

1940

SUGGESTED PROGRAM

FOR THE

MEETING OF AMERICAN EXPERTS ASSOCIATED WITH  
THE TECHNICAL WORK OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS,  
PRINCETON, NOVEMBER 11 AND 12, 1940

November 11 12:30 P.M. Assemblage at the Princeton Inn

1:00 P.M. Luncheon given by Princeton University

Greetings by President Dodds on behalf of the three inviting institutions

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

3 - 5 P.M. Business meeting at the Institute for Advanced Study

Work of the members of the Economic and Financial Department on mission at Princeton: Mr. A. Loveday, Director

The Economic Committee: Mr. Henry Grady  
The Financial Committee: Mr. W. W. Riefler  
The Fiscal Committee: Mr. Mitchell Carroll  
The Statistical Committee: Mr. Dana Durand

November 12 10 - 12A.M. Continuation

The Anti-drug work: Mr. Herbert May  
The Health Work: Dr. Frank G. Boudreau  
The Social Work: Miss Katharine Lenroot  
The Cultural Field: Dr. James T. Shotwell

12:30 P.M. Luncheon at the Princeton Inn, given by The Institute for Advanced Study

Summary remarks:

Dr. Mary C. Woolley, Chairman of the American Committee for the League's technical activities

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

February 11, 1941

Dear Mr. ....

As you will perhaps recall, the authorities of Princeton University, the Institute for Advanced Study and the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research extended an invitation last June to the League of Nations to establish at Princeton such parts of the League's highly successful technical agencies as might seem desirable for the duration of the present emergency.

That invitation was shortly accepted on behalf of the Economic and Financial Department, a dozen of whose members arrived in Princeton in August. The purpose inspiring the invitation was further carried out with the recent establishment in Washington of a branch office of the permanent Opium Central Board and the Opium Supervisory Committee. Similarly, the headquarters of the International Labor Office have been transferred from Geneva to Montreal.

The authorities of the three Princeton institutions which issued the above mentioned invitation to the League feel that, with these various activities now established in the Americas, it would be very desirable to bring together as many as possible of that very considerable number of American citizens who have been associated with various phases of the League's technical work, for brief interchange of views as to the development and possibilities of international collaboration in these important fields of activity.

It is our feeling that, despite the pressing urgency of other emergencies, it is highly desirable, even as part of our present-day morale, to assess the development which has taken place in recent years in international collaboration, to see exactly where we stand today, and to attempt to envisage what will be possible in the future. Those who have cooperated in the manifold and extremely diverse technical activities initiated by the League of Nations have a unique insight into these questions and should be able to make a very appreciable contribution to their unfolding.

It is our earnest hope, therefore, that you will find the time to accept an invitation from the three institutions at Princeton for a day and a half meeting in that city on March 14 and 15. The meeting will open with a luncheon given by Princeton University, with a welcome by President Dodds on behalf of the three inviting Princeton institutions, and a reply by Mr. Carl J. Hambro, President of the Assembly of the League of Nations.

Business sessions will follow that afternoon and the following morning at the Institute for Advanced Study, when various Americans who have served on League technical committees will briefly describe the nature and significance of their work. A luncheon will be given that noon by the Institute for Advanced Study, when Dr. Mary C. Woolley, Chairman of the American Committee on the League technical work, and Dr. Frank Aydelotte, Director of the Institute, will present a summary view, with particular reference to the future.

The meetings will be private and open only to those who have been actively associated with the League's technical work. It is hoped, however, that the exchange of views and experience will be of interest and value both in illuminating developments during the past twenty years and in giving suggestions for the eventual reconstruction.

We should be grateful for as early a reply as possible, addressed to .....

The President of Princeton University  
The Director of the Institute for Advanced Study  
and

The Director of the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research  
have the honor to invite  
Mr.....

to attend a meeting of Americans associated with various branches of the technical work of the League of Nations which will be held at Princeton on March 14 and 15 following the establishment in that city of part of the League's technical services.

The meeting will open with a luncheon given by Princeton University, with a welcome by President Dodds on behalf of the three inviting Princeton institutions and a reply by Mr. Carl J. Hambro, President of the Assembly of the League of Nations.

Business sessions will follow that afternoon and the following morning at the Institute for Advanced Study, when various Americans who have served on League technical committees will briefly describe the nature and significance of their work.

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The Statistical Committee: Mr. Dana Durand

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The Institute for Advanced Study

Summary remarks:

Dr. Mary C. Woolley, Chairman of the  
American Committee for the League's techni-  
cal activities

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

Lyn:

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

Princeton, New Jersey  
April 19 and 20, 1941

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

\* (Those names preceded by a \* had accepted up to Friday noon.)

