless manner, more or less trusting to fate that a mervy, highstrung existence, not particularly coordinated except by the fact that I am pushing myself all the time to keep my eyes and ears open to economic and social problems, which though interesting, don't enthral me the way they should-- will gradually work out into a greater peace of mind and steadiness of purpose; or whether to swallow pride, give up this 'wonderful opportunity' etc. and try to get on a firmer footing. Where I have the greatest discomfort is in the feeling that I have had and am enjoying immense advantages, and for some unknown reason cannot throw off the idea that what I have done is more or less worthless, and that so much needs to be done that I cannot rest and relax and just live. The old tension, which is a grand thing if it is focussed, but a big strain when things are not immediately constructive and enthralling-- then the fact that they are not leads to a great deal of personal kicking oneself in the pants; and trying to get through a lot of reading and note taking, which would be productive if focussed, but mere treadmilling when not.

As I diagnose the present condition, it may be a remnant of the physical-aches and pains still exist, but the old infected feeling is no longer there-- what is most noticable is a lack of the feeling of vitality and enjoyment; aching arms and legs, and a heady feeling, coupled, generally with early waking in the morning, and a lot of rather depressing thoughts until I get up and start to do some writing. Socially, I am O.K. and in the evening generally manage to get calmed down and enjoy things; sleep like a log until I wake up. Where lack of vitality this year is different from the Lahore condition was that in Lahore while I was fighting the lack of guts, I did get a good deal of satisfaction from my work, and did not feel that I was a waster; I also had some confidence in what I was doing, and was able to concentrate more enthusiastically on my work, and was able in fact in Lahore, the subjective life was in no way a burden.

I think you will see from the above that this is not written in the depth of the feelings described. What I want to know is whether it is a natural thing, and the psychical sound thing to continue doing the personally 'heroic' thing even when its results are not satisfying in terms of the feeling of accomplishment and integration, or whether to see the mental hygiene of the thing-- if it is a matter of psychic adjustments-- which, of course, it might not necessarily be.

In sum, What I am trying to find a way to do is to be less conscious of my feelings-- which are getting repetitive and uninteresting, and physically a burden-- less body conscious, and so more able to harness myself to the job in hand.

This does not mean that I am not getting a lot out of this experience but as I said, it takes a great deal of pushing and pulling which might be utilised to more adventurous and productive ends.

You've heard most of this before, so it need not worry you.

139 EAST 40TH STREET
NEW YORK
CALEDONIA 5-5399

April 3 -1936.

Dear David,

I am glad that you got in touch with Bill. I shall be glad to have you see him. I am troubled about him, for I feel that he has not got to the root of his difficulty. The other day I had a letter from him (I enclose a copy) which troubled me. I felt that I could not answer it from the knowledge that I possessed. I sent him a long letter in answer which was full of sympathetic advice but which was not fundamental enough.

I felt the need of professional advice so I consulted a woman psychiatrist who had been very helpful to a friend of mine. She is also a medical doctor. She was helpful. She feels that he should have a further physical examination especially of his blood. These tropical diseases often are obscure. She feels that he ~~should~~ certainly should consult a psychiatrist especially as he himself has brought up the question. He can thus either lay a ghost or deal with a reality. I enclose a copy of a letter I wrote to Bill.

I should greatly value a talk with you. I shall be in town until Thursday anyway.

Sincerely yours,

Alice Tower

My dear Bill,

On receiving your letter from Montgomery I felt that I could not advise you wisely without talking the matter over with a Doctor who knew Psychiatry. I have had a most satisfactory talk with a Dr. Powdermaker. She works at the Medical Cent. She would advise you to have a further check up on your blood by a man versed in tropical diseases. As you raise the question of a possible psychological basis for your discomfort she feels you should consult a psychiatrist. You may find very quickly that there is reality in your question or that it is merely a question and the ghost can then be laid. She would be very glad to talk to you and either advise you herself or suggest one or two names. I read her part of your letter and she feels that you have a very good understanding of the psychological problem.

It might be a good plan for you to come up here directly you are through with your journeys. You could get this thing out of the way, or find new methods of dealing with it.

Dr. Powdermaker said that you should never Kick yourself in the pants. That a kick is most disintegrating and what you need is a cohesive treatment. So stop dealing with yourself. She would not advise Riggs. She feels that you do not need a further development of the puritanical will. He bases his philosophy on a Puritan approach.

