

FILE

Institute General---League of Nations, Invitation to Economic Group

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

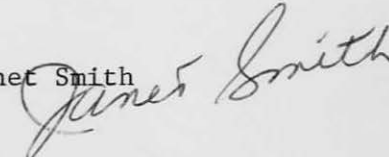
1. A letter, unsigned, addressed to "Dear Alec" and dated June 4, 1940
2. An undated, unsigned history of the invitation to the group
3. An extract from a letter to Frank Walters from Arthur Sweetser, dated 11/27/48
4. A file memorandum, dated June 7, 1940, from Dr. Aydelotte

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

Professor Barros' office was at 118 Corwin, while at Princeton.

May 4, 1967

Janet Smith

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Janet Smith", written over the typed name.

Extracts from reviews of the Transition Report

Financial News

"The document is much the most detailed piece of sound thinking that has so far been published on a matter which will affect the lives and prosperity of millions." (July 28, 1943)

"The League of Nations has published by far the most thorough analysis of the problem of the transition from war to peace, viewed from an international angle, that has so far been compiled." (July 29, 1943)

The Times

"...it is easily the most extensive analysis that has yet been published on the national and international aspects of the problem of assuring economic stability in the formative period which will begin when hostilities come to an end." (July 30, 1943)

The Manchester Guardian

"No previous official document has so clearly set out the relations between immediate post-war measures--such as international relief, the removal of industrial controls, rationing, and the lowering of taxation--and the larger economic policies for the maintenance of full employment and economic stability to which the nations are committed...an outline of economic reconstruction which is remarkably free from the prevalent vice among programme-makers of Government control for control's sake." (July 26, 1943)

The Economist

"Seldom are the proper objectives of postwar economic policy so well stated as in the League of Nations' Report on the Transition from War to Peace Economy ..." (August 7, 1943)

Journal of Marketing.

"... this scholarly, brief but comprehensive analysis of the world economic problem in the transition period is strongly recommended".
E. D. McGarry, University of Buffalo (January 1944).

L'Informateur.

"Nous venons de recevoir du Centre d'Etudes de la Société des Nations, un très intéressant ouvrage qui représente le rapport de la Délégation chargée de l'étude des dépressions économiques et qui doit vivement retenir l'attention de nos milieux officiels chargés de régler les conditions d'existence après la guerre." (June 1944)

The Annals of The American Academy.

"This small volume of lucid exposition should be a welcome manual to those who seek to understand the issues requiring deliberate policy. ... a rich source of broad considerations often overlooked in the discussions of postwar reconversion." Robert D. Calkins (Nov. 1943)

Bankers Magazine.

"Of all the studies hitherto presented to the British public the latest is perhaps the most important". (Sept. 1943)

British Industries.

"The very valuable statistical and economic reports issued from time to time by this Department have long been indispensable to all students of current economic problems. None will be found to have been more timely than that which has just made its appearance under the succinct title "The Transition from War to Peace Economy". ... Emphatically a report to read and ponder over and then to read again". (September 1943)

The Accountant.

"In a little over one hundred pages the League Committee provides an excellent survey of the problems inherent in the transition from war to peace and offers the broad outlines of the means necessary to solve them. It is eminently readable ... As a preliminary to the study of post-war trade questions and international currency and exchange prospects it is invaluable".

News Chronicle.

"The present volume is an excellent piece of work which will be invaluable for business men and others who want to get the hang of the economic probabilities of the transition period." (Aug. 1943)

Iron and Coal Trades Review.

"This report seems to us so useful a document that we are publishing extracts from it in this and in subsequent issues." (July 1943)

Report by L. A. H. Assot

Nov 29, 1941

Pamphlet

Bulletins

League Work In America

By ARTHUR SWEETSER

IN RESPONSE to an invitation from three educational and scientific institutions at Princeton, New Jersey, the Economic and Financial Department of the League of Nations has established part of its work in that center. Mr. A. Loveday, director of the department, arrived at Princeton on August 21 and the rest of the group on September 13. Whether the invitation to establish part of the Health and Opium Sections' work will also be acted upon favorably is not yet decided.

The reasons which prompted the Princeton authorities to issue this invitation were set forth in a cable of June 11 to the secretary-general of the League and signed on behalf of Princeton University by President Harold W. Dodds, on behalf of the Institute of Advanced Study by its director, Dr. Frank Aydelotte, and on behalf of the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research by Mr. Carl TenBroeck, director of the Princeton branch. The cable said:

"During the past two decades we have watched with the greatest admiration the growth of the technical sections of the Secretariat of the League of Nations. They have provided leadership in the promotion of international collaboration between scholars, in the furthering of public health, in the control of opium, and in the international exploration of economic and financial problems. Recently we have become increasingly apprehensive that the war may do more than merely interrupt this work. With the involvement in hostilities of all countries surrounding Geneva, we are fearful that the trained personnel of these sections, so carefully built up, may be dispersed, and that the records so painstakingly accumulated may be destroyed.

"Under these circumstances we should like to suggest to you very strongly that you consider the possibility of removing the technical sections of the Secretariat, including both the personnel and the records, to Princeton, New Jersey, for such period as may prove to be desirable. At Princeton are located, as you doubtless know, Princeton University, a branch of the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research, and the Institute for Advanced Study. It gives us great pleasure to inform you that the governing authorities of these three educational and scientific institutions hereby unite in extending a most cordial invitation to the technical sections of the Secretariat to move from Geneva to this place. . . .

"We are extending this invitation because of the great importance which we attach to the effective and scholarly work of the technical sections of the League. We understand the difficulty of building up such an effective personnel as these sections now contain, and are most eager that they should not be dispersed, and that the work of these sections may not be interrupted by the war."

This invitation was received with deep appreciation by those anxious to safeguard and continue the League's technical work. That appreciation was expressed by Mr. Carl J. Hambro, president of the 19th Assembly of the League and of its Supervisory Committee, who, having been in touch with the situation in London, said in an address at the League's Pavilion at the New York World's Fair on August 3:

"You can hardly understand how much it meant at the moment—not materially but morally and from the psychological point of view. It was more than an encouragement, it was an inspiration. It gave proof that all the competent, unostentatious, patient, good work accomplished during 20 years—in practically every field of human activity, a work of sifting and consolidating, of collecting, classifying and presenting facts, of uniting the experts of every country in an exchange of experiences, of establishing a universal clearing-house for progressive and constructive ideas—it gave proof that this work had not been entirely wasted, but bread thrown upon the waters."

The invitation was accepted on behalf of the Economic and Financial Department and held under study as regards the Health and Opium Sections. The League authorities were all the more happy to accept not only because of the high standing and the scientific and research authority of the three inviting institutions, but also because of the location at Princeton near the Atlantic seaboard convenient to New York with its communications and other facilities and to Washington with its wealth of foreign information and data. That it happened to have been Woodrow Wilson's old home, from which he set out to become President of the United States and later founder of the League of Nations, was purely a coincidence, but a happy, even a dramatic one.

On August 6, a group of 32 persons, comprising eight members of Section and their families, left Geneva by bus for Lisbon. The trip almost ended fatally when the bus collided at high speed with a tramway near Grenoble, crashed into a pylon, and overturned in a ditch. Two women passengers had broken bones; all others were badly shaken and bruised. The next day, however, after hospital attention, another bus came from Geneva and the trip was resumed to Lisbon, where the party arrived on August 12. Mr. Loveday went on as soon as possible by Clipper, with his wife and two sons, to make the necessary arrangements for the rest of the party. When the Clipper circled down out of the skies from Lisbon bringing to this continent a part of that League of Nations which originally set out from here for Europe, a group of Americans who had cooperated with Mr. Loveday were on hand to meet him.

The precise scope and nature of the work to be undertaken by this group was outlined by Mr. Loveday on the day following his arrival as follows:

"The work on which this group will be engaged will be mainly scientific and analytical. Ever since it started, the League has endeavored to keep governments and the public informed about general economic tendencies and developments throughout the world by means of regular publications on production, raw materials, trade, money and banking, public finance, etc. This work has been seriously impeded in recent months by the difficulty of communications between Geneva and a number of important countries. Some members of my department are, therefore, coming on mission to Princeton to continue their studies of the situation from here. But the headquarters of the League and of my department remain in Geneva. We hope by having two centers of work to be able to keep in touch with developments throughout the world and thus to obtain a balanced picture of the general economic situation as it develops and a better understanding of the infinitely complex problems which lie before us."

The group expected to be fully established and actively at work by the end of September. Though nearly two months interruption of work had been necessitated by the difficulties of travel, nevertheless, the excellent facilities which the Princeton institutions have placed at the disposal of the mission, the interest shown by the many friends of organized international cooperation in this venture, and the offers of collaboration and assistance from kindred official and unofficial research agencies give every promise not only that the vital work built up at Geneva in this field during the past twenty years will be safeguarded but that it will be able to develop in a way which would not have been possible without this generous American initiative. Whatever the future may hold, the necessity for precise and exact knowledge of world economic and financial trends will unquestionably continue to increase as the various parts of the world draw closer together and the national economies become ever more inter-related.

WORLD ORGANIZATION

1920-1940

The Technical and Non-Political Activities of the League of Nations, the Permanent Court of International Justice, and the International Labor Organization described with particular reference to the future by a group of American experts who have participated in them during the past twenty years.



PRINCETON · 1941

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STATISTICS. MR. E. DANA DURAND, Member of the League's Committee of Statistical Experts and of the United States Tariff Commission.

TAXATION. MR. MITCHELL B. CARROLL, Chairman of the League's Fiscal Committee.

DEPRESSIONS. MR. W. W. RIEFLER, Member of the League's Delegation on Economic Depressions.

HEALTH. DR. FRANK G. BOUDREAU, former Member of the League's Health Section, Executive Director of the Milbank Memorial Fund.

NUTRITION. MISS FAITH WILLIAMS, Member of the League's Nutrition Committee, official of the Department of Labor.

NARCOTIC DRUGS. MR. HERBERT L. MAY, Vice-President of the Permanent Central Opium Board and Acting Chairman of the Drug Supervisory Body.

SOCIAL WELFARE. MISS ELSA CASTENDYCK, United States Government Representative on the League's Advisory Committee on Social Questions, Director, Child Guidance Division, Department of Labor.

JUSTICE. JUDGE MANLEY O. HUDSON, Judge of the Permanent Court of International Justice.

LABOR OFFICE. MR. CARTER GOODRICH, United States Government Representative on, and Chairman of, the Governing Body of the International Labor Organization.

PUBLIC. DR. MARY E. WOOLLEY, Chairman of the American National Committee to Preserve the Technical and Non-Political Activities of the League.

FUTURE. DR. FRANK AYDELOTTE, Director of the Institute for Advanced Study.

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(For inquiries or further copies address: The Secretary, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, New Jersey)

FOREWORD For twenty years, during the two decades between World Wars, a succession of Americans crossed the ocean to Europe to add their competence and skill to the technical and non-political activities set under way by the three principal international cooperative agencies resulting from the first World War: the League of Nations, the International Labor Office, and the Permanent Court of International Justice.

These Americans comprised many of the foremost technicians and specialists in the country, representing almost every phase of international interest. Beginning hesitatingly at first in the period of uncertainty after the first World War, they increased in both number and confidence as the years passed until at the outbreak of the second World War, they represented a complete and effective cross-section of international life.

Some made only a single trip; others crossed regularly each year; a few took up residence abroad. Some went as individual experts, some as American government representatives, others as international officers.

Together they possessed some of the most valuable knowledge and experience in technical international collaboration available for American service. Yet, though they were all working on different phases of the same central subject of laying the groundwork for improved international relations, they had never had occasion to meet as a group or exchange views amongst themselves.