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

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

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

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

League Experts Meeting

Informal meeting March 29: Messrs. Aydelotte, Riefler, Loveday and Sweetser.

1. Mr. Sweetser reported that invitations had gone out today to nearly 200 people, the list of whom he proposed to circulate for any additions or comments. He thought a considerable proportion would be unable to come because of age, as many cooperated in the earliest days; distance, as many are not in the East; or pressure of work. Even at that, however, the list was larger than he had anticipated and the attendance will probably be greater.
2. He requested decisions as to the following who have not strictly speaking participated as League experts:

- a. Mr. Walter Stewart, Institute for Advanced Study  
Prof. Edward M. Earle, Institute for Advanced Study  
Prof. Dana Munro, School of Public and International Affairs  
Prof. James A. Perkins, School of Public and International Affairs  
Prof. Oskar Morgenstern, Princeton University

The group agreed they should be invited as part of the inviting institutions.

- b. Certain former Secretariat officials:  
Prof. G. Haberler, Harvard University  
Mr. Louis Rasminski  
Mr. Rifat Tirana, Federal Reserve Board  
Prof. J. B. Condliffe, University of California

This was agreed to.

- c. Certain special journalists as:  
Mr. Charles Merz, New York Times  
Mr. Nicholas Roosevelt  
Mr. Felix Morley  
Mr. Barnet Nover  
Mr. Edgar Mawrer  
Mr. John Gunther

This was agreed to subject to Mr. Brakeley's views.

3. The press, according to the general opinion, should be free to come to the sessions if desired but should not be sought, the attitude being that the sessions would not be particularly newsy but rather technical.
4. A stenotype record should be kept.
5. The record should be published.
6. The inviting institutions should formally invite Secretary Hull.

League Experts Meeting

Princeton, April 19 and 20

Attached is a tentative program for the League Experts Meeting on April 19 and 20 submitted to the members of the Committee for criticism and suggestion.

Most of the suggested speakers have been approached, either verbally or in writing, and all, so far, have agreed to be present and to take part.

Approached personally and consenting:

President Dodds  
Mr. Hambro  
Mr. Loveday  
Mr. Riefler  
Mr. Carroll  
Mr. Goodrich  
Dr. Boudreau  
Prof. Shotwell (if here)  
Dr. Aydelotte

Approached by writing with their replies:

Mr. Grady: Telegram: "Greatly hope be able attend meeting Attempting now arrange dates Will wire again shortly."

Mr. Durand: "I am glad to know that you are settled in Princeton along with so many others from the League of Nations. I hope, indeed, that the organization can be kept alive and become the starting point for something bigger and better in the future.

"I should be very glad to come to Princeton on April 19 and 20 and to say something about the statistical work of the League. I should think the proposed meeting would be very interesting to the participants as well as helpful for the League's future."

Mr. May: (This should be confidential) "Many thanks for your letter. Meanwhile the invitation has come and I am accepting.

"There is one thing that you perhaps can do for me. When the Department finally consented to the branch office arrangement, I was urged to see that publicity was avoided. Do what you can in that direction; we don't want to handicap requests for further favors. Even in the limited field of "opium" there may be something more to ask of them."

Miss Lenroot, Chief of Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor: "I am, of course, very greatly interested in your letter of March 26th with reference to the proposed meeting to be held at Princeton University of Americans who have taken part in the technical and non-political work associated with the League of Nations. Unfortunately I will probably not be able to attend the meeting because of long standing engagements, but I have talked with Miss Elsa Castendyck who represented me on two occasions at Geneva, and if it will be acceptable to you she and I will undertake to prepare a brief statement which she will present personally at the meeting. I hope this arrangement will be satisfactory. I am very eager that the Children's Bureau have an opportunity to participate in this most interesting discussion."

Dr. Woolley: "Thank you for your letter of the twenty-sixth which reached me by this morning's mail. It gives me just the information that I wish. I shall plan to reach Princeton sometime the afternoon of Saturday, April the nineteenth, and stay at the Inn."

This leaves only:

Prof. Shotwell, in case he is not back from Latin America and has to be replaced by Mr. Zook or Dr. Leland.

Prof. Clyde Eagleton, who has agreed to make a brief statement on international technical organizations outside the League, such as the International Bank, the Institute of Agriculture, and the Postal and Telegraph Unions, provided the Committee decides that it wishes him to.