139 EAST 40TH STREET
NEW YORK
CALEDONIA 5-5399

April 29th, 1936.

My dear Mit.,

How can I thank you for your kindness and for your presence with Bill? He tells me that you have opened up new ways for him. He begins to relax. He arrived looking very smiling and pink, so that relieved me at once. After talking for a while I realised that there was much to do before he was ready to take hold of a real job in life.

We arranged for him to go up to the Medical Center at once. He is under the care of Dr. Robert Loeb who is giving him every kind of physical test. I had a most satisfactory talk with Dr. Loeb, and told him of the background and psychic disturbance. After the physical tests we will cross the bridges indicated. Bill has resigned the Fellowship and feels wonderfully relieved. I do not think that the Lawrenceville decision is weighing on his mind. I agree with you that he is in no condition to take that job at present.

You may be sure that I shall not be sentimental with him. I think that to you I had merely expressed the silent yearnings of one who loves him, to bear the pressure that he is apparently breaking under.

As you know, I have felt that his problem was psychic and not primarily physical. I have tried to think otherwise and Edward did not agree with me. Either he was trying to comfort me or was definitely not convinced. I must admit that I felt very unready to take on this type of responsibility and I was hoping that I would not have to face up to it again. But I feel that my shoulders are squaring to the job and I know that a way will be found.

To you I am eternally grateful.

Sincerely yours,

Alice Carter

April 5, 1936

Dear Mr. Frazer:

Dr. David Mitrany, who is a British citizen, is also a professor at the Institute for Advanced Study and proposes to take up his residence in this country. He will explain to you personally precisely the considerations which he wishes to bear in mind. We should like to make it as easy as possible for him to go and come between the United States and Great Britain with the slightest legal obstacles in so far as our immigration laws permit. I should be very happy indeed if you would advise him as to the best possible type of visa or passport he can obtain under the circumstances which he will explain to you.

Very sincerely yours,

ALANSON B. HOUGHTON

Mr. Robert Frazer
Consul General
American Consulate
London, England

ABH/BCE

February 11, 1936

Mitrany

MEMORANDUM

To: Dr. Flexner

I have read carefully and considered the memorandum which you were good enough to send me. A study of the kind you suggest, I have no doubt, would be interesting. As a matter of fact, there are several good monographs which attempt a systematic study of the causes of war; and the historians have of course dealt in detail with the causes and circumstances of individual wars. The material for a study like the one suggested by you is there, in the detailed works of history, and it should not be difficult to collect and collate it. Perhaps sometime we might find it worthwhile to get someone to do such a study here, under my supervision.

Such a study inevitably, will have to concern itself with policies rather than with institutions and methods of government--and with policies referring to specific and often very individual cases. It would throw additional light, perhaps, on the motives and effects of certain past actions, but that may not take us much further in our purpose. There is no valid analogy with the study of human pathology.

It would be difficult through such an approach to find a key to the study and understanding of institutions of government, of politics, as a continuous process--and that seems to me to be the real need in this field and our opportunity to contribute something new to it. Politics or government is the continuous process of an orderly social life; war

To: Dr. Flexner

-2-

February 11, 1936

only its occasional breakdown. Even if one accepts war as a positive instrument of political action, it still is only one means to certain ends, whereas the ends are continuous. Nor is war, as you will readily agree, really concerned with Security (if one ignores verbal quibbles). It has pursued other and varied ends--dynastic, religious, revolutionary, etc; while Security has been sought by other means--empires, alliances, leagues, etc.

I feel that we shall not get much further in this field until we have worked out a more realistic method, and the "monographic" approach would not allow the same method to be used for studying ~~of~~ the relations of politics to economics, to law, to religion, to education, etc. You will see, of course, that here, as generally in scientific inquiry, the method is not really arbitrary, but is in effect dictated by the fundamental hypothesis itself. And as I have suggested before, I feel that the immediate task, both ~~as~~ being the most urgent and the most promising, is to show and to test a new method in ^{the study of} politics; a task which would be difficult to attempt in ordinary universities, where the professor inevitably has to use in his teaching such materials as are already at hand.

D. M.

Mitrany

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMICS
BERKELEY

February 6, 1936

Dr. Abraham Flexner
20 Nassau Street
Princeton, N. J.