With the outbreak of the second World War, the situation of these previous twenty years changed fundamentally. The flow of American technicians to Europe ceased and a counter-eddy set in of international technicians to the Americas.

The first formal step in the latter direction took place in the summer of 1940, at the height of the German offensive, when three educational and scientific institutions at Princeton, Princeton University, the Institute for Advanced Study, and the Rockefeller Institute of Medical Research, united in a joint invitation to the League to establish its technical services at Princeton for the duration of the emergency. This invitation was shortly accepted for the Economic, Financial and Transit Section, which reached Princeton in the late summer. Shortly afterwards, the International Labor Office accepted

an invitation from McGill University to establish a working center at Montreal, and subsequently the Opium Central Board and Supervisory Body established a branch office in Washington.

In view of these transfers, the three Princeton institutions felt it would be useful to bring together as many as possible of the Americans who had during the years participated in these varied activities. They were surprised both by the number and the variety of those who had participated in such work and were gratified by the response, which was double that anticipated.

Three main sessions were held. The first was a formal dinner at the Princeton Inn on April 19, 1941, with an address of welcome on behalf of the three inviting institutions by President Harold W. Dodds of Princeton University and replies on behalf of the League by Hon. Carl J. Hambro, President of the Norwegian Storting and also of the League Assembly, who had taken up residence in Princeton, and Mr. A. Loveday, Director of the Economic, Financial, and Transit Section which had become established at Princeton. The second was a business session in the Common Room of the Institute for Advanced Study, presided by the Director of the Institute, Dr. Frank Aydelotte, and with eight brief statements by American technicians covering the most varied fields of international interest: Economics, Hon. Henry F. Grady; Statistics, Mr. E. Dana Durand; Double Taxation, Mr. Mitchell B. Carroll; Depressions, Mr. W. W. Riefler; Health, Dr. Frank G. Boudreau; Nutrition, Miss Faith Williams; Drugs, Mr. Herbert L. May; and Social, Miss Elsa Castendyck. The third was a lunch at the Princeton Inn, presided by Mr. Arthur Sweetser, Director in the Secretariat at Geneva temporarily established at Princeton, which was devoted to a description of the two associated agencies, the International Labor Organization by Mr. Carter Goodrich, Chairman of the Governing Body, and the Permanent Court of International Justice by Judge Manley O. Hudson, and concluding observations by Dr. Mary E. Woolley, Chairman of the American National Committee to Preserve and Aid the League's Technical and Non-political Work, and Dr. Frank Aydelotte, Director of the Institute for Advanced Study. It was interesting indeed that, though the United States is not a member of the League or the Court, a complete and authoritative account could be given of their work by American citizens who have held high positions within it.

The gathering closed with a resolution offered by Hon. Henry F. Grady and seconded by Dr. Frank G. Boudreau, expressing appreciation to the Princeton institutions both for the present reunion and for their foresight in inviting the League's technical agencies to Princeton, satisfaction that that invitation had been accepted in principle, that some services had reached this country and that others might follow, and endorsement of the special appreciation voiced by several speakers of the cooperation given by the Rockefeller Foundation. The resolution concluded with expression of the belief that "whatever the precise future of international relations, these technical and non-political activities must be continued as an integral part of world organization" and of "warm appreciation of recent statements by the President and the Secretary of State of the United States that the American government has cordially cooperated in such work and hopes greatly to see it preserved and extended."

Thereupon, a suggestion was put forward by Mr. Charles F. Darlington that this be considered but the first such meeting and that others follow, a suggestion which received general agreement. After the meeting, the Princeton authorities sent a cabled greeting to the League's Acting Secretary-General, Mr. Sean Lester, in Geneva, who in reply expressed the gratitude of himself and his colleagues for the encouragement given them by the confidence shown in the future and renewing his appreciation of the spirit of friendly hospitality and comradeship shown his colleagues in Princeton.

WELCOME

PRESIDENT HAROLD W. DODDS

President Harold W.
Dodds of Princeton
University opened the

gathering with a formal greeting to some 150 guests on behalf of the three inviting institutions.

"It has been a great satisfaction to all of us in Princeton that the Economic, Financial, and Transit Section saw fit to settle amongst us and that this reunion should be held on the campus which Mr. Wilson once ruled and which is not completely dissociated from the League.

"Perhaps you will permit me to read part of the telegram which our three institutions sent to the League on July 11; this explains better than any words of mine possibly could why we wanted the technical sections of the League to come here. It said:

"During the past two decades we have watched with the greatest admiration the growth of the technical sections of the Secretariat of the League of Nations. They have provided leadership in the promotion of international collaboration between scholars, in the furthering of public health, in the control of opium, and in the international exploration of economic and financial problems. Recently we have become increasingly apprehensive that the war may do more than merely interrupt this work. With the involvement in hostilities of all countries surrounding Geneva, we are fearful that the trained personnel of these sections, so carefully built up, may be dispersed, and that the records so painstakingly accumulated may be destroyed.

"We are extending this invitation because of the great importance which we attach to the effective and scholarly work of the technical sections of the League. We understand the difficulty of building up such an effective personnel as these sections now contain, and are most eager that they should not be dispersed, and that the work of these sections may not be interrupted by the war."

"The League Secretariat accepted this invitation in respect of the Financial, Economic, and Transit Section, and Mr. Loveday and his colleagues are now here. We hope they are as happy with us as we are with them. They have promptly earned the respect and support of the community.

"In this reunion the old adage 'In time of peace prepare for war' is being reversed. It is still possible in the United States to discuss the

objectives of the war, the terms of the peace, and the sort of world we want after the war. Those of you who have been associated as co-workers in the greatest experiment in international collaboration that the world has ever seen are here primarily to consider some of these problems.

"It would be presumptuous indeed for a layman to undertake to review the work of the League or analyze its future. But certainly any layman can understand that no plans for the future of the world or even of America can afford to neglect or ignore the experience lodged in the minds and memories of those here present. Had that experience and wisdom been available in 1918, we might not now be facing the situation we are facing.

"We Americans are perhaps more familiar with the work of the Section now in Princeton than with other League work. We know its intelligence and reporting services and appreciate how thorough and helpful they have been. We have come to realize that, like disease and drugs, business cycles do not respect pre-established political boundaries; this Section has helped educate many of us in something of which certain Americans knew little before, namely that even in the economic life of the nation and the individual, boundary lines between states are in the long run of small importance.

"When it comes to increasing international cooperation, we have also learned how easy it is to draft blueprints which because of some curious twist in human nature just will not work. In health matters, of course, the issue is obvious. The activities in this field have been conspicuously successful; their experience cannot be ignored in any consideration of post-war reconstruction. The League attack on the drug trade, its experimentation with mandates, even with plebiscites, all represent a fund of precedent and experience in administration which will be most valuable for the future. There are many other aspects which I might recount, but from the standpoint of a layman who has watched the League, who has realized its limitations and difficulties, who has never been happy about our own official relation to it, there seems to me an immense amount of data which can be amassed from the impressions and knowledge of persons like yourselves. Princeton is very happy indeed to have some small part in this vital work."

RESPONSE

HON. CARL J. HAMBRO

able as a temporary resident of Princeton to reply to this welcome.

The Hon. Carl J. Hambro, President of the Assembly of the League and of the Norwegian Storting, was available as a temporary resident of Princeton to reply to this welcome.

"I am very happy to speak tonight for the League. I happened to be in London when the Princeton invitation was extended, was asked by Mr. Greenwood of the British Cabinet to come to see him, and was told that Lord Lothian had urged prompt acceptance. I at once got in touch with the Foreign Office, with Mr. Bruce of Australia, a warm League friend, and by telegraph with Mr. Avenol, Secretary-General. The invitation came at a moment when moral encouragement was sorely needed; it greatly enthused the League's friends.

"We felt it to be important that a League office on this side be established at an educational center. We had hoped it might make a contribution to American education; tonight we see that hope being fulfilled. Many Americans have been cooperating with the League, but always with a certain self-consciousness due to their government's non-membership in the League. Not until today have they met in the same room or with the consciousness of all working for a single common purpose.

"Few people understand the League's position today. Forty-eight nations are members at this moment; that they are supporting it amidst all this crisis and that its organizations have been able to survive is proof of strong vitality. The League is paying its way as it always has. From the start till the end of 1939, its budgets have totalled \$120,000,000. Of this total, 93.13% has been paid into the Treasury, a percentage which few states could equal. Of the rest, 1.64% has been consolidated as debts on which installments are paid annually; .88% are outstanding debts and may be paid this year; and 4.33% has been cancelled. Last year all member states at war paid all or part of their contributions. Every member in the British Empire paid in full, as did Holland; Belgium and France paid one-quarter; Norway paid a third and some invaded states made good-will token payments. Brazil, member of the Labor Office but not of the League, has paid its full contribution to the former for 1941 and what would be its share of the Court's expenses. The Pensions Fund paid out last year to retiring officials representing 75% of the staff \$3,660,000, a withdrawal which few national pensions services would have been

able to support. There was a deficit in the budget last year but it was possible to meet it out of reserves wisely accumulated in better years. Next year will be a difficult one but we are entitled to a certain amount of optimism as to the outcome.

"The League is obviously passing through a critical period. But the international experience of these twenty years is of tremendous value. The data assembled, the traditions built up, the experience in large-scale international administration acquired could not disappear without regrettable loss to the international community. Whatever be the future of the world, the need for intelligent cooperation will be greater than it ever has been.

"The greatest weakness of the League in these past twenty years has been its lack of universality. First, of course, the United States was not a member, and when Germany, Japan, Italy, and later Russia, left, it became even more difficult to fulfill obligations based on universality. In all discussions in the League, you will find that as a leit motif.

"People also often forget that the League is but an instrument created for the use of constructive statesmen or governments, and an instrument is not operative in and by itself. When statesmen or governments were unwilling to use that instrument, it could not function. This was not the fault of the instrument; it was the fault of those lacking moral courage and will-power to use it.

"I entertain great hopes for future international cooperation. For the up-building of the post-war world, the work that can be done by the various sections of the League with the generous help being given on this side of the ocean will be fundamental. In the present hour of darkness, it is essential to build in confidence for the future. We are profoundly grateful to the three Princeton institutions and the Rockefeller Foundation for their far-sighted understanding and cooperation and hope their every contribution to international cooperation will return to repay them manifold. No true settlement can ever be effected without an immense amount of just such work as this; it constitutes the vital groundwork for tomorrow."

PROGRAM

MR. A. LOVEDAY

An outline of the world's economic problems and of the program of the group of League economic and financial experts now on mission at Princeton was given by Mr. A. Loveday, Director of the Economic, Financial, and Transit Department.

"Dr. Hambro has given expression," Mr. Loveday said, "to the gratitude which the League feels to our hosts tonight for the action they took last summer in inviting the technical services of the League to come to this country and to this town. I would like to preface my remarks by one word of personal gratitude on behalf of my colleagues and myself for the constant kindness and kindliness they have shown us since the very first day of our arrival in Princeton; for the readiness with which you, Mr. Chairman, agreed to allow a distinguished member of your University to take charge of a very important part of the work we are planning to do here dealing with demographic questions; for the endless time and trouble Dr. Aydelotte has devoted to getting us over here, providing accommodations, actually building accommodations for us, looking after every detail himself; for the patience with which Dr. TenBroeck has waited for a definitive answer to the kind invitation extended by his Institute to the Health Section of the League.

"I should like also to add my very sincere thanks to the Rockefeller Foundation for the constant and very real help they have afforded us, and to the Milbank Fund, which quite unbeknownst to us, recently made a grant to help in the work on demographic questions, of which I have just spoken.

"Now, with all this help and good will, what are we doing and what can we do?