May I have any comments or suggestions which occur to any members of the group?



Arthur Sweetser

TENTATIVE PROGRAM FOR THE  
MEETING OF AMERICANS WHO HAVE PARTICIPATED  
IN THE TECHNICAL AND NON-POLITICAL WORK ASSOCIATED WITH THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS,  
PRINCETON, APRIL 19 AND 20, 1941

April 19

4:30-6:00P.M. Informal reception at the Institute for Advanced Study, to meet the League's technical experts in this country.

6:30P.M. Dinner given by the inviting institutions at the Princeton Inn.

Greetings by President Dodds on behalf of the three inviting institutions.

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

8:00-10:00P.M. General session:

Work of the members of the Economic and Financial Department on mission at Princeton: Mr. A. Loveday, Director.

The Economic Committee: Mr. Henry Grady.  
The Financial Committee: Mr. W. W. Riefler.  
The Fiscal Committee: Mr. Mitchell Carroll.  
The Statistical Committee: Mr. Dana Durand.

April 20

10:00-12:00P.M. Continuation

Work of the International Labour Organization at Montreal: Mr. Carter Goodrich, Chairman of the Governing Body of the International Labour Office.

The Anti-drug work: Mr. Herbert May.  
The Health Work: Dr. Frank G. Boudreau.  
The Social Work: Miss Elsa Castendyck.  
The Cultural Field: Dr. James T. Shotwell.  
International Organizations unconnected with the League: Professor Clyde Eagleton.

12:30P.M. Luncheon at the Princeton Inn.

General observations:

Dr. Mary C. Woolley, Chairman of the American Committee for the League's Technical Activities.

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

General discussion.

5:00P.M. Close of Meeting.

### Secretariat

Boudreau, Dr. Frank G., Milbank Memorial Fund, 40 Wall St., New York City  
Gerig, Dr. Benjamin, Haverford College, Haverford, Pa.  
Sweetser, Arthur, 7 Newlin Road, Princeton, N. J.  
Carroll, Mitchell B., 67 Broad Street, New York City  
de Wolf, Francis Colt, State Department, Washington, D. C.  
Darlington, Charles, Jr., 755 Park Avenue, New York City  
Schmitter, L. L., Social Security Board, Washington, D. C.  
Wambaugh, Miss Sarah, 22 Berkeley St., Cambridge, Mass.  
Fosdick, Raymond B., Rockefeller Foundation, Rockefeller Center, New York City  
Rockefeller, John D. III, Rockefeller Center, New York City  
Gilchrist, Huntington, American Cyanamide Co., Rockefeller Center, New York City  
Huston, Howard R., 93 Tanglewyde Ave., Bronxville, N. Y.  
Tyler, Royal  
Shepardson, Whitney, 213 East 61st Street, New York City  
Jacklin, S., International Labor Office, McGill University, Montreal, Canada

### State Department

Reber, S.  
Pell, Robert T.  
Dunn, James Clement  
Feis, Herbert  
Pasvolsky, Leo  
Cumming, Hugh S., Jr.

### Princeton

Hambro, Carl J., 18 Hibben Road  
Loveday, A., Institute for Advanced Study  
Aydelotte, Dr. Frank, Institute for Advanced Study  
Dodds, President Harold W., Princeton University  
Brakeley, George A., Princeton University  
Ten Broeck, Dr. Carl, Rockefeller Institute, Princeton  
Stewart, Walter, Institute for Advanced Study  
Earle, Prof. Edward M., Institute for Advanced Study  
Munro, Prof. Dana G., School of Public and International Affairs  
Perkins, Prof. James A., School of Public and International Affairs