My dear Dr. Flexner:

We have at this University an annual lectureship on various subjects in natural and social sciences. The lectureship has been held by a number of very distinguished men.

Some of us are interested in proposing to the committee having charge of the appointment the name of Dr. David Mitrany. Unfortunately, the members of the committee are not personally acquainted with Dr. Mitrany's work. I therefore take the liberty of asking you to send me a letter which might have influence with the committee in supporting the nomination which some of us are about to make. From your association with Dr. Mitrany you are, of course, one whose opinion would be most valuable.

Sincerely yours,

Henry R. Hatfield
Henry R. Hatfield
Professor of Accounting

HRH:YM

February 10, 1936

Dear Professor Hatfield:

I have your kind note of February 6 in regard to Doctor Mitrany. I have pleasure in bearing witness to his scholarship and learning especially in the field of foreign and international affairs. I know of no person who can discuss a topic in that field with greater competence than Mitrany. You may be interested in testing this opinion by referring to two of his works: The Progress of International Government (Dodge Lectures at Yale) and a little book on Sanctions, both of which I imagine you will find in the University Library.

Sincerely yours,

ABRAHAM FLEXNER

Professor Henry R. Hatfield
University of California
Department of Economics
Berkeley, California

AF:ESB

February 6, 1936

MEMORANDUM FOR PROFESSOR MITRANY:

Madariaga's scheme is very much like the documents that were originally issued in connection with organizations like the English Speaking Union or the Union of the League of Nations Societies. I do not know in what sense one can say "the way out is clear". I should suppose the way out to be very complicated and obscure. General phrases like "integrating principle" leave me cold. I think, however, you should be present at the discussions. The elaborate scheme which Madariaga suggests - a general staff, grouping specialists to study problems and to offer concrete ideas, etc. - would be expensive and would require such leadership and such specialists as would be very difficult to find and to organize. The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace was meant to be some such affair and it has practically fizzled out without ever having had any real influence.

My own feeling is that if one person contributes a volume comparable in its scholarship and appeal to, let us say, Mahan's books on Sea Power, he might exercise more influence than could possibly be exercised by the formation of still one more group to do the same kind of thing which groups and unions and foundations have already been doing for the last twenty years.

One hates to throw cold water on a high-minded scheme of this kind, but I think it would be a mistake to expect much of it. I hope I am wrong.

AF/MCE

APR 11 1936 KNER

February 5, 1936

MEMORANDUM FOR PROFESSOR MITRANY:

I find myself almost involuntarily cogitating about Security as I walk to and from the office. What has been in my mind for the last day or two is the following: that war and preparations for war, so far from being incompatible with the security of any particular nation, may be the only means of obtaining security; for example, the Punic wars made Rome secure for centuries, and our own Civil War made us secure. If the south had been allowed to secede in peace, as Horace Greeley suggested ("Let the erring sisters go in peace"), the United States would have been divided into two nations. They could not possibly have remained at peace, since the south, founded on slavery, was bound to encroach on the border states of the north. I have been turning over in my mind too Eden's statement regarding the wise way to proceed in dealing with colonies, namely, to sit down and peacefully redistribute them; but more and more I have the feeling that these are Utopian words and that there is no indication that any European statesman in any country possessing colonies would dare to propose and carry through a transfer of territory unless it was extorted from him either by conflict or the fear of conflict. In this matter Hitler is, I suspect, nearer right than Eden - all of which leads to this reflection: Would not a biological or physiological study of war through the centuries - the conditions leading up to it, the object for which it was fought, the results, often so different from those desired - be more tangible and illuminating than a study of the subject like Security, which has nowhere been attained and seems as far from attainment today as it was a thousand

Professor Mitrany

February 5, 1936

- 2 -

years ago. Notice that I omit entirely the League, because it would take only a few pages to tell its story up to the present time if one told it in the objective spirit in which one describes phenomena and not in an evangelical spirit of advising nations to resort to it, the latter being, as I think, a matter not really a subject for scientific study. It is, of course, the legitimate object of endeavor on the part of idealists or statesmen who are satisfied with the status quo.

These are, of course, reflections for you to turn over in your mind and dispose of in any way that seems best to you.