"We have, alas, only one committee which is active today, the Fiscal Committee. Its acting and active Chairman is going to talk on that subject tomorrow and will give you a much more vivid description of its work than I could possibly hope to do. Apart from this, we are trying to follow the economic developments and tendencies in the world today, both because of their importance to us now and because the world which will be when peace breaks out will be the world which results from all these changes which are going on now and not the world which we knew when the war started.

"We are continuing, therefore, to publish here or in Geneva the Statistical Year-Book and Monthly Bulletin, and in addition are at the moment engaged upon the preparation of a World Economic Survey, in which I hope we shall be able to summarize the major tendencies which have taken place since the outbreak of war and are taking place today. To do that seems to me all the more important because the problems which will present themselves to statesmen when the time comes will prove enormously more difficult than the problems which presented themselves a century and a quarter ago at Vienna or just under a quarter of a century ago at the Conference of Paris. Statesmen will have a task of formidable magnitude, because they will have no foundation on which to build. When this war broke out, the economic system of the world had, indeed, quite simply broken down. When statesmen are faced, therefore, with trying to lay the basis of a peace, they will have to build anew without foundations, and if you are going to do that, it seems to me absolutely imperative that you should think in advance.

"But how can you do it in the face of the difficulties, first, that you have no past on which you can build, and, secondly, that you have no future of which you can be assured? I think, despite these difficulties, there are some useful things which one should do and can do. Obviously, in a situation of this sort, you must organize your work with very great care and have certain guiding principles on which to conduct it. I personally have three: First, that it is wholly useful to try to learn the lessons of the past. The world broke down mainly as a result of the depression of 1929; but it broke down also as the result of a whole series of mistakes prior and subsequent to 1929. Let us be clear about what was done wrong in the past, before planning what we should do in the future.

The next is that whatever happens, you can, I think, be certain that those having the responsibility for policy will require when the time comes certain aggregations of facts, certain analyses of facts. Perhaps I can explain what I mean by an example. We have since we came here printed one volume. That volume is on The Trade of Europe, aiming to consider what the position of Europe was in the trade of the world, how far it was dependent on other continents, what was the part it played in the transfer of funds from one part of the world to another, and what was the interdependence between one part of Europe and another. I am going to follow up this work with one

on the trade of the rest of the world and more especially, the dollar-sterling-peso area. You can be quite certain that information of that sort analyzed properly will be wanted and demanded.

"Now I come to my third principle, which is much the most important. There is one assumption that I think you can safely make, that there are imbedded in our history and in our social organism certain forces that are so strong that they are likely to survive all the destruction and upheaval of war. There are two such forces of which one can feel quite sure: 1) That group of forces which emanate from our general demographic pattern and from the demographic behavior of people; 2) that group of forces which lead to those violent fluctuations in economic activity which have characterized the whole of the last two centuries and which lead to the tragedy of depressions and unemployment and the loss resulting from unemployment. I think, in looking back, that in Geneva we neglected unduly the demographic issues. Throughout the nineteenth century we have had these wild fluctuations of economic activity and the whole period has been be-spattered by periods of depression which have controlled our destinies and which society and governments have been wholly unable to control. We know that the depression of 1929 led to a decade of chaos and was largely responsible for the present war, for the misery we all suffer, and for the devastation that is taking place in the world. We have got to face up to the issue. We know that these factors of instability exist, that we failed to control them, that they survive wars and that indeed wars accentuate them. And we know, too, that this war is bringing about changes which will quite certainly render our whole economic machine more unstable than it was in 1939.

"Moreover, as I see it, we shall be faced by a world which intellectually and emotionally is going to react much more intensely to these phenomena of depressions, to the particular phenomenon of unemployment than the society with which we have been familiar. I think that the industrial worker, whether man or woman, is going to say after this war, if we could all work to destroy, why can we not all work to produce? That means that the social pressure upon governments after the war when unemployment becomes really serious will be far more grave and will bring with it greater risks to governments, and that they will have somehow or another to meet the danger. How can they find a way out? Quite obviously if they do what they did

before and one deflates its currency, another inflates its currency, and another controls its exchange and no single one of them takes the slightest notice of what the other is doing—if that is repeated, then it is clear they will create a chaos of price levels and drive one country after another to shut itself out of what is really a mad world. The only solution is a joint international and constructive anti-depression policy pursued between those powers which desire to stand for freedom and which have a dominant enough position in the markets of the world really to determine the degree of activity in the world, those powers, which are few, which, if a depression does occur, might in fact save the situation.

"That is the sort of problem we are studying. We have a wide program of studies, with question after question centering round this crucial problem of the essential dynamism of economic life. It is a profound satisfaction to have our small group working under the admirable circumstances available to us at Princeton and in cooperation with others of the staff remaining at the League's headquarters in Geneva. It is our hope that, with our two offices thus centrally located, we may make at least a modest contribution to the world's great problems of today and tomorrow."

ECONOMICS

HON. HENRY F. GRADY

A summary of the problems of the League's Economic Committee in the period between wars and an

analysis of three possible outcomes of the present war were given by the Hon. Henry F. Grady, former Assistant Secretary of State, Member of the Committee since January 1937, and its first American Chairman.

"The period between the two wars was not a period of economic peace," Mr. Grady said. "Except for a short period in the late 'twenties when an attempt was made to reconstruct the international commercial and financial system, there was more peace in the political and military field than in the economic. There was no stability, no cooperation between nations.

"The League Committee made constant efforts to point out the course that would lead to the rehabilitation of the world economic system on a basis which would give security, prosperity and social peace; the history of the various technical committees is a continuing narrative of what should have been done and was not done. That the efforts did not succeed is not, of course, a criticism of the efforts; the responsibility for the failure lies elsewhere with those who did not follow the policies recommended.

"We are now faced, in looking to the future, with precisely the same problems the Committee wrestled with up to the Second World War, though on an accentuated scale. There will be no peace until economic warfare is brought to an end and no rehabilitation until the nations can think in terms of cooperation. Totalitarianism is based on regimentation and economic warfare, hence there can be no economic peace, and no real military peace, until the forces behind it have been destroyed.

"We are faced with three possibilities at the end of hostilities. First, a Nazi victory and domination of Europe, leading to a period of building anew for future aggression until the desire for world domination is realized. During that period there would be a return to the totalitarian trade methods practised before military warfare broke out. It is not surprising that those of us who hoped to get Germany to accept the philosophy behind the Hull trade agreements were not successful; she did not accept their limitations because she

was building up conditions which would make military conquest easier.

"It fell to me in early 1939 to study German economic penetration technique in the Central European and Balkan countries and I can easily visualize what would happen in Latin-America and in a large degree in our own country if Germany won. The technique is simple. Germany buys only the goods she needs and forces the purchase of her own products. She does not allow the balance of trade to be against her. Under her barter system, there would be to a greater degree even than in the 1930's no transfer of funds between countries. Bi-lateralism with Germany the dictator of world trade would be the "new order"! A country with such a control of trade could easily determine other countries' economic development. So the economic war would go on and we would to a large degree be its victim.

"On the other extreme a democratic victory would mean the overthrow of the totalitarian method and lay the groundwork for the rehabilitation of the international system as the only sound basis for peace. There would still be problems, of course, but with the elimination of the economic aggressors, there would at least be a basis for cooperation and common action. Economic warfare is more menacing than military; unless it is completely eliminated, the prospect of world rehabilitation is not promising.

"The third possibility is something between the two, where the British Empire is not overthrown but Continental Europe is in the hands of the totalitarian powers. This suggests the possibility of the two systems endeavoring to get along together, but our Committee which had the problem before it in the Spring of 1939 was loath to study the question because obviously it meant studying methods of economic counter-attack in order to meet an irreconcilable system head-on. I am sure this alternative would mean simply another armistice. A bridge between the two systems is hard to imagine. Concessions would be on the part of the democracies which would in effect accept the totalitarian system. That would mean defeat on the economic front and the acceptance of domination and dictation. There cannot be any solution to this problem until there is the will to peace and acceptance of common interest in the world. The problems which a world economic committee would have to face are only accentuated."

STATISTICS

MR. E. DANA DURAND

Never in history, according to Mr. E. Dana Durand, Member of the League's Committee on Statistical Experts and Member of the United States Tariff Commission, has there been available to the statesmen, the publicists, the students, and the people of the world such a clear picture of the economic situation of the several countries and regions and of the world as a whole as has been available during the last ten or fifteen years through the efforts of the League.

"For many years," Mr. Durand said, "the Economic and Financial Section of the League has had a broad and ambitious conception of the service the League could render by bringing together the economic statistics of the different countries, combining them into regional and world totals, interpreting their significance, and helping improve the national services. The constantly increasing complexity of economic life has made essential to the conduct of both private and public business a wide fund of information, most of it necessarily in statistical form. The world has truly become statistics-minded.

"The task of compiling these statistics was, however, no easy one. Many countries, many branches of economic activity, and multitudes of individual commodities enter into world production and trade. The original data are expressed in varying units of quantity and of money; there are many gaps which must be made up by estimates or taken into consideration in interpreting combined totals; countries vary greatly with regard to the promptness with which their statistics are made available. Many national statistical services are completely deficient; even in the advanced services, the field is sometimes inadequately covered or the methods sometimes unsound.

"The League's efforts began in its earliest days in cooperation with the International Institute of Statistics. Its greatest development, however, took place in the past twelve years. Following recommendations of the 1927 World Economic Conference, the League called an international conference on economic statistics, which brought together delegates of all the major and most of the less important countries of the world. This Conference resulted in an International Convention on Economic Statistics which went into force in 1929.

"That Convention contains provisions regarding all important branches of economic statistics except labor and agricultural, which

are covered by other international organizations. Recognizing, however, that progress must be gradual, the Convention established a permanent committee to carry the work further. That Committee, consisting of persons appointed by the League Council and representatives of non-member adherents, and selected not as representatives of their governments but in their individual capacity, has usually comprised about ten members of international reputation, most of them occupying or having occupied the highest positions in their national statistical services. The Committee has met annually at Geneva, with frequent sub-committees and much correspondence, and has made numerous reports to the governments of the world which serve as standards for statistical procedure.

"The bulk of its factual material has, of course, been compiled in the League Secretariat, which has issued various serial publications, including especially the Monthly Bulletin of Statistics, the Statistical Yearbook, publications relating to World Production and Prices, Statistics of International Trade, Review of World Trade, International Trade in Certain Raw Materials and Foodstuffs, Balances of Payments, Public Finance, and Money and Banking. At the same time, however, it is impossible to over-emphasize the importance of the contributions of fact and still more of judgment of the Committee or the thoroughness with which it has worked. The work, though obviously greatly handicapped by the present political situation, has led to far better results than could have been anticipated and is one of the essential elements which must be safeguarded for any post-war organization. The main outlines have already been put in place; what is now necessary is to safeguard them through the crisis and extend them afterwards."

TAXATION

MR. MITCHELL B. CARROLL

An account of the League's work in double taxation and fiscal evasion was given by Mr. Mitchell B. Carroll, member since 1934 and Chairman since 1938 of the League's Fiscal Committee, and former official of the Commerce and Treasury Departments.

"Perhaps the viability of the Fiscal Committee is due to the fact that it is concerned with one of those two inevitables—death and taxes, and that a primary objective has been to formulate ways to prevent double taxation from contributing to the death of international business.

"The efforts of the Fiscal Committee and the League of Nations committees preceding its organization have, during the past two decades, conduced to the conclusion of over sixty general treaties for the prevention of double taxation in the field of income and property taxes, and of over two hundred conventions or agreements for the reciprocal exemption of income from business done through certain types of agents, the reciprocal exemption of shipping and air navigation profits, the prevention of double taxation in the field of death duties and other particular levies.