## Economics and Finance

Grady, Henry F., American Presidents Lines, San Francisco, Cal.  
Riefler, W. W., Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, N. J.  
(Carroll)  
Durand, E. Dana, U. S. Tariff Commission, Washington, D. C.  
Coolidge, T. Jefferson, 67 Milk St., Boston, Mass.  
Eastman, Lucius R., 110 Washington St., New York City  
Davis, Norman H., Prince St., Alexandria, Virginia  
Roberts, George E., Larchmont, New York  
Roberts, George E., Jr., National City Bank, New York City  
Day, President Edmund E., Cornell University, Ithaca, New York  
Domeretzsky, Louis, Department of Commerce, Washington, D. C.  
Williams, Prof. J. H., Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.  
Morgenthau, Henry, 1133 Fifth Avenue, New York City  
Viner, Prof. Jacob, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.  
Miller, Prof. Douglas, University of Denver, Denver, Colorado  
Ryder, Oscar P., United States Tariff Commission, Washington, D. C.  
Snyder, Dr. Carl, Treasury Department, Washington, D. C.  
Clark, Prof. J. M., Columbia University, New York City  
Hansen, Prof. Alvin H., 231 Littaner Center, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.  
King, Eldon P., Treasury Department, Washington, D. C.  
Clark, Reuben, 47 East Temple St., Salt Lake City, Utah  
Jay, Nelson D., c/o J. P. Morgan, Wall St., New York City  
Chalmers, Henry, Department of Commerce, Washington, D. C.  
Booth, Willis H., 140 Broadway, New York City  
Somervell, Col. Brebron B., War Department, Washington, D. C.  
Bidwell, Percy W., Council on Foreign Relations, 45 East 65th St., New York City  
Hunt, E. E., Riverside, Connecticut  
Willits, Prof. Joseph H., Rockefeller Foundation, Rockefeller Center, New York City  
Sprague, O. M. W., Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.  
Putnam, George R., Commissioner of Lighthouses, Dept. of Commerce, Washington, D.C.

Taylor, Alonzo E., Chamber of Commerce, Minneapolis, Minnesota  
Klein, Julius, Department of Commerce, Washington, D. C.  
Young, Arthur N., 1725 Chelsea Road, San Marino, California  
Jones, Grosvenor, 270 Massachusetts Ave., Washington, D. C.  
Hobson, Asher N., University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin  
Turkel, Harry R., State Department, Washington, D. C.  
Dewhurst, James F., Hillside, Riverdale, New York  
Fisher, Ernest M., Federal Housing Administration, Washington, D. C.  
Taylor, Amos, Department of Commerce, Washington, D. C.

## Economic (special)

Haberler, Prof. A., Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.  
Morgenstern, Prof. Oskar, 12 Nassau Street, Princeton, N. J.  
Tirana, Rifat, Federal Reserve Board, Washington, D. C.  
Condliffe, Prof. J. B., University of California, Berkeley, Calif.  
Nourse, E. G., Director of Institute of Economics, Brookings Institute, Washington, D.C.

## Health

Davison, Mr. Robert L., John B. Pierce Foundation, 40 West 40th St., New York City  
Ives, Dr. James E., Cosmos Club, Washington, D. C.  
Howell, Dr. William Henry, 112 St. Dunstons Road, Baltimore, Md.  
Parran, Dr. Thomas, U. S. Public Health Service, Washington, D. C.  
Cumming, Dr. Hugh S., Pan American Sanitary Bureau, Washington, D. C.  
Williams, Dr. C. L., Quarantine Service, U. S. Public Health Service, Staten Island, N.Y.  
Doisy, Dr. Edward A., St. Louis University School of Medicine, St. Louis, Missouri  
Sawyer, Dr. Wilbur A., Rockefeller Foundation, 49 West 49th St., New York City  
Blackfan, Dr. Kenneth D., Harvard University Medical School, 300 Longwood Ave., Boston, Mass.  
Nelson, Dr. E. M., Food and Drug Administration, Federal Security Agency, Washington, D.C.  
McCoy, Dr. George W., Louisiana State University School of Medicine, New Orleans, La.  
Fullerton, Dr. E., P. O. Box 163, Swarthmore, Penna.  
McCollum, Dr. E. V., Johns Hopkins University School of Medicine, Baltimore, Md.  
Stiebeling, Dr. Hazel K., Bureau of Home Economics, U.S. Dept. of Agriculture, Washington, DC  
Gregg, Dr. Alan, Rockefeller Foundation, 49 West 49th St., New York City  
Seidell, Dr. A., National Institute of Health, Washington, D. C.  
Eliot, Dr. Martha M., Children's Bureau, U. S. Department of Labor, Washington, D. C.  
Roche, Miss Josephine, 1642 Detroit Street, Denver, Colorado  
Sebrell, Dr. W. H., Jr., National Institute of Health, Bethesda, Maryland  
Winslow, Prof. C.-E. A., Yale University School of Medicine, 310 Cedar Street, New Haven, Conn.  
Waite, Prof. Warren C., College of Agriculture, Forestry, and Home Economics, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.  
Rowe, Dr. Harold B., Brookings Institute, Washington, D. C.  
Williams, Miss Faith, Bureau of Labor Statistics, U.S. Dept. of Labor, Washington, D.C.  
Emerson, Dr. Haven, DeLamar Institute of Public Health, Columbia University College of Physicians & Surgeons, 600 West 168th St., New York City  
Hamilton, Dr. Alice, Hadlyme Ferry, Hadlyme, Connecticut  
Stokes, Dr. John H., School of Medicine, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.  
Smith, Miss Sybil L., U.S. Dept. of Agriculture, Office of Experiment Stations, Washington  
Booher, Dr. Lela, Foods and Nutrition Division, U.S. Dept. of Agriculture, Washington, DC  
Riddle, Dr. Oscar, Carnegie Institution of Washington, Dept. of Genetics, Cold Spring Harbor, Long Island, New York  
Smith, Dr. Philip E., Columbia University, New York City  
Bates, Dr. R. W., Carnegie Institution of Washington, Washington, D. C.  
Dill, Dr. D. B., Harvard University Fatigue Laboratory, Morgan Hall, Boston, Mass.  
Atwater, Dr. R. M., American Public Health Association, 1790 Broadway, New York City  
Whittaker, Dr. H. A., Division of Sanitation, Minnesota Dept. of Health, Minneapolis, Minn.  
Strong, Dr. Richard Pearson, 107 Chestnut St., Boston, Mass.  
Evans, Dr. Herbert McLean, University of California, Berkeley, California  
Voegtlin, Dr. C., National Institute of Health, Washington, D. C.  
Harrison, Dr. W. T., National Institute of Health, Washington, D. C.  
Williams, Dr. L. L., Jr., National Institute of Health, Bethesda, Maryland  
Barber, Dr. M. A., Rockefeller Foundation, 49 West 49th St., New York City  
Small, Dr. Lyndon Frederick, National Institute of Health, U.S. Public Health Service, Bethesda, Maryland  
Steenbock, Prof. Harry, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.