ABRAHAM FLEXNER

P. S. February 6, 1936.

See how the English government is helping me out in my argument. Did you notice that when Lansbury tried yesterday to take Hoare at his word the government neatly ducked and declined any steps towards a world conference? Words, words, words, I am afraid!

A.F.

20 Nassau Street,
26.I.1936

Dear Flexner,

Your letter was more than welcome. The experience of the past three months was new to me, and it made me miserable beyond words, as much on your account as on mine. No effort shall be lacking on my part to make it possible for us, as you suggest, to act as if we were only now getting together for our common purpose.

As far as I can see, there is no question concerning either the nature of my work or the detailed arrangements for it, that we cannot discuss and settle on a practical basis. Even an agreement to differ does no harm, if personalities are left aside. If at times I seem to you a bit 'akward', your great experience must tell you that facile acquiescence in and eager bows to authority are not necessarily a proof of devotion to the purpose for which that authority stands, or a proof of true respect for it.

I am more than willing to try a fresh start, on the basis of your letter. To bring a third person into the discussion may sometimes be unavoidable, the only way out of a deadlock. But while a judicial verdict may stop a quarrel, it cannot make a friendship. I would much rather have peace in my heart than a feather from someone else's tail in my cap; and your generous letter gives me great hope that peace and friendly cooperation it can be.

You have it in your power to help my work here or to hamper it, to make my life at the Institute something to be remembered gratefully or to be forgotten; and likewise my relations with colleagues, in the Institute and in the University, will be much influenced by the turn which you yourself give them from the beginning. You shall lack no proof that any help and any sign of confidence you will give me will call from me, in return, more than their own measure in devotion to the Institute, as well as in personal gratitude to you.

Yours sincerely

D. Mitrany

For Dr. Flexner.

Thank you so much for letting me see Planck's remark on research. No other view is possible; but I am sure that Planck himself would not feel that, for the sake of specialization, one can neglect articulation. In fact, the greater the specialization, the more urgent the need to check it constantly, by putting it tentatively in the framework of the whole field.

Now I may be wrong, but I have a feeling that synthesis will be the dominant note in scientific work during the next generation. I am not arguing, for you have decided against that view, but I wish you would keep it at the back of your mind during the next 2-3 years. Already the cry is raised: I heard it at the English conference on the Social Sciences; you saw it in the new American review; it lies behind the new Harvard professorships; and Carel's book, which you commended to me, seems to cry out for synthesis (if I understand him right). In all the fields the specialists have done wonderful work during the past generation, and just because of their success they have been apt to lose touch with the whole.

The two things are not incompatible, nor can the one supplant the other: they are complementary. Get Panofsky to tell you one day why they do such splendid work at McCormick Hall, and live and work together like a happy family; my guess is that he will say that, while everyone specializes in his section, they are constantly trying to check each other, to articulate their individual work to the whole field. Isn't that the ultimate problem of knowledge? And is it less so in the Social Sciences?

I wonder what is the real nature of the great practical problems of our time? Is it a technical economic problem which creates the difficulty - how to get more resources or production, or such things? Is it a technical political problem - how to deal with the franchise, or with parliamentary procedure, or kingdom v. republic, and so on? Or is it rather precisely a problem of articulation - how to bring the new economic technique and requirements into gear with the democratic political system - without wasting economic possibilities and without crushing individual liberties. Are not Fascism and Communism both precisely that - drastic attempts to articulate economic and political life?

Among my few accomplishments there seems to be a sense of seeing coming problems. Shotwell and David Hunter Miller admit that they had not thought of the problem of neutrality until I pressed it on them, ten years ago; and the argument on American policy in my little book on Sanctions is the very basis of the discussion on neutrality which goes on now. Some four years ago I warned my English friends that Collective Security would prove brittle without Peaceful Change, and starting almost single-handed I at last got the conference on International Studies to take up P.C. as their next subject of study. Now every writer and every professor is shouting that Peaceful Change is the problem in international relations. Well, I have a similar feeling that how to articulate our great mass of knowledge is the ^{coming} problem of the Social Sciences.

21.I.1086

D.M.

January 21, 1936

Dear Mitrany:

Our correspondence has taken a turn which distresses me exceedingly, and I know that it must be equally distressing to you. It is apparent to me from your last letter that I have injured you deeply. I can assure you that this has never been in the slightest degree my desire. My whole interest is concentrated upon making the Institute a living center of intellectual activity and a happy place for scholars to work in.