"At the outbreak of the present war, the network of conventions covered practically the whole of Europe and even included the United States through its general treaties with France and Sweden, and its many agreements relative to shipping profits. The studies of double taxation from the viewpoint of obstructive effects on international trade had led to an examination of the impact of excessive levies upon domestic economy.

"In 1938, the Fiscal Committee, at the instance of the Mexican delegate before the Assembly of the League, had been asked to study the principles which should underlie income, property, turn-over and other taxes in order that the findings might be helpful to Latin American countries which were in the process of developing their tax systems. As the war swept over Europe, the Committee's torch of progress was carried to Mexico City, where it held its first regional meeting in the Western Hemisphere at the time Paris was falling. High officials and other experts from Argentine, Brazil, Peru, Venezuela, Mexico, Canada and the United States convened in the Salon Panamericano of the National Palace in the ancient capital of

the Aztecs, to pass on a report embodying the preliminary results of the studies which had been made at the instance of Mexico.

"Furthermore, the delegates adopted at first reading a draft convention for the avoidance of double income taxation, which embodied many of the detailed provisions found in the most recent general conventions to which leading European countries, as well as the United States, were parties. A model convention has therefore been agreed upon in principle by representatives of an important number of the leading countries of this hemisphere, which will serve as a basis for agreeing upon fair limits to tax jurisdiction, and for obviating the obstructions to inter-American trade that would result from tax practices that have been recognized as unwise by the countries of the Old World.

"The need for carrying on the work of the Fiscal Committee in this hemisphere was shown by the adoption at the first meeting of the Inter-American Bar Association in Havana on March 26, 1941, of a resolution calling upon the members of the association to urge their respective governments to conclude treaties for the prevention of discriminatory, extraterritorial and double taxation. Delegates from various Latin American countries, in supporting the adoption of this resolution, pointed out that even the provisions in United States law for the prevention of double taxation have been curtailed in their effectiveness through restrictive interpretations, and that recent United States fiscal legislation imposes a considerable discrimination in rates applicable to nonresident aliens and foreign corporations which, if followed as an example by Latin American countries, would lead to raising serious obstructions to inter-American trade.

"Hence, under the guidance of Mr. Loveday, and of Mr. Deperon, its secretary, the Fiscal Committee can look forward to exceedingly useful work in the Western Hemisphere, as well as elsewhere. This complicated problem of taxation will become even more complicated as the world draws together; its study will have to be greatly accelerated and intensified in any post-war international life. Taxes, like death, will always be with us; more and more they must become scientific, coordinated, and inter-related."

DEPRESSIONS

MR. W. W. RIEFLER

The purposes and possible future activities of the Delegation on Economic Depressions were described by Mr. W. W. Riefler, member of the Delegation, alternate member of the League's Financial Committee, and special adviser to Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau.

"The Delegation on Economic Depressions was appointed in 1938 to appraise the policies which governments had pursued to extricate their countries from the Great Depression of the early 1930's. It was then felt that sufficient time had elapsed to permit a judgment as to these various policies with the object of suggesting measures to be adopted in future crises. During the Great Depression, the preponderance of effort on the part of most countries had been on internal measures of reconstruction. Some of these measures promoted revival from both an internal and external point of view, but others were addressed solely to the improvement of the internal situation without regard to their effect upon economic activity in the world at large. Some, in fact, were effective solely at the expense of other countries and played their part in that fractionalization of the international economic order that preceded the war.

"It has been the Delegation's task to comb over as carefully as possible the range of experience represented by these various measures; to make an attempt to distinguish between recovery measures that had been effective and measures that had failed to be effective; and, in distinguishing between them, to emphasize those that had benefited the country adopting them without penalizing other nations. Three meetings had been held and a preliminary Draft Report completed before the outbreak of war. Whether it would be good policy to finish that Report as projected or reorientate it to the present very radically changed situation, is a question now under discussion. The problem of business fluctuations and the devastation that accompanies business crises is more apropos than ever. This war will certainly have an aftermath in which the economic policies pursued by governments will be crucial. We are not sure, however, whether the Draft Report, which of necessity was couched in general terms covering all types of depressions will be particularly apropos with respect to the very specific problems that may be expected at the end of the war. It might, therefore, be better to defer our general Report and devote ourselves instead to a series of interim reports directed toward

specific post-war economic problems or to an analysis of the effect which current economic policies may be expected to exert on post-war readjustment problems. While the Delegation as a whole could not be assembled at present, a considerable number of the Delegates are now in this country.

"There is one problem we have had in all our work to which I would like to call attention from the point of view of international policy. In the course of our work the Delegation has had to assume that if governments were intelligent they would cooperate. We have recommended certain policies which would be constructive provided all the important governments cooperated in their adoption. There is a distinct danger, however, in reliance upon this approach to international problems, particularly economic problems, for it means that our international order may be expected to survive so long as all important governments are intelligent and do cooperate, but that it is liable to serious breakdown on any occasion when one of these governments fails in its cooperation.

"From a purely personal point of view, therefore, I would like to point out that the real international approach to the amelioration of depressions requires something much more fundamental as a framework within which to operate than mere cooperation. Our Delegation cannot do anything about this except to point out the problem, which is essentially political in character. My own feeling is that somehow, some way, we must find a means of creating joint bodies with operating responsibility for handling international economic problems; joint bodies, for example, in the field of monetary policy or joint bodies with respect to the management of international schemes for the stabilization of raw materials. If bodies such as these could be created and made effective, a delegation such as ours might look forward with more hope to a fruitful outcome for its recommendations."

HEALTH

DR. FRANK G. BOUDREAU

description of the League's health work given by Dr. Frank G. Boudreau, Member of the League's Health Section for twelve years and now Executive Director of the Milbank Memorial Fund.

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

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

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

"Space does not permit descriptions of the League's health work in malaria, leprosy, public health training, and rural sanitation. But I must speak of two special enterprises. Around 1926-1928, governments began to feel that this new international agency could help them without trespassing on their national sovereignty. First Persia, then Corsica asked for assistance in control of a single disease, malaria. Yugoslavia went a step further and Greece further still. An influenza-like disease called dengue, which had stricken Prime Min-

ister Venizelos and nearly all his government, drew their attention to the grave deficiencies in the Greek health services. When the League was asked for help, it called in experts from many countries, trained health officers in a new school established with the help of the Rockefeller Foundation, and organized a model health district. This, with the rehabilitation of some million and a half refugees from Asia Minor whom the League helped settle, leads me to believe that at least some of the fortitude displayed in the present war derives from this first experience in technical international cooperation.

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

"Thus the League's work was not centered wholly or even mainly in Geneva. It was to be found in the different countries: in Greece, China, and Yugoslavia, in Chile, Brazil and Spain. National committees on housing, for instance, were established at League instigation in several countries. National nutrition committees were also set up by more than a score of governments. It is our task to save all we can of this work so that the technics and experience as well as some of the personnel may be available for the future reconstruction of the world. The problems of health facing the world after this war will be grave beyond precedent; they will require the utmost strength available to meet them. The League's experience in all continents and in the most varied fields of interest offers one of our most valuable resources in facing these formidable problems."

NUTRITION

MISS FAITH WILLIAMS

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

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

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

"An immense task remains to be done by international agencies. So far, work in the League and the Labor Office committees has demon-

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

"The work already done by the League is a great contribution to this vital question. In the period immediately following the war, we will have to know far more than we do at present of the nutritional needs of the whole world. To do this will require the collaboration of many agencies. Much material is available but by no means enough. It is my hope that we may soon plan for such an economic and biochemical analysis of future needs. The central international committee established at Geneva, the chain of national committees established in a score of countries around the world, and the documentation and reports already issued provide an excellent foundation for this most vital of tasks, which represents a true cornerstone of that social security which lies at the base of so much of our international discussion today."

NARCOTIC DRUGS

MR. HERBERT L. MAY

International drug control was described by Mr. Herbert L. May, Vice-President of the Permanent Central Opium Board and Acting Chairman of the Drug Supervisory Body.

"This activity is one of the few pieces of world-wide international machinery still functioning today," he said. "Last May, while Holland and Belgium were being invaded, the three international drug bodies were able to meet in Geneva, the Opium Advisory Committee in its twenty-fifth session and the Permanent Central Board and the Drug Supervisory Body for their periodical meetings. The first-named, at which eighteen of the twenty-five Governments members were represented, devoted special attention to the danger of an extension of illicit traffic and drug addiction as the result of war conditions. In December 1940, the Supervisory Body issued its annual statement of estimated world requirements of narcotic drugs, fixing the total limits of manufacture, import and export of drugs for 1941 on the basis of estimates received from fifty-three countries and forty-four territories, including eight countries under enemy occupation. In January 1941 the Permanent Central Board issued its annual report on the international movement of narcotic drugs. Subsequently, branch offices of the Permanent Central Board and the Supervisory Body were opened in Washington, largely through the help of the late Mr. Stuart J. Fuller and other officials of the State Department, and Mr. Harry J. Anslinger, United States Commissioner of Narcotics. From Washington it is hoped to continue to exercise control over the movement of drugs in the world, and particularly in certain parts of the Western Hemisphere in which national control may benefit by contact with these branch offices.

"The League's interest in drug control began at the very start in 1920. In order to assist the Council in fulfilling the duties put upon the League under Article 23c of the Covenant, an Opium Advisory Committee of Government representatives was set up and a special Opium Section was created in the Secretariat. In 1929, the Permanent Central Opium Board and in 1933 the Drug Supervisory Body were established in conformity with new international Conventions which further extended drug control. These four bodies are markedly different both in origin and in function, the first two dis-

tinctly League bodies, whereas the last two were set up under special Conventions, drawn up, however, under League auspices.

"The Advisory Committee could be represented as the General Staff, planning and supervising the campaign against the drug evil, and deserves credit for a great part of the progress made in the last twenty-two years. The Supervisory Body is an expert organization entrusted with the task of examining Government estimates of drug requirements and of issuing each year a statement showing the permissible limits in manufacture, export and import for the next year. The task of the Permanent Central Opium Board is to watch the international movement of narcotic drugs and to see that no country exceeds the approved estimates. If that limit has been exceeded, the Board notifies all parties to the Convention, which are then under obligation not to export drugs to such a country until the situation has been corrected by the furnishing of additional estimates and by full explanation. This amounts to a virtual embargo and constitutes a strong sanction which has been accepted by all countries and which has worked satisfactorily for seven years.

"Now a few words about the results. While between 1925 and 1929 at least 100 tons of narcotic drugs escaped into the illicit traffic (to a large extent from authorized factories in European countries), representing hundreds of millions of dollars in monetary value and an even greater economic loss through the enslavement of hundreds of thousands of human beings, the licensed factories were largely brought under control from 1929 onwards. In 1929 the world manufacture of morphine had reached the high figure of about 58 tons. For the period 1931 to 1935, as a result of the application of the drug Conventions, the total world manufacture had been reduced to an annual average of about 29 tons. Today, as the result of war necessities, this figure has again risen to approximately 40 tons.

"The future holds opportunities for further progress. When the war broke out, a convention for the limitation of production had already been prepared and sent to Governments. Moreover, we should remember that the close of the last war showed a great increase in drug addiction and illicit traffic, because of conditions created by the war and of large quantities of drugs in circulation. The present war is likely to produce similar dangers unless stringent control continues to be exercised."

SOCIAL WELFARE

MISS ELSA CASTENDYCK

An analysis of the League's work in social welfare and an outline of what will be desirable in the future was given by Miss Elsa Castendyck, of the Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor and United States government representative on the League's Advisory Committee on Social Questions.