### Social

Snow, Col. William  
Johnson, Major Bascom  
Lenroot, Miss Katharine F.  
Chamberlain, Prof. Joseph P.  
Warren, George L.  
McDonald, James G.  
Hazard, Henry B.  
Hurlbutt, Miss Mary E.  
Dale, Dr. Edgar  
Castendyck, Miss Elsa  
Kenyon, Miss Dorothy  
Ruble, Dr. George

### Opium

May, Herbert L.  
Anslinger, Harry J.  
Delano, Frederick A.  
Moorhead, Mrs. Howell  
Felkin, E  
Renborg, Bertil  
Steinig, L.

### Intellectual Cooperation

Shotwell, Dr. James T.  
Leland, Dr. W. G.  
Zook, George F.  
Davis, Malcolm W.  
Keppel, Fred  
Millikan, President R. A.  
Gay, E. F.  
Bishop, William Warner  
Davis, Mrs. Harvey N.  
Duggan, Dr. Stephen P.  
Krans, Dr. H.  
Armstrong, Hamilton Fish  
Jessup, Prof. Philip C.  
Miller, Harry  
Winlock, Herbert E.  
Wigmore, Dean John  
Kellogg, Vernon  
Kittredge, Tracy B.  
Bowman, President Isaiah  
Studebaker, Mr. John  
Emeny, Mr. Brooks  
Haskins, Mr. Halford L.  
Whitton, Prof. John B.  
Garnow, Prof. G.  
Goldsmit, Prof. S.  
vonNeumann, Prof. J.  
Wigner, Prof. E. P.

General

Wilson, Hugh R.  
McCoy, General Frank R., Foreign Policy Association, 22 East 38th St., New York  
Stimson, Hon. Henry L., War Department, Washington, D. C.  
Woolley, Dr. Mary E., Westport, New York  
Dulles, Allen W., 48 Wall Street, New York  
Blakeslee, Prof. George, Clark University, Worcester, Mass.  
Eichelberger, Clark, League of Nations Association, 8 West 40th St., New York  
Cherrington, Dr. Ben, University of Denver, Denver, Colorado  
Blaine, Mrs. Emmons, 101 East Erie St., Chicago, Ill.  
Laidlow, Mrs. James Lees, 60 East 66th St., New York  
Rowe, Dr. Leo S., Pan-American Union, Washington, D. C.  
Manship, Paul, 319 East 72nd St., New York  
Polk, Mr. Frank, 6 East 68th St., New York  
Wright, Prof. Quincy, 5744 Blackstone St., Chicago, Ill.  
Buell, Raymond Leslie, Fortune Magazine, Rockefeller Center, New York City  
Carter, E. C., Institute of Pacific Relations, 129 East 52nd St., New York  
Baker, Ray Stannard, Amherst, Mass.  
Haskell, Henry S., Carnegie Endowment, 407 West 117th St., New York  
Eagleton, Prof. Clyde, New York University, Washington Square, New York City  
Green, Roger S., League of Nations Association, 8 West 40th St., New York  
Wadsworth, Eliot, 49 Federal St., Boston, Mass.  
Wallace, Hon. Henry A., The Senate, Washington, D. C.  
Hudson, Judge Manley O., Harvard Law School, Cambridge, Mass.