Under these circumstances and with those ends in view it is essential that you and I get back on a footing of intellectual cooperation and sympathetic understanding where it will be impossible to misread each other's motives. I do not see how we can do this unless we both resolve to drop completely the recent subject matter of our correspondence. It is impossible for any two people, once they have fallen out of "rapport", to go back over past incidents or remarks or communications and explain them in exactly the sense in which they were intended. I know that you would hurt me exceedingly if you were to amplify some of the comments in your last communication, just as I see now that I have hurt you by my last letter. If you are agreeable, let us really regard the whole correspondence as a closed incident. On the other hand, if you still wish President Aydelotte to read the correspondence - unusual as this is from the standpoint of American

Professor Mitrany

January 21, 1936

2

practice and custom - I have no hesitation whatsoever in submitting it to him and asking him his candid opinion, for I feel sure that he will be candid with both of us.

There is only one point further that I wish in writing to clear up. No one ever said to me that your wife's condition was hopeless, nor did I mean to convey that impression to you. What was said to me and what I thought I said to you was an expression of doubt as to whether she was in the wisest medical hands. I did this with a view to suggesting that you lay the situation entirely before the most competent man in America and one of the best in the world, Doctor Riggs, to whom you otherwise could not have had access.

Always sincerely,

ABRAHAM FLEXNER

P.S.

January 22, 1936

Since dictating the above, I have received your comment on Planck's article, with respect to which I will talk with you next week when I return from New York where I go today to attend several meetings.

A.F.

Professor David Mitrany
20 Nassau Street
Princeton, New Jersey

AF:ESB

20 NASSAU STREET
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

18.I.1936

January 18, 1936

Dear Flexner,

Your letter has taken me utterly by surprize. It was so unexpected, and it is so unwarranted. In these three months you have said to me a great deal of a personal nature, and I had hoped that you had come to the end of that kind of argument.

When you say that nothing prevents me from settling to work, you overlook that you have neither done that for which I praye nor have you left me alone. You have gone out of your way to criticize -without much consistency or accuracy, if you will allow me to say so- any and every view I happened to hold or to mention; you have never given me any clear idea of what work you had in mind, but you ^{have} raised continuous objections to the work I want to do - as you do now again, though a few weeks back you had agreed that this line of work was interesting and promising.

Again, a modest request for help in research, which should have gone through as a matter of course, has been met with all sorts of baffling objections - as now again, though a few weeks back you had admitted that my request was modest and reasonable. At one time the objection was to a full-time assistant, and then to a part-time; the upshot being that even now I do not know what you want and what I may have or not; whereas Mr. Riefler, whom you always brings, rather embarrassingly, into our discussions, was on his way to Washington the very next day after giving you his Memorandum, I believe, to engage with your consent the assistants for whom he had asked.

All these questions are capable of, and demand, straight practical answers, without personal abuse; but our voluminous correspondence, as your last letter, has brought me rather too much of the second, and not yet the former. Since ~~my~~ ^{my} arrival, especially, your attitude has been such that it can mean only one of two things: either you have reversed the principles on which the Institute was founded, or you have singled me out for treatment which in its relentless and promiscuous antagonism assumes almost the temper of persecution.

When you say that people in the Institute "must be happy", you seem grimly unconscious that you have ^{had} not one friendly word for me, not one word of encouragement for my work. You have come to my room apparently only to indulge in offensive personal remarks, and indisparaging comparisons with other members of the Institute; much to my silent embarrassment, for I could not defend myself without appearing to be as offensive to others as you were pleased to be to me. Your way of welcome, your way to make me feel happy here and help me to settle to work peacefully, was to inform me at our first interview, that two 'common friends' in England have assured you that my wife would never get well.

That is not a conduct which does justice to you or to the Institute, nor a situation which is helpful for scholarly work. There may be something definite in your mind against me, and if you know definitely what you want from me, I wish you would say it simply and frankly; on my part I will do my best to meet you, for the sake of the hopes we have all placed in this experiment. Or if your grievance is more weighty and general, you may wish me to discuss it with your Executive Committee; or perhaps, less formally, with you and say, your brother Bernhard and Mr. Aydelotte. I am willing to follow any such suggestion, at your choice.