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

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

"Several suggestions emerge from this work. While very real results were achieved, the major weakness was that the inquiries dealt with isolated subjects without a broad framework or a sharp focus. The permanent staff was too small and too limited in authority; the Committee was not always effective; funds were insufficient. But the work is an increasingly essential part of any international order

seeking to promote the welfare of the individual and the progress of democracy; it might well find guidance in the Children's Bureau in the United States which has had to solve similar problems amongst our 48 states.

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

JUSTICE

JUDGE MANLEY O. HUDSON

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

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

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

"Parallel with this development of international legislation, extraordinary progress has been made in the development of a law of pacific settlement of disputes. Literally hundreds of treaties have been entered into, many of them going far beyond the patterns prevailing a generation ago. Again this progress has been facilitated by the existence of the Permanent Court of International Justice.

"The Court represents the fruition of a whole half century of international effort. An attempt to create an agency of that sort was first made in 1899 but it failed. Another attempt was made in 1907, but again it failed. A third attempt was made in 1920, and this time, due largely to the existence of the League of Nations, the attempt succeeded. More than fifty States have given their support to the

present World Court and it now has a record of twenty years of achievement.

"What were the difficulties which proved insuperable in 1899 and again in 1907, but which were overcome in 1920? There was first of all the difficulty of finding a method for electing the judges. The contest between the large States which claimed hegemony as Great Powers and the small States which insisted on the dogma of equality brought to wreck the earlier efforts. The solution found in 1920 was based upon the previous establishment of the Council of the League of Nations in which the Great Powers had permanent representation, and of the Assembly in which all States had equal voice. Eleven elections have now been held without any difficulty. The general election which had been completely prepared for the Assembly and Council sessions of September, 1939 had to be postponed because of the outbreak of the war at that very moment.

"Then there was the difficulty of finding a personnel for the Court. I think we have been fortunate in the fact that so many able men have been willing to give their time and energy to the work of the Court. The Presidents of the Court have been outstanding men; first Judge Loder of Holland, then Judge Huber of Switzerland, then Judge Anzilotti of Italy who is still a Judge of the Court, more recently Sir Cecil Hurst of Great Britain and now we have as President Judge Guerrerro of El Salvador. The Court was fortunate also in having a genius as its first Registrar, Mr. Hammarskjöld of Sweden. When he was elected a judge of the Court he was succeeded by the present Registrar, Mr. J. Lopez Olivan of Spain.

"Then it was feared that the Court could not be given adequate jurisdiction. An 'optional clause' was drawn up in 1920, giving the Court compulsory jurisdiction over legal disputes. For several years it was dormant, but some forty nations have in the course of these years become parties to that clause and it represents an advance which few people had dared to dream of forty years ago. In addition some 560 international treaties have been entered into by various States providing in one way or another for the jurisdiction of the Court.

"Finally it was thought that there would be difficulty in working out a satisfactory procedure. That fear has also proved to be un-

founded. From time to time the Court has revised its rules of Court, and on the whole they have proved a general satisfaction.

"What have been the contributions made by the Court in these twenty years? It has handled about sixty international disputes. It has handed down thirty judgments, twenty-seven advisory opinions and a large number of orders, and two cases are now pending before it. In all of this activity there has been no flouting of the Court's authority.

"These cases do not represent the Court's greatest contribution, however. Courts are important not merely because of the cases with which they deal, but also because of their influence on cases which never come before them. I am sure that many disputes have been settled out of Court, merely because the World Court existed. Moreover, the existence of the Court has greatly facilitated the making of treaties with reference to the pacific settlement of disputes.

"The Court has held two sessions since the war began in 1939. Its latest session in February, 1940, was to have been followed by a session in May, but this was not held because of the invasion of the Netherlands. The occupying authority did not disturb the officials of the Court who were at The Hague, but when the diplomatic missions there were invited to leave on July 18, the Court's officials were informed that their diplomatic status would also end on that date; the President and Registrar, therefore, departed from The Hague, a special train being provided by the occupying authority. Since then the President and Registrar are at Geneva, carrying on the correspondence of the Court and doing what they can to keep the institution together.

"If the Court is not the most important of the agencies of international government, it is nevertheless essential and few of us can imagine a world which would be content to be without it. If the present Court should not survive it would be a very difficult task to reconstruct an agency of this kind. Let me compare it with some of our American institutions. None of us doubts the value of the Congress of the United States, yet I hesitate to think of what would happen if we had the problem before us of creating that Congress anew. The Supreme Court of the United States has similarly served a most useful purpose in our national history, but again I should hesitate to think of what would happen if we had before us the prob-

lem of establishing such an institution. In the same way I am indeed fearful that years of effort will be necessary if we have to recreate the Permanent Court of International Justice.

"The fate of a great movement of this kind may depend on very small things, even on a few thousand dollars. Last fall the financial authorities of the League of Nations meeting at Lisbon felt constrained to reduce the Court's budget by nine-tenths of the amount previously appropriated. That means that there is now no money available for paying the salaries of the judges, though the judges have given up other occupations in order to serve the international community. The future of a great institution of this kind may come down to a question of a very small sum of money. Yet all of us will say that we cannot allow to perish an institution which represents the fruition of so many years of effort, which is now imbedded in 560 international treaties and conventions, and which in twenty years has made such a big contribution to international life."

LABOR OFFICE

MR. CARTER GOODRICH

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

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

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

"It is also most hard working. When I was last there a week ago, a meeting of government representatives, workers, and employers of the United States and Canada was under way. The group from this side included the three American members of the Governing Body and Dr. Lubin, United States Commissioner of Labor Statistics. The group from Canada included the Deputy Minister of Labor, the Canadian member of the Governing Body, officials of the Department of Munitions and Supply, the president of the Canadian Trades Union Congress, and several Canadian employers. Their subject was the organization of the labor supply to meet the imperious requirements of the defense programs. I cite this case, first, because it indicates the desire of the ILO to serve here and now in the present emergency;

and second, because the circumstances under which the discussion was held illustrate the characteristic methods of the Organization. Some two months before, the same group had requested the Office to make a report focusing its knowledge of the methods by which labor supply has been organized in various countries on the problems now being encountered in the United States and Canada. The discussion of this developed certain significant differences, not only technical and geographical as between the two countries, but also internal as between those responsible for munitions supply, concerned to make sure that no labor and no raw materials needed for defense should be wasted on non-essentials, and labor spokesmen, anxious to see that men should not be thrown out of their ordinary occupations until they could be brought into the defense effort. Yet the group reached a substantial degree of agreement and formulated a set of policy conclusions. The forthcoming report on *Labor Supply and National Defence* will thus represent the results of study by an international staff corrected by discussion with experienced government officials, employers and workers who have heavy responsibilities in the application of labor policy in the two countries. This combination of policy discussion with research activity illustrates the unique opportunity and function of an international organization based on the representation not only of governments but also of employers and workers.

"Another activity facilitated by the transfer to this side has been the provision of technical and expert advice to various Latin American governments. Since the 1939 Havana Conference, an increasing number of governments have requested the services of experts in the drafting of labor legislation and the improvement of social administration. At Bolivia's request, the chief of the Office's Social Insurance section drafted a complete new social security code which was introduced as part of the program of the incoming President. Similar assistance has been given to the governments of Venezuela, Ecuador, Peru and Chile. The Assistant Director of the Office is now on mission in Mexico. Much of this work has been in the field of social security, the growing interest in which has led to the creation under ILO auspices of an Inter-American Committee to forward Social Security, for whose first meeting preparations are now in process. It is significant that it is from an organization dedicated to democratic principles that these nations are seeking advice and assistance.

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

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

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

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

organizations, which have taken an increased power and responsibility in the national life.

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

"Moreover, I hope that this will go still further and carry over into the period that will follow the war. The demobilization of the armed forces and of the still greater armies of workers in the defense industries, their transfer and reabsorption in the work of peace, the weaving together again of the broken strands of world commerce, the restoration of devastated areas, the rebuilding of an economic system to feed and clothe and shelter what may well be a continent in utter chaos, the re-creation on a sounder basis of a democratic way of life where democracy has been shattered—all these will be tasks calling for the fullest cooperation between governments, trade unions and employers' associations.

"This is a significant aspect of the fundamental challenge which the International Labor Organization must meet. To this, like the Secretariat, it brings the experience of 21 years of international activity. The ILO offers in the service of the democratic peoples the unique equipment of structure and practice which embody the effective cooperation between governments and the free associations of employers and workers. It has a great contribution to make both to present-day problems and to the working out of that social security on which peace and justice will truly depend."

PUBLIC

MISS MARY E. WOOLLEY

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

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

"As I have listened to the wide variety of subjects discussed here, I have been impressed by the fact that one has not been mentioned, namely, how to make real to the general public the significance of the League. How many millions of our countrymen are ignorant of the vital things of which you have been speaking? And yet, our failure to join the League was certainly due in part to a lack of public understanding of what the League might mean for the future of humanity.

"Our first task, then, is to stress the importance of a League as an international conference center. That conference center is a necessity unless humanity is to recede from the civilization which it has attained, but there are thousands, possibly millions, of human beings in these United States who think that the League has already gone out of existence! They must be shown that the history of the League belongs not only to the past but even more truly to the future.

"We must realize that no great result can be achieved without great effort. We face a task which will be hard; it is time to begin both our mental and our spiritual preparations to shape the public opinion of the United States. I crave for this country of ours the realization of Woodrow Wilson's hope for the United States: 'America first? Yes, first in moral leadership.' "

FUTURE

DR. FRANK AYDELOTTE

The session was fittingly brought to a close, following adoption of a resolution of appreciation offered by the Hon. Henry F. Grady, by Dr. Frank Aydelotte, Director of the Institute for Advanced Study, who made a general assessment of the past value of these varied activities and a forecast of their essential place in whatever form of international life may result from the present war.

"In thanking you on my own behalf and on behalf of my colleagues, Dr. Dodds and Dr. TenBroeck, for the gracious resolution you have passed, I am sure I can also speak for them in saying that we are delighted that the members of this Conference were willing to come to Princeton to discuss work which has been so important in the past and which has such possibilities for the future. I am deeply impressed by the character of the individuals present at this Conference and feel that the story of the technical activities of the League, the Court and the ILO, as told last night, this morning and this afternoon, adds up to something very great and new in the world. The contribution which these agencies have made to human welfare during the last twenty years has opened a new era in the field of international relations; that contribution has been too little understood and too much taken for granted. Whatever the situation after this war, whatever form of international organization we may have, these activities must be preserved.

"It was precisely because we felt the importance of preserving these activities and of holding together the splendid groups of men and women who conduct them, that our three institutions invited the technical sections of the League to come here from Geneva. Not all were able to come; indeed, it was only by a kind of miracle that those groups which are in the United States were able to make their way from Geneva across the Atlantic. I hope that the age of miracles has not passed and that the presence on this side of representatives of the technical activities of the League may be taken as tangible evidence of the interest of our citizens in the problem of world government and as a harbinger of a new attitude on our part after the war: the end of our policy of isolation and the beginning of effective American support of a world government, which is necessary if civilization is to survive."