Labor (The International Labor Organization list is being checked by Mr. Carter Goodrich).

1940

vert file "E"

6/7

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

Relations WOAI

SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS AND POLITICS  
(LEAGUE OF NATIONS)

Academic Organization

AYDELOTTE, F.

Biographic al

RIEFLE, W.

BRAKELY

<sup>AWs</sup>  
Aydelotte's memo on plan to bring Section to Princeton--  
Correspondence with Avenol.

Filed in Vertical File under "E" for School of Economics  
and Politics.

F. A. papers, 1/8/57

MEMORANDUM

June 7, 1940

At the suggestion of Mr. Riefler, a luncheon meeting was held today with the following men present: Mr. Brakelley, 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

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. 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

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.

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

Complete set of communications exchanged  
between Mr. Avenol, Secretary General of the  
League of Nations, and the Princeton organiza-  
tions extending the invitation to come to  
Princeton.

M.C.E.

Sent by CASH ?

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

*was this sent?  
→ sent it by mail  
→ sent letter  
→ sent 12. sent  
→ sent replaced  
→*

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, Director

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

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,

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, Director

C O P Y

Geneva 210 / 26 1525

July

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.

Yoursvery truly,

(Signed) Avenol, Secretary General

July 26, 1940

CABLE

Avenol  
Geneva

Cable received. Delighted. All preparations under way.

DODDS

Extra copies of communications exchanged  
between Mr. Avenol, Secretary General of  
the League of Nations, and the Princeton  
organizations extending the invitation to  
come to Princeton.

Discard

*Home of [unclear]*

July 26, 1940

CABLE

Avenol  
Geneva

Cable received. Delighted. All preparations under way.

DODDS

July 26, 1940

CABLE

Avenol  
Geneva

Cable received. Delighted. All preparations under way.

DODDS

C O P Y

July 23rd, 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 STOP I AM DISCUSSING WITH LOVEDAY  
POSSIBILITY OF SENDING HIM WITH STAFF

AVENOL

C O P Y

July 26  
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.

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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

DRAFT

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?

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Very sincerely yours,

Harold W. Dodds  
President, Princeton University

Carl Ten Broeck  
Director, Rockefeller Institute  
for Medical Research in Princeton

Frank Aydelotte  
Director, Institute for Advanced Study

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

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 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 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 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

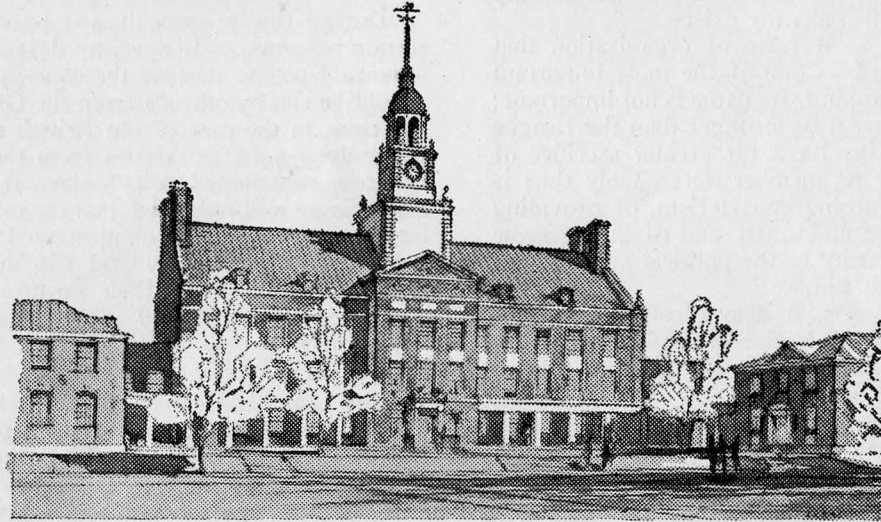
INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

Frank Aydelotte, Director

# 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

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.

Pres. Frank Aydelotte  
324 Cedar Lane  
Swarthmore, Pa.

# CHANGING WORLD

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JANUARY, 1941

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## The League's Birthday

Arthur Sweetser

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## Buy Something British

Christopher T. Emmet, Jr.