The one thing that is neither fair nor helpful is to ~~suggest~~ subject me (who am a stranger here, and labouring, as you well know, under a gruelling personal anxiety), to subject me privately to these continuous personal assaults and practical obstructions, and at the same time take the attitude that nothing hampers my work, and also bid me to appear, and even to be, happy.

Yours sincerely

D. Mitrany

January 14, 1936

Dear Mitrany:

I received yesterday your note of January 13, and I confess that I am amazed to have you say that you have "none of the advantages which the mathematical group find here". This is not a correct statement. You have more than Veblen had during his first year at the Institute, for you have a group of men in your own field and you have the use of the Princeton University Library, both of which he had. You have the opportunity to purchase such books as you wish and to seek out such consultations as you desire and a secretary, whereas Veblen was practically without secretarial aid. I am afraid you are comparing your situation today with their situation at the end of four years. The ideal conditions, which the mathematicians now enjoy, are the result of four years of active and productive work. If you could do what Veblen did, you would four years hence find yourself correspondingly situated.

There is absolutely no analogy whatsoever between anything that is done in Fine Hall and the arrangement which you suggested in reference to Williamson. Williamson is a full-time instructor on the Princeton University staff. - He has a large responsibility for teaching undergraduates. If this leaves him any leisure, he has, I assume, his own reading to do. There is nothing similar to this in Fine Hall, and there will never be either in the School of Mathematics or in any other School. The relationship between the Institute and the University

D.M.

January 14, 1936

2

would be an impossible one if we so acted as to interfere with the undergraduate work of the University, which would be the inevitable result of your proposition.

As a matter of fact, so far from being less well-treated than the mathematicians, you have been favored beyond any person ever connected with the Institute. For two years - part of the time on full salary - you had leave of absence with opportunity to clear your mind and discuss your problems with your English friends, and you had access to both Oxford and London. No other person connected with the Institute has ever enjoyed any such opportunity, nor has any one ever connected with the Institute ever volunteered, as you did, a stream of impractical suggestions (due, I believe, to the fact that you knew neither the Institute nor the United States) when, in my judgment, ~~when~~ he should have been at work on his own. Panofsky has no secretary and no assistant. Neither will Meritt have, when he arrives next year, and, though Meritt is doing a prodigious piece of work abroad, he is doing it by himself. I have no objections whatsoever to providing you with a full-time assistant when the moment arrives, and I have said so in the course of our voluminous correspondence, but before I ask the Board to make any appropriation for this purpose, I want to be perfectly clear that you have a problem, that you yourself are at work on it, and that you have reached the point where assistance of a definite kind can be of use to you.

You ask me in effect what you should do. I advise you to reread with scrupulous attention our entire correspondence, noting the unanswered questions which this correspondence contains. Under date of November 15, 1935, you submitted to me an interesting memorandum on a study in politics. I advise you to select one aspect of this problem as a mathematician selects one aspect in the wide field of mathematics, as Panofsky selects one aspect in the wide field of art, as Riefler is gradually focusing on one aspect of the wide field of economics, and devote yourself

D.M.

January 14, 1936

3

to it. If you find that the books are in the Library rather than in your own room, two courses are possible: either borrow the books or work in the Library. It might do you good to see the cubicle in which Panofsky does part of his work, the rest of which he does in the Library. The history of science and learning abounds in examples of persons who produced brilliant results amidst the most deterrent external conditions, with which fortunately you are really not compelled to deal: Banting discovered insulin, working in a garret, and A. V. Hill at Cambridge made his reputation, working under a staircase, in which he could not stand upright, and I could give you any number of similar examples.

Rereading your memorandum, I still have the feeling that you are thinking of your subject in terms that are far too comprehensive for the kind of research in which the Institute ought to be engaged. With or without an assistant you cannot cover this field, and the moment you obtain an assistant, unless you are working in a very limited territory, you are at your assistant's mercy. When, on the other hand, you have concentrated on some topic which you have yourself mastered, it may be that an assistant can really assist. I have myself done no little work in fields in which I had a tremendous amount of investigating to do. I never had an assistant in my life. Even the book on "Universities", dealing with a subject with which I was familiar and written after twenty-five years of actual work in the field, I wrote most of the manuscript with my own hand and utilized my secretary as an assistant only in the final stages of checking the data, etc. My advice therefore to you is that you take your memorandum of November 15, that you select a topic, that you forget grievances, that you bear in mind that the Institute is a place in which men must be happy, if they are to remain, and that having done these things you devote yourself to the production of some work of research which may stand out as a masterpiece in its own field.