THE WORLD WE WANT

LESSONS FROM THE PAST PLANS FOR THE FUTURE

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



Drawing by Louis Conrad Rosenberg

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

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

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

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

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

League "Very Much Alive"

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Reforms by Default

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

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

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

Idea Died 70 Years Ago

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

An Objective Necessary

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

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

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

Much Already Done

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Prevention of epidemics is the negative side of inter-

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Appeal to Governments

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

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

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

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

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

Collaboration of Governments

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

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

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

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

Universalism and Regionalism

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

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

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

Groupings Created ad hoc

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Federation and League

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

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

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

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

Another Chance After the War

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

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

Both Methods Needed

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

Amended Covenant or New

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

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

Page Eight

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

League Lacked Power

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Must "Sally Forth"

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

Extract from *Princeton University* by Frank Walters, 5 Avenue
Bertrand, Geneva, by Arthur Sweetser, Nov 27, 1948

LAM
Sweetser

4. THE PRINCETON ITEM is a very natural mistake which I am more than glad, since my visit here, that I happened to note. In going over all the papers yesterday with Frank Aydelotte, I can understand how it crept in, as the correspondence was all with Dodds, President of the University, but that, as I said before, was purely proforma, as he was head of the oldest of the three inviting agencies. In sober fact, it was Dr Frank Aydelotte of the Institute of Advanced Study, who was the prime and practically single mover on the Princeton end, with the other two sponsors only giving their names, and, as the Treasurer of the University only last night told me, the University itself not confirming the move till months later. It was with Dr Aydelotte's Washington member, or rather a member who happened to be in Washington, that I made the first move as regards Princeton as the actual site: i.e. Winfield Rieffler, later Economic Minister in London. It was Dr Aydelotte who arranged the first luncheon in Princeton, drafted all the correspondence, organized the visit to Washington, met Loveday et al on arrival, and finally gave the whole group, which eventually ran up to some 40 officials, superb offices and quarters, for something like 4 years, in his own very crowded building. You would be the first, I am sure, to want to do full justice on this score, particularly as in the end, as Dr Aydelotte's own work increased, he was extremely embarrassed for space.
5. THE PRINCETON MISSION seems to me, indeed, to be justified in having a bit more space than you have given it, as I fear every one else may be saying about their particular interest. But this was really a big thing; and it had big consequences. First, it was a fairly friendly action on the part of the US Government in not objecting to the invitation going and in offering every possible help in detail, provided it could do it without getting involved too much in the principle; second, I think it had a real value in keeping the League alive and in getting support for it during the war years; third, it led to the production of useful stuff here; and fourth, it helped through the experience of Loveday and others, who were constantly called to Washington, to lay the groundwork for various UN agencies such as Food and Agriculture, Bank and Fund, etc. Most of its staff have become well placed since then: Martin Hill as Adviser to the new SG on matters affecting Specialized Agencies, Watterson with FAO, Rosenberg with the UN, Deperon carrying on his same work at Lake Success; Lindberg and Nurkse both here for tea with us only yesterday. While the whole group did not go over en masse, their experience, their publications, and, I believe, their library (and certainly their librarian) did, and thus established a permanent, continuing link between past and future which seems to me worthy of special consideration. This little group served also as a rallying nucleus for the League in the US, as you will see from a little pamphlet on "World Organization, 1920-1940", whose style may be reminiscent of Current History magazine. In any event, I picked up some of the Institute Reports to send to you and have asked Dr Aydelotte to let me have copies of the interchange of correspondence with Avenol, which confirms my previous question as to his favoring the project and shows him as having categorically rejected it in the sweetest and most friendly cable possible. However, he figured without his Dr Aydelotte and his friendship with Lothian; that started the F O reaction which knocked out A's most serious objection.

TELEGRAM

NOVEMBER 16, 1948

ARTHUR SWEETSER
1712 H Street, NW
Washington, D. C.

DELIGHTED HAVE YOU BOTH OUR GUESTS 25th ~~and~~ to 27th.

FRANK AYDELOTTE

RT

11:45

MAILING ADDRESS — ADRESSE POSTALE
1712 H STREET, NW, WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

TELEPHONE — TELEPHONE
DISTRICT 8847

UNITED NATIONS



NATIONS UNIES

WASHINGTON INFORMATION OFFICE

REFERENCE:

15 November 1948

Mr. Frank Aydelotte,
Institute for Advanced Study,
Princeton, N.J.

Dear Frank,

What an unconscionable time since we have met! That does not mean that I have not thought of you many times, for, in fact, I have. Also, I should long ago have expressed my appreciation for your sponsorship of my membership in the Cosmos Club, which incidentally went through all right and which is taking me there for lunch today and Thursday and for their 75th Anniversary tomorrow.

I have two specific thoughts in writing now. The first is to ask whether, by any chance, you are going to be at home on Thursday or Friday of next week, the 25th and 26th? I am going up to Cambridge this weekend for the Harvard-Yale game; Ruth is joining me for three or four days in New York next week; and it is quite possible that we will be driving our car down from New York via Princeton. If so, and you were to be about, we might arrange to spend a night at the Inn, get a glimpse of you and Marie and perhaps a glimpse of the golf course! Perhaps, as I am leaving Friday, you could send me a telegram or telephone. (Woodley 9279)

My second thought is to ask if you could send Frank Walters at 5 Avenue Bertrand, Geneva, a copy of your report or statement regarding the League services in Princeton. Frank is now completing nearly a three-year job in writing the history of the League of Nations from beginning to end and has naturally included a reference to the Princeton venture. I have been in frequent correspondence with him regarding this, had some part in his getting a Rockefeller grant, and picked up the whole 700 pages of his first draft when I was in Geneva this summer. It is really an extraordinarily good, readable, even vivid account of "the first great experiment", but the little bit on Princeton could, I think, be amplified. In any event, it would be very nice if you would send one of your reports to Frank.

Hoping we may meet soon somewhere, I am,

Yours, as ever,

A.S.

Arthur Sweetser

*Delivered to Mr. Woodley for Mr. Walters
both are present
2546274*

INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

Extract from the Report of Dr. Frank Aydelotte, Director
to the Trustees- Feb.24,1941

My survey of the work of our School of Economics and Politics would not be complete without a note about the activities of the Economic and Financial Section of the League of Nations, ten officers of which are now housed in Fuld Hall. They are not formally members of the Institute but they make a real contribution to our intellectual life, and their very presence serves to strengthen the atmosphere of international understanding and good will which should always characterize this institution.

They carry on the work of their section here just as they did in Geneva before the war, gathering economic and financial information from all over the world, analyzing it and issuing their various bulletins and other publications in unbroken series. In addition, they are undertaking various studies of the economic situation which may be expected to confront the world after the war is over, seeking to contribute as much as possible to easing the difficult transition from war to peace economy.

They are an able and scholarly group and, whatever may be the outcome of this war and whatever form the new international organization may take, they will be needed. By giving them here a place in which they can hold the members of their staff together and continue their work uninterrupted, the Institute is making a contribution, the value of which it would be hard to overestimate, to the new and better world order which we all hope will succeed the horrors and confusion of this war.

Extract from the Report of Dr. Frank Aydelotte, Director
to the Trustees - June 8,1943

The League of Nations group has, during the three years it has been working in Fuld Hall, steadily increased the number and importance of its publications. Lists of these publications are contained in all the handbooks and need not be repeated in this report. From the point of view of economic research the most important of all the productions of the League group during the past three years is a report of the Delegation on Economic Depressions, The Transition from War to Peace Economy. This study, based upon statistical information covering the period at the end of the last war, deals with the effects of

-2-

war economy on industrial activity and the problems arising during the transition from war to peace economy both in the domestic and the international fields. A copy of this interesting and important document is being sent to each member of the Board with the compliments of Mr. Loveday. On the fly leaves of the pamphlet will be found lists of recent publications of the Economics Section of the League. The presence of the League group in Fuld Hall has been a great stimulus to the work of the Institute in the field of international economics and constitutes a delightful addition to our intellectual and human resources.

Extract from the Report of Dr. Frank Aydelotte, Director
to the Trustees - May 23, 1946

The Institute may pride itself on the hospitality which it has shown to the members of the Economic Section of the League of Nations. We brought this group to Princeton in 1940 in order if possible to hold them together and to pass them on to whatever organization might succeed the League. The technique, the intellectual know-how, of the Economic group is very important. If this group had been allowed to disintegrate, it would have taken the United Nations ten years to form an organization of equal efficiency. Thanks to our invitation, the group has been kept together, they have continued their work, and they are to be taken over intact by the United Nations Organization in the summer of this year. I attach as an appendix to this report a letter of thanks from Mr. Sean Lester, Secretary-General of the League, for our hospitality, and I suggest a vote of thanks to the Theological Seminary for their assistance to us in housing the members of the Economic Section.

SOCIETE DES NATIONS

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Princeton, New Jersey

January 6, 1941

Dr. Aydelotte:

I have just received information from Geneva that instructions have been given to Mr. P. G. Watterson, League Accountant, to report to Princeton as soon as he is fit to travel.

Mr. Watterson had been sent just before the total collapse of France to Vichy with certain vital League documents. He got through to England after a very adventuresome voyage with, I understand, nothing excepting these documents, and then had to undergo a serious operation. He has been convalescing for some months, and I have no recent and direct information as to his state of health, but I assume from the communication I have received from the Acting Secretary General that he should quite shortly be able to travel.

A. L.

Mr. Alexander Loveday, Director of the Economic and Financial Department of the League of Nations, who has just arrived at Princeton, made the following statement today:

I have come here on mission from Geneva in response to an invitation extended by Princeton University, the Institute for Advanced Study, and the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research, which, in their desire to help our work in these difficult days, were good enough to offer facilities to certain technical services of the League. I came by Clipper ahead of my colleagues who are now in Lisbon in order to make the necessary arrangements for their work. I hope that they may follow shortly.

The work on which this group will be engaged will be mainly scientific and analytical. Ever since it started, the League has endeavored to keep governments and the public informed about general economic tendencies and developments throughout the world by means of regular publications on production, raw materials, trade, money and banking, public finance, etc. This work has been seriously impeded in recent months by the difficulty of communications between Geneva and a number of important countries. Some members of my department are therefore coming on mission to Princeton to continue their studies of the situation from here. But the headquarters of the League and of my department remain in Geneva. We hope by having two centers of work to be able to keep in touch with developments throughout the world and thus to obtain a balanced picture of the general economic situation as it develops and a better understanding of the infinitely complex problems which lie before us.

The invitation extended by the three educational institutions at Princeton has accordingly proved most opportune and I feel greatly indebted to them for the generous offer they have made.

Mr. Loveday left Geneva on August 6th with seven other members of his department together with their families. The bus in which they were traveling met with an accident near Grenoble, when some of the members of the party were rather seriously injured. After medical attention, however, they were able to continue their trip the next day and arrived in Lisbon on August 12th.

Mr. Loveday did not feel free to discuss more general questions of the present moment. He emphasized that he had come to this country on a purely technical and scientific mission and wished to keep his activities entirely within those limits.

Adresse télégraphique: NATIONS GENEVE

SOCIETE DES NATIONS

DANS LA RÉPONSE PRIÈRE DE RAPPELER:

NO.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

PLEASE QUOTE REF. NO. IN REPLY:

NO.

October 29, 1940

Mr. Frank Aydelotte
The Institute for Advanced Study
Princeton, New Jersey

Dear Frank:

May I thank you most gratefully for your letter of October 25 transmitting to me the resolutions of appreciation which the Board of Trustees of the Institute of Advanced Study adopted on October 14 in connection with the efforts which Mr. Hambro and I had made for bringing members of the Economic and Financial Departments of the League of Nations to Princeton?

I am a little conscience-smitten that in your friendliness you have given me more credit than I am entitled to but I am nevertheless deeply appreciative of the resolutions and particularly of your own good will, which I fully realize was responsible for it. Out of all the tragedy of the present moment, there is at least this one very profound satisfaction that a part of the League's services is established and carrying on in such an extraordinary free and congenial atmosphere as you have created at Princeton. You know how much this means to me not only substantively but even emotionally after all these long years and particularly after some of the disappointments that have come from this country; from the bottom of my heart, therefore, I am grateful to you for your unceasing and highly successful efforts in the matter.

Yours very truly,

Arthur Sweetser

1940

Aug?