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## Europe; Free or Slave

Benjamin Gerig

---

## France Will Win Out

Louis Dolivet

---

## Fruits of Relativity?

Pennington Haile

---

Ten Cents a Copy

One Dollar a Year

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# The League's Birthday

By ARTHUR SWEETSER

ON JANUARY 10 the League of Nations reached its twenty-first anniversary amidst a world in flames, its principles grossly violated, its work almost at a standstill, its seat at Geneva largely isolated, its staff reduced by 599 officials in a year, a skeleton group of some half hundred holding the front line at Geneva, a dozen economic and financial experts established at Princeton, a half dozen opium officials in Washington, and the remaining half hundred International Labor officials in Montreal.

Difficult it is to imagine anything more completely the antithesis of what was anticipated when the League came into being on January 10, 1920, with the entry into force of the Peace Treaties formally concluding the first world war. Two questions must be put by any earnest student of world life: First, does this startling upheaval mean that the past twenty-one years have been fruitless; second, does it indicate that there is no hope for recovery?

The answer in both cases is most emphatically No. The League's experience during this brief twinkling of time constitutes one of the most precious assets of human development and one of the encouraging prognostications for the future. What is really astonishing is the carelessness and thoughtlessness which has led many people to feel that this experiment in human relations, unquestionably the most ambitious and far-reaching ever attempted in the long progress of mankind, should come to complete success in its very first effort and exorcise the practice of armed conflict between men which dates back to the very origins of history.

The loosest thinking being done in the world today is, indeed, on the most vital of all subjects—world peace. The public has become befuddled by panaceas and short cuts. Some urge that all that is necessary is to crawl into a hole and pull the hole in after them; others that all we have to do is to outlaw war and let it go at that; still others that it is enough to organize on some new magic basis, leaving the mechanism to run by itself in a vacuum.

The incompleteness and falsity of such thinking has been irrefutably demonstrated in the League's first twenty-one years. These years have proved that not one, or even two, but at least three elements are essential to world peace: a basic code of law and morality, a mechanism of negotiation and execution, and a consecration to make that mechanism work on the basis of the agreed law. Peace is an almost incredibly intricate and complex problem; it requires ceaseless effort over every possible avenue. Until men and women everywhere realize this and substitute real effort for peace in place of mere wishing or praying, war will continue to conscript both their persons and their property.

The League's first twenty-one years have demonstrated that organized international cooperation on a large scale is possible, practicable. A paraphernalia of government far more complete than realized has, in fact, been created at Geneva—annual Assembly, quarterly Council, permanent Secretariat, Permanent Court, International Labor Office, and special institutes or

committees on every conceivable subject: economics, finance, transit, raw materials, health, nutrition, housing, drug traffic, prostitution, child welfare, intellectual cooperation, even to the preservation of whales.

The situation after the present war will require infinitely more rather than less organized international cooperation. In the interval between wars, the world has grown incomparably closer together, its highways more congested, its needs of a traffic system greater. Industry is reaching ever further afield, population pressing to the last frontier, ideology becoming worldwide. Nations are spreading out alarmingly: Germany over Europe, Russia from the Baltic to the Black Sea, Japan through Eastern Asia, even the United States in both Atlantic and Pacific. The choice is clear: cooperation or collision.

But peace cannot be had for nothing. It demands constant effort and sacrifice both of sovereignty and egotism. No league, federation or other agency can carry all the way through to the prevention of war, unless it is supported to the limit by governments and peoples consecrated to peace as they are now consecrated to war. The time has gone when world peace can be left to one side as a poor sister.

Already signs of an awakening are coming. People are beginning to demand some vision and goal beyond mere armaments and conflict. A year ago the Pope, in a courageous and precise statement, declared that "international institutions must be created or recast to insure the loyal and faithful execution of international agreements." Just recently President Roosevelt has sketched out new objectives of peace. A flood of speculation and discussion has begun. League supporters, despite the difficulties of the moment, are entitled to feel that this greatest of all battles in human organization has only just started and that every force of morality, decency, and common sense is on their side. The League is still firmly in being; it stands ready, even though battered, for the post-war crises which will be hardly less dangerous than the war crises; it asks not for the same, but for a better, stronger, and more solid organization next time. It reaches its twenty-first birthday with a priceless experience behind it and all the world's future before it.

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"WE ARE FIGHTING chaos and anarchy. We must plan order and government.

"The principles of peace are imposed upon us as was this war. If we know what we are fighting against, we know what we are fighting for.