~~elsewhere. I repeat that you started with a tremendous advantage over anyone else~~
D.M. 4
January 14, 1936

~~connected with the Institute. You were my warm personal friend. I had helped
As far as external conditions are concerned, they are of no consequence. You can
you previously. I was anxious to do everything that might make you happy and
work in your room; you can work at 20 Nassau Street. You could have had a cubicle
contented. I actually did more for you than for any other person ever associated
at the Library, or you can work at the Library. You can talk with your associates
with the Institute. To say that the result has been seriously disappointing is
here. You can seek out for conference associates elsewhere. If this is not an
a mild statement on my part. I cannot but wonder what other men who have worked
ideal situation for a scholar, whose main business is not to cover the entire subject
in your field would have said if, freed from all routine of every kind, they had been
but to make some important contribution to knowledge, then I believe I am tempted to
given a higher
understand what favorable conditions are.~~

In conclusion, I have one word more to say, and with that the record must be closed. Every person connected with the Institute except yourself is absolutely happy. Occasionally, there have been differences of opinion upon slight matters, but a brief discussion has always enabled us to come without any feeling to a conclusion that was absolutely acceptable to every one interested. The Institute, when founded, was meant to be a paradise for scholars. It has been so except for the contentious correspondence between you and me which has now occupied a year or more. This correspondence and your state of mind simply have to be terminated. Others in the Institute are aware of your unhappiness. If you cannot be happy here, arrangements must be made which will enable you to be happy elsewhere. I repeat that you started with a tremendous advantage over anyone else connected with the Institute. You were my warm personal friend. I had helped you previously. I was anxious to do everything that might make you happy and contented. I actually did more for you than for any other person ever associated with the Institute. To say that the result has been seriously disappointing is a mild statement on my part. I cannot but wonder what other men who have worked in your field would have said if, freed from all routine of every kind, they had been given a higher salary than obtains for any but a very few persons in any academic institution in this country or Great Britain and complete use of their time and such other facilities as lie at your hand. Under these conditions, I do not see the

D.M.

January 14, 1936

4

As far as external conditions are concerned, they are of no consequence. You can work in your room; you can work at 20 Nassau Street. You could have had a cubicle at the Library, or you can work at the Library. You can talk with your associates here. You can seek out for conference associates elsewhere. If this is not an ideal situation for a scholar, whose main business is not to cover the entire subject but to make some important contribution to knowledge, then I confess I am unable to understand what favorable conditions are.

D.M.

January 14, 1936

5

slightest difficulty in your "getting your work going".

Sincerely yours,

ABRAHAM FLEXNER

Professor David Mitrany
20 Nassau Street
Princeton, New Jersey

AF:ESB

20 NASSAU STREET
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

January 13, 1936

Dear Flexner:

Thank you so much for your letter of the 7th telling me of your talk with President Dodds concerning Williamson. It is not for me to question the grounds on which Mr. Dodds came to his decision, and I have, of course, no ~~claim~~ to ask them to release Williamson for my convenience. But I am naturally disappointed, as it will not help my work.

We have none of the advantages which the mathematical group find here; and now we are precluded also from making use of an arrangement which has worked without any difficulty there.

What concerns me is the practical consequence, and that is a matter for the Institute. I had gathered from you before, if I am right, that full-time assistants were undesirable, because we had no prospects to offer them; and now you give me reasons why part-time assistants are equally undesirable. Would you kindly advise me what arrangement, acceptable to you, will obviate these difficulties? I am most anxious to get my work going at last.

Yours very sincerely
David Mitrany

Dr. Abraham Flexner

January 7, 1936

Dear Mitrany:

I saw President Dodds, as I had promised you, at the first possible moment after his return to Princeton, but unfortunately you were out of town at the time so that I could not report the results of the interview orally. Since then I have had to be away and you have had to be away so that for fear that you may feel that I have neglected your request I think I had better lose no further time in informing you^{of} the results of my interview. I presented the case to President Dodds with the utmost objectivity. He considered it carefully and discussed it, thinking aloud as he went along.