On May 28th Mr. Arthur Sweetser of the League of Nations Secretariat arrived in New York. When he left Geneva two weeks before, the situation in Europe was already alarming, and on the day of his arrival King Leopold surrendered. He had already discussed with certain high officials of the League of Nations what they should do in the event of a German occupation of Switzerland and the idea had been very tentatively thrown out that if the technical sections could come to the United States that would probably be the best plan. No one, however, was optimistic and no one felt any great confidence in the possibility of such a plan being carried out.

The situation in Europe had become steadily worse during the time that Mr. Sweetser was on the water and as soon as he landed he began active discussions with people in this country who were interested in the fate of the League. Several problems presented themselves. First, a not at all unnatural reluctance was anticipated from certain circles in Geneva itself to any dispersal of the League services or any separation of one part, such as the technical, from the other parts. Secondly, the United States was not a Member of the League and the present year was an election year. Third, who could take the initiative in the matter, for the League was unlikely to approach the United States, a non-Member, and the United States would hardly approach the League. Perhaps, however, an intermediary could be found which, as an educational, non-political and research agency, could set the ball rolling, secure the good will of Washington and place a definite offer before Geneva. Princeton was a natural choice, as it is an educational and research center, on the Atlantic seaboard, easily accessible to both New York and Washington and yet not having the drawbacks

- 2 -

of the former as a large and expensive center or of the latter as a political center.

Mr. Sweetser landed on the 28th of May, and during the next few days the English were executing their glorious retreat from Dunkirk. On the 30th he saw Thompson of the State Department and on the 31st Grady and Riefler. As the result of this discussion he cabled both Lester and Loveday on this same day, suggesting consideration of the transfer of the technical sections to the United States. In reply he had a non-committal telegram from Lester and a fuller one from Loveday, expressing interest in the possibility. On June 6th Sweetser was able to cable Loveday that Riefler and Stewart and I had discussed the whole matter and that he (Sweetser) was coming to Princeton for consultation with us and with representatives of Princeton University and the Rockefeller Institute on June 7th. The meeting of representatives of the three institutions was duly held in my office on that day. President Dodds was ill and Vice-President Brakeley represented Princeton University, while Dr. Ten Broeck represented the Rockefeller Institute. At this meeting the representatives of the three institutions agreed to ask their Trustees for authorization to invite the technical sections to Princeton, provided the State Department approved the invitation. Fortunately, the Trustees of Princeton University were holding a meeting on June 10th and at this meeting they immediately agreed to the suggestion. I telephoned Mr. Bamberger, Mr. Houghton, and as many of the Trustees of the Institute as I could reach quickly and received unanimous approval of the suggestion. Dr. Ten Broeck could not quickly reach all of his Trustees, but he and Dr. Gasser agreed to go ahead on their own responsibility.

See Sweetser
to Walters
11/27/48. Pch
W. didn't agree
for months later.

- 3 -

A letter of invitation was prepared and on Wednesday, June 12, the day after Italy entered the war, Mr. Brakeley, Mr. Riefler, and I took it to Washington ~~for~~, where we saw first Mr. Sweetser and later Secretary Hull and several officials of the State Department. The result was that Mr. Hull gave us his permission to go ahead. The understanding was that the invitation was to be sent on our initiative. The State Department was not associated with us in any way, but made no objection and undertook to place no obstacles in the way of the transfer of the technical sections of the League to the United States. The moment we received this permission we cabled our letter from Washington to Avenol on that same evening.

Mr. Sweetser had meanwhile had intimations from Geneva that Avenol was opposed to any such transfer and that he (Sweetser) would be wise to be careful. On June 15, when the air was full of rumors of the coming French surrender, we received from Avenol a polite telegram declining our invitation on the ground that the activities of the League were placed by statute in Geneva and that this arrangement could be changed only by the states which were members of the League.

At this stage of the negotiations we were able to recruit two useful allies. The British Ambassador, Lord Lothian, who was keenly alive to the importance of the technical work of the League and saw clearly the advantages of trying to carry it on in the United States, was able to bring effective pressure upon the Secretary-General of the League through the British Foreign Office, all the more so as Great Britain and the states of the British Empire are the principal paying members left in the League organization. This seemed to answer Mr. Avenol's point

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about the importance of consulting the states which were members of the League. Early in June Mr. Carl J. Hambro, President of the Storting and first citizen of Norway, arrived in the United States. Mr. Hambro is President of the Assembly of the League and of the Supervisory Commission which controls the duties of the League between meetings of the Council. He was very much concerned about keeping the technical activities of the League alive and had indeed discussed the Princeton invitation before leaving London. Mr. Hambro came to Princeton, looked over all the facilities of the three institutions, and sent a number of cablegrams to Avenol, urging reconsideration of our invitation.

The result of all this pressure was that Avenol, on July 23, proposed to send Loveday and Skylstad to Princeton to investigate conditions and consider the advisability of the transfer. He intimated at the same time that he was considering with Loveday the immediate transfer of the Economics Section. Three days later, on July 26, Avenol sent a cordial acceptance of our invitation as regards the Economics and Financial Section and said at the same time that the work of other sections raised special problems to which he was giving his careful consideration. The next day the newspapers carried the announcement of Mr. Avenol's resignation as Secretary General of the League.

Arrangements were immediately undertaken by Mr. Brakeley, Mr. Riefler, Mr. Sweetser, and myself to facilitate the journey of the members of the Economics Section from Geneva to Princeton. The ships of the American Export Lines and the Pan American Clippers had both long lines of people waiting for passage at Lisbon. We besieged their offices in New York with the strongest requests we could make for priority for

- 5 -

members of the League group. Meanwhile we heard from Loveday that he was leaving Geneva for Lisbon by bus with a group of members of his section and their families - a party of twenty-three in all. The next day the Associated Press carried the story that the bus had collided with a tram car in Grenoble, crashed into a pole, and overturned in a ditch, injuring nearly all the members of the party, three of them so badly that they had to be taken to a hospital. A few days later we rejoiced to hear that they had been able to continue their journey and had arrived safely in Lisbon. We made the most of this accident in our appeals for sympathy to the officials of the Pan American Airways and the American Export Line, with the result that Mr. Loveday and his family obtained passage on a Clipper on August 20th, while the remainder of the party were able to follow a couple of weeks later on one of the crowded ships of the Export Line.

On Wednesday, August 21st, the Clipper arrived at LaGuardia Field. The Lovedays were met by Mr. Sweetser and Mr. Riefler, together with other people who were interested in the League, and they came immediately to Princeton, where Mr. Hambro, Mr. Stewart, Mr. Brakeley, and I formally received them the following day. It was a thrilling end to a month of anxious negotiation and patient unraveling of every possible kind of difficulty. The events seemed to us to have their part in a larger drama in that one section of the League of Nations, urged upon Europe by Woodrow Wilson at the end of the last war and supported by an immense body of the best public opinion in the United States, was coming back, as we all hope, to make a new start in the seat of Woodrow Wilson's university. Our luncheon at the Princeton Inn on Thursday, August 22nd, was a joyful one, and the reunion seemed to all of us to have a significance which no one quite dared put into words. The relief to those of us who had

- 6 -

been active through two long, hot months of negotiations was inexpressible. We had rescued one of the most important of the technical sections of the League from the rapidly advancing Nazi destruction. We had out-manceuvred the puppet government at Vichy. In the darkest hour of the history of the League the United States, whose defection in 1919 had been partly responsible for the League's weakness, was offering to important League activities not merely sanctuary but a chance to continue work. The group of economic experts, gathered and trained slowly over the course of twenty years, were either here or safely on their way, with the most important part of the records copied on microfilms. Our School of Economics at the Institute, so largely specialized in questions of international finance had secured an interesting and important addition to its strength. The relief to those of us who had been active through two long, hot months of negotiation was inexpressible. To Mr. Sweetser and me it seemed that there was only one thing that would not be an anti-climax. We slipped away together to Springdale for a round of golf. We had already had several hard fought battles on the links but never one which was more delightful than on that August afternoon.

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY
Princeton, New Jersey

CONFIDENTIAL

COPIES TO

L. W. Douglas
Edward M. Earle
W. W. Riefler
Walter W. Stewart
Robert B. Warren
Joseph H. Willits

Night Letter

Princeton, New Jersey

July 19, 1940

Avenol
Nations
Geneva

Have gone over buildings Princeton University and
Institute for Advanced Study and Rockefeller Institute stop Working
conditions perfect and any offices available offered League free of charge
stop Library facilities good Roneo facilities perfect and spirit of
Princeton intensely sympathetic to League while Rockefeller Foundation also
expressed active interest stop Have growing feeling of vital importance
of this plan materializing Your statement reprinted in American papers
and created great interest

(signed) HAMBRO

Princeton, New Jersey
June 11, 1940

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

Dear Mr. Secretary:

Enclosed is a communication which we would like to send to Mr. Joseph A. Avenol, Secretary General of the League of Nations, provided that it meets with the approval of the government of the United States. Its purpose is to invite the League of Nations to move its technical sections, namely the public health section, the opium control section, and the economic and financial section, including both personnel and records, to Princeton, New Jersey. The invitation is extended jointly by Princeton University, the Princeton branch of the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research, and the Institute for Advanced Study.

Should the government approve of our general purpose, would it be possible for the State Department to help in its accomplishment by transmitting the document to the League of Nations by cable through its foreign officers? In the event that this suggestion should prove welcome to the League of Nations, the aid of the State Department would also probably be necessary to rush arrangements for the granting of visas to the personnel of the technical sections, and to assist in the rapid removal of their technical records to this country.

- 2 -

We know from your published statements of your personal interest in preserving the fine scientific work that has been developed under the guidance of the technical sections of the League of Nations. It seems to us essential, now that war hovers at the very doors of Geneva, that this personnel, together with the priceless records they have built up, be rescued before it is too late.

Very truly yours,

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

Harold W. Dodds, President

ROCKEFELLER INSTITUTE FOR MEDICAL RESEARCH

Carl Ten Broeck, Director
Department of Animal and Plant Pathology

INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

Frank Aydelotte, Director

MEMORANDUM

June 7, 1940

At the suggestion of Mr. Riefler, a luncheon meeting was held today with the following men present: Mr. Brakeley, Mr. Stewart, Mr. Riefler, Mr. Aydelotte, and Mr. Arthur Sweetser of the Secretariat of the League of Nations, who has just returned from Geneva. Mr. Riefler and Mr. Sweetser had recently held a conversation in Washington which Mr. Riefler wished to bring to the attention of the authorities of Princeton University, the Institute for Advanced Study, the Princeton branch of the Rockefeller Institute, and the Rockefeller Foundation.

Mr. Sweetser informed the group that because of possible contingencies in Switzerland there was likelihood that the League may be required to consider the desirability of seeking quarters in another country, which, in his opinion, should be a neutral country. While he disclaimed having any official authority to put forward any suggestion in the matter, the question had arisen in his mind whether in view of the statements regarding the technical work of the League made by both President Roosevelt and Secretary Hull, it might be possible for these technical activities to come to this country.

It was agreed that if such a transfer was made Princeton would be an ideal location for these activities. It was thought that the best procedure would be to lay before the Boards of Trustees of Princeton University, the Institute for Advanced Study, and the Princeton branch of the Rockefeller Institute the question whether they would be willing to consider extending an invitation to the League to move the technical sections from Geneva to Princeton. It was understood that

- 2 -

such an invitation, if issued, would involve no financial responsibility, the technical sections paying their own cost of transportation and their running expenses in Princeton, as they do in Geneva. It was further agreed that the institutions could take no responsibility for the future of the personnel of these sections in the event that they should cease to be connected with the League. The technical groups involved would be the section on economics and finance, the opium section, and the health section. Mr. Sweetser felt that it would be important to keep all three groups together if possible. The total personnel would probably amount to about eighty, though as to this figure he could not be definite because of uncertainty as to the number of members of the clerical staff who would be brought from Geneva to this country. Mr. Sweetser reported that racially this personnel was predominantly neutral rather than belligerent, with a large representation of Scandinavians.

It was agreed informally by those present at the luncheon that the following steps should be taken:

1. An informal approach should be made to the Boards of Trustees of the three institutions to ascertain whether they would consider it wise to take steps leading to an invitation to the technical sections to come to Princeton. If the three Boards of Trustees agree, it would perhaps be best to designate members of a joint committee which could consider the steps to be taken.
2. If agreement were reached on point No. 1, it would then be necessary to approach the United States government to secure approval of the invitation before it was actually presented to the League.

- 3 -

3. If these steps met with approval it would then be time to extend a formal invitation on behalf of the three institutions concerned to the Secretary General of the League to move the technical sections to Princeton.

Mr. Walter W. Stewart, Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Rockefeller Foundation, assured the group of the deep interest of the Rockefeller Foundation in the work of the technical sections of the League and the importance which the Foundation attaches to the preservation of the records of these sections and the continuance of their work.

It was believed that the national committee which is being organized by Miss Woolley for the support of the technical sections of the League should at the proper moment be informed of this invitation and its cooperation asked.

FRANK AYDELOTTE

(C O P Y)

CONFIDENTIAL

Princeton, New Jersey
June 11, 1940

Mr. Joseph A. Avenol
Secretary General, League of Nations
Geneva, Switzerland

My dear Mr. Avenol:

During the past two decades we have watched with the greatest admiration the growth of the technical sections of the Secretariat of the League of Nations. They have provided leadership in the promotion of international collaboration between scholars, in the furthering of public health, in the control of opium, and in the international exploration of economic and financial problems. Recently we have become increasingly apprehensive that the war may do more than merely interrupt this work. With the involvement in hostilities of all countries surrounding Geneva, we are fearful that the trained personnel of these sections, so carefully built up, may be destroyed.

Under these circumstances we should like to suggest to you very strongly that you consider the possibility of removing the technical sections of the Secretariat, including both the personnel and the records, to Princeton, New Jersey, for such period as may prove to be advisable. At Princeton are located, as you doubtless know, Princeton University, a branch of the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research, and the Institute for Advanced Study. It gives us great pleasure to inform you that the governing authorities of these three educational and scientific institutions hereby unite in extending

-2-

a most cordial invitation to the technical sections of the Secretariat to move from Geneva to this place. Should you find it possible to accept this invitation you may rest assured that the members of the three institutions indicated will do everything in their power to assist the technical sections in finding suitable offices and living quarters and to make it possible for these sections to continue their work in the most effective manner. They would, of course, be as independent in their work in Princeton as they are in Geneva.

We are extending this invitation because of the great importance which we attach to the scientific and scholarly work of the technical sections of the League. We understand the difficulty of building up such an effective personnel as these sections now contain, and are most eager that they should not be dispersed and that the work of these sections may not be interrupted by the war.

Very truly yours,

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

Harold W. Dodds, President

ROCKEFELLER INSTITUTE FOR MEDICAL
RESEARCH

Carl TenBroeck, Director
Department of Animal and Plant
Pathology

INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

Frank Aydelotte, Directors

Night Letter - June 15, 1940 - 7:00 P.M.

Mr. Harold W. Dodds, President, Princeton University
Princeton, N. J.

My dear Mr. President:

In reply to your cable of June twelfth I wish to express my own and my collaborators' profound gratitude for the generous invitation sent to me by you together with the director of the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research and the director of the Institute for Advanced Study to whom I beg you to transmit this cable. We are deeply touched by your appreciation of the services rendered hitherto by the secretariat's technical sections and by your anxiety to see those services continued. My own desire to secure this object, having due regard to the responsibilities of my position, has led me to maintain at the disposal of the states members of the League a staff embodying the experience and competence acquired during the last twenty years. The statutory seat of the League being established at Geneva, I am certain that you will understand it is not within my power bracket a bracket even provisionally to alter this arrangement unless compelled by force majeure or bracket b bracket to transfer all or part of the secretariat unless the initiative were taken by one or more states. These would then have to envisage all responsibilities attendant upon such initiative, the final decision remaining subject to the approval of the states members. Heartened and encouraged by American friends sympathetic concern for which we are all grateful.

Yours very truly,

Avenol, Secretary General

July 12, 1940

To the Secretary General

League of Nations

Geneva, Switzerland

Dear Mr. Avenol:

Such meager reports as we are able to obtain from the press seem to indicate that the progress of the war has forced a further curtailment of the work of the technical and scientific sections of the League of Nations, and a further dispersion of their personnel. Under these circumstances, we desire to raise again for your consideration the possibility of moving these activities to Princeton for the duration of the emergency. We fully appreciate the difficult problems that stand in the way of an acceptance of our invitation on your part. It is our hope, however, that they are not so insoluble as to necessitate a discontinuance of the brilliant scientific work that has been developed under the auspices of the League.

Most of the difficulties, we feel, are formal rather than real. They grow out of the fact that the League is an intergovernmental body of which the United States is not a member, that it is located by law in Geneva, and that its officials possess special legal status there. These facts obviously make it difficult, if not impossible, for the League to accept an invitation that is frankly private to move the legal seat of certain of its operations to Princeton. In a real sense, however, Princeton offers a more favorable environment under present conditions for the scientific and technical activities of the League than Geneva. It offers first of all the three primary requisites for successful scientific endeavor, namely, an atmosphere of free inquiry, accessibility to relevant data and materials, and contact with other scholars. The Government of the United States, moreover, though not a member of the League of Nations, has always fostered cooperation with the technical and scientific activities of the League. Considered from the point of view of the presence or absence of conditions necessary to prosecute effectively their work, it is clear that the scientific personnel of the League could continue to function

during the emergency much more freely at Princeton than in Geneva.

With these considerations in mind, we do feel that it should not be impossible to find a formula that would meet the formal requirements of the situation. It is not necessary that the technical sections be separated from the League or that their legal seat of operations be transferred to Princeton. All that is required is that a significant portion of the personnel move to Princeton to conduct their work in a more favorable environment for the duration of the emergency. The legal seat of operations could remain in Geneva, and it would be understood that the personnel, at the termination of the emergency, would move back to Geneva, and report again directly to the Council and the Assembly of the League. Surely the League has power to authorize part of its personnel to proceed to the United States on mission and thus to work physically out of Geneva. Would not the proposal we have in mind be thoroughly analogous to this situation?

We communicate with you so frankly and at such length, Monsieur Avenol, because of our genuine concern for the preservation of the scientific activities of the League. We are confident that this objective is also your concern, for it is you who have sponsored them, and furnished the support that has enabled them to rise to eminence. It is our desire to do all we can in this hour of emergency to help you salvage this great work.

Very sincerely yours,

tr. Harold W. Dodds
President, Princeton University

tr. Carl Ten Broeck
Director, Rockefeller Institute
for Medical Research ~~in Princeton~~
Department of Plant and Animal Pathology
Frank Aydelotte
tr. Director, Institute for Advanced Study

COPY

July 26, 1940

Geneva 210 26 1525

Mr. Harold W. Dodds
President, Princeton University,
Princeton, N. J.

My dear Mr. President:

I am very grateful to you and to the Directors of the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research and of the Institute for Advanced Study for the unflagging interest and the understanding of the League Secretariat's special status and conditions of work shown by your cable of the twelfth July.

After careful consideration of the problems involved in consultation with the heads of departments concerned I am glad to respond to your generous invitation by authorizing Mr. Loveday, Director of the Economic and Financial Department, and those of his collaborators whom he considers essential for the prosecution of their work to proceed to the United States on mission. Eight officials accompanied by wives and children to a total of twenty-two persons will start United States as soon as formalities can be completed including United States appropriate visas. I should be greatly obliged to you if you could inform the State Department that applications for such visas are being made forthwith through the proper channels.

The question of the work of other departments on which I have also consulted the various responsible officials raises special problems to which I am giving careful consideration.

Yours very truly,

(Signed) Avenol, Secretary General

July 26, 1940

CABLE

Avenol
Geneva

Cable received. Delighted. All preparations under way.

DODDS

COPY

July 23, 1940

HAMBRO WALDORF ASTORIA NEW YORK

REFERENCE YOUR CABLES FIFTEENTH AND NINETEENTH JULY I PROPOSED TO
SEND LOVEDAY AND SKYLSTAD TO PRINCETON TO INVESTIGATE CONDITIONS
OF WORK NATURE OF OFFICES AND OTHER FACILITIES COSTS INVOLVED ETC
STOP THEY EXPRESSED FOLLOWING VIEWS STOP LOVEDAY WILLING TO GO AT
ONCE IF ACCOMPANIED BY SELECTED MEMBERS OF HIS STAFF AND VISAS
OBTAINABLE HERE ON UNDERSTANDING TECHNICAL SERVICES SENT ON MISSION
TO WORK PRINCETON RELUCTANT TO GO ALONE STOP SECONDLY CONSIDERS
UNDESIRABLE LONG DELAY HIS MISSION WOULD INVOLVE ESPECIALLY AS
WHOLLY WILLING ACCEPT YOUR VIEW REGARDING SUITABILITY OFFICES AND
FACILITIES PRINCETON AND SUGGESTS YOU MIGHT CONSULT RASMINSKY NOW
181 WARREN ROAD TORONTO OR HILGERDT NOW CARE DRURY MILTON MASSACHUSETTS
AS REGARDS DETAILS STOP FINALLY CONSIDERS UNWISE CUT HIMSELF OFF FROM
COLLEAGUES IN PRESENT CONDITIONS RISKING IMPOSSIBILITY TO RETURN STOP
SKYLSTAD ALSO RELUCTANT SEPARATE HIMSELF HIS COLLEAGUES IN PRESENT
CIRCUMSTANCES AND SUGGESTS AS REGARDS HIS QUESTIONS PRELIMINARY
NEGOTIATIONS MIGHT IF NECESSARY BE OPENED AT THIS END I AM DISCUSSING
WITH LOVEDAY POSSIBILITY OF SENDING HIM WITH STAFF

AVENOL

Dear Alec:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- 3 -

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

With all best wishes,

June 4, 1940

*Pitani called to
French cabinet-*

May 18, 1940. A. P. carried a story from Washington to the effect that the technical sections of the League of Nations might transfer from Geneva to the United States, quoting Hull and Roosevelt in support of the technical activities of the League.

Leopold surrenders

May 28. Sweetser arrived.

May 30. Sweetser saw Thompson.

Dunkirk

May 31. Sweetser conferred with Grady and Riefler and sent a cable to Loveday and Lester.

June 4. Letter to Loveday. Loveday replied eager for transfer. Lester replied cautiously.

June 6. Sweetser cabled Loveday, informing him institutions interested. Letter to Loveday.

*3 days before Italy enters
war against us & France
& Britain*

June 7. Meeting in Princeton.

June 11. Invitation. - *day after Italy enters war*

*Day before Fr
request for committee*

June 15. Memorandum from Sweetser concerning Miss Woolley's committee. Avenol's refusal.

July Avenol's cable to State Department asking official invitation.

July State Department's refusal.

July Riefler's trip to Washington

July 10 Arrival of Hambro

July 12 Second invitation to Avenol

July 16 New York Times obtains story of invitation from London

July 19 Hambro and Sweetser in Princeton
Hambro's cablegram to Avenol

July 26 Avenol's acceptance

Aug. 21 Loveday's arrival