The relationship which we are endeavoring to form with Princeton University is unique in this country. I have used all possible care and circumspection to do nothing that would interfere with its consolidation to our mutual benefit, for, while the presence of our scholars helps Princeton, their scholars help us equally and their facilities, freely placed at our disposal, make it unnecessary for us to invest millions which we should otherwise be required to invest. Bearing these considerations in mind, I have done nothing in which Princeton University was in the slightest degree involved without first submitting the matter to President Dodds or Dean Eisenhart.

In the case of Williamson, President Dodds raised the almost inevitable question, "If we begin by allowing instructors and assistants to

Professor Mitrany

January 7, 1936

2

accept part-time work with the Institute, where will it stop and what will be the general effect on what these individuals are expected to do for Princeton University?"

The practice will spread. Indeed, since you spoke to me of your desire to have part of Williamson's time, a similar request has come from another professor in the Institute, which I declined at once for this reason. Viewing the problem not from the standpoint of any individual concerned but solely from the standpoint of the possibilities of difficulties that might arise through part time, President Dodds gave an adverse opinion. In my judgment, his attitude was correct. It had no reference whatsoever to either you or Williamson but was based on general cooperation. There is no difficulty in cooperation between professors. It is, for example, immaterial to Professor Weyl if advanced students, assistants, instructors, or others in Princeton University attend his lectures or consult him just as it involves no danger to Professor Lefschetz if the advanced workers of the Institute confer with him or attend any courses that he may give. Indeed, cooperation of this kind has been infinitely advantageous to both groups, for it has created a strong mathematical group without dividing the attention and responsibility of any one involved in it. Cooperation in the lower grades is, however, a different matter. In his recent autobiography Henry T. Hevinson says that a man may divide his time but not his mind. I should think it inevitable that, as the work of the Institute is free from routine, young men might easily neglect the work which they are expected to do for Princeton in order to devote more time and thought to the opportunities offered by the Institute at the top. While the Williamson case was settled by the decision of President Dodds, from the standpoint of the University, it involves a principle which is, I think, of the highest importance to the Institute.

Professor Mitrany

January 7, 1936

3

Mr. Bamberger and Mrs. Fuld endowed the Institute on the basis of my assurance that this country needed an informal organization which would include scholars of high rank, whose remuneration would be sufficient to enable them to devote their whole attention and time to the work of the Institute. While these men are not cut off from the acceptance of honoraria connected with the performance of scientific work of the highest calibre, they are pledged to accept no remuneration from other sources. In the successive Bulletins of the Institute I have tried to make this clear by saying that the Institute would be organized on the full-time basis which has been established in the leading medical schools in the United States. I think we are in duty bound by my promises to the founders and by their reliance on our good faith not to take into the employment of the Institute any one on part time. I ought, I think, to have made this clear when the Williamson matter was first mentioned to me, but I confess I was for many reasons so anxious to comply with your wishes that consciously or unconsciously I neglected to do so. Now that the Williamson case has been decided upon, let us understand the commitments which we have made to the founders of the Institute as well as to the public. Unquestionably, this may sometime or other cost us the cooperation of someone who could do us and himself and his subject a good turn, but it will save us the infinite complications which, in my judgment, have seriously interfered with the efficiency and the happiness of university staffs all over the world and nowhere more so than in the United States. If the Institute can in other fields exercise the influence which the Johns Hopkins Medical School has exercised through the adoption of the full-time scheme for clinical teachers, it will lift the whole level of academic endeavor in this country, and perhaps in course of time elsewhere.

I might add for your information the following, which I think is illuminating: The Rockefeller Institute endeavored for about six years to

Professor Mitrany

January 7, 1936.

4

utilize part-time workers on a small scale in connection with a much larger staff of full-time men. Among these part-time workers was a man of real genius, Alfred F. Hess, who was perhaps the most distinguished clinician in the field of research during his life. Nevertheless at the end of six years of experimentation the Board of Scientific Directors and my brother came to the conclusion that on the whole and in the long run the Institute would do best if it eliminated part-time workers altogether. From 1907 when that decision was taken to the present day its wisdom and soundness have never been questioned.

With all good wishes for the New Year,

Ever sincerely,

ABRAHAM FLEXNER

Professor David Mitrany
Institute for Advanced Study
20 Nassau Street
Princeton, New Jersey

AF:EOB