"The two enemies of civilization are: aggression and neutrality. The two principles for peace are: (a) the repudiation of neutrality; (b) the universality of the consciousness and membership in the body of that repudiation.

"The myth of isolation is out on both counts. The mere negative renunciation of war without commitments to guard the peace is equally out."

—WARWICK CHIPMAN, K.C.

*League of Nations Society of Canada*

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

Dear Dr. Aydelotte:

I think you will be interested to glance at the attached "Brief Statement on the Activities of the League of Nations and Its Organs in 1940-1941," just received from Geneva from the Acting Secretary General, Mr. Sean Lester. It gives a picture of the present situation of the League which is particularly valuable in view of occasional misstatements that the League is not functioning at all; also, a philosophy for the future, and on pages 12 and 13 an account of the "Mission to Princeton" which you helped make possible.

May I also give you a brief report of the gratifying results attending the pamphlet issued after the meeting of American experts associated with League work, which the University, the Institute for Advanced Study and the Rockefeller Institute convened last spring? Most important, undoubtedly, was the reprinting by the Carnegie Endowment of the entire pamphlet in the September issue of "International Conciliation" which automatically gave it a further circulation of around 25,000 copies. The League of Nations Association also ordered a special reprint of 2,000 copies to send to its branch offices and officers throughout the country and to certain special people. The California Branch of the Association, the National Policy Committee, and a school in Long Beach, California, all requested 100 copies.

Of the individual requests, the most interesting was a cable from Hon. Philip J. Noel-Baker, M. P., who had just recently been made Chairman of the Committee on Post-War Problems of the Labour Party and who asked for 100 copies, which were courteously forwarded by the British Embassy. Similarly, and apart from the distribution to the Boards of the three inviting institutions, certain participants in the Conference made a special distribution: you and I about 150 each, Mr. Henry Grady and Mr. Mitchell Carroll 50 each, and Mr. Herbert May a smaller number. Bulk requests were also received from two professors not present at the meeting: Professor Charles E. Martin of Washington University and Professor Kenneth Colegrove of Northwestern University. In addition requests were received from the following libraries: Denver Public, Western Reserve, Danville, Illinois, Emkay Associates, North Arlington, New Jersey, Penn State, Harvard, Charlottesville, Carnegie Endowment, Denver University, Northwestern, New York University, New York State, Albany, and Yale Law School.

I hope that this information will prove gratifying to you and that you will feel that this meeting had results far beyond the immediate session of those present.

Cordially yours,

*Arthur Sweetser*

December 8, 1941

## CORRECTING A FALSE IMPRESSION ABOUT THE LEAGUE

On November 23, The New York Times published a letter which seems to us to be the best report on the present status of the League of Nations that we have seen. The letter, dated November 17, was written by Mr. Arthur Sweetser, who, as a member of the League Secretariat since 1919, has been intimately associated with its development. It not only shows the present status of the League, but also indicates why, although the League's publishing program has been greatly curtailed, International Documents Service considers it essential to carry forward its part in the international program. We are therefore passing part of Mr. Sweetser's letter along to those who may have missed it in The New York Times.

"...Several recent statements from widely different and otherwise well-informed sources have intimated that the League of Nations and its many activities have passed from the scene and are now entirely out of the picture. The impression is not only wholly wrong, but will be challenged by many who cannot accept the totalitarians' constant claim that all mankind's gains in the last war have been swept into the discard. While obviously no agency of peaceful cooperation can function normally in a society at war, nevertheless it is important to see that, with courage and support, it can remain in being, perform certain valuable tasks and be ready to serve fully the moment law and order are restored. Not to see this is not to see a ray of hope on the horizon -- to deny ourselves an element of the strength we need to carry us through the crisis.

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

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

"League headquarters remain open at Geneva, not 'deserted' as sometimes pictured. Despite all discouragement, difficulty, even apparent abandonment, a nucleus of eighty officials are on duty in the magnificent building which is the sole common possession of the nations. Some are maintaining the central services and records of the international community; others are following general developments, particularly as regards post-war world organization; a dozen or so are analyzing certain of the world's economic and financial problems; others, in cooperation with the Singapore Bureau, are assembling data on the all-important health, epidemic and nutrition developments; still others are following specific League responsibilities regarding mandates, communications, drugs, and social problems, while the Rockefeller Library, receiving publications from both sides in the war, bids fair to be one of the best stocked in Europe.

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

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

"Thirdly and finally, the nations will, for the first time in history, have at their service after this war an organized agency of international cooperation. That agency will have been crippled, to be sure, by the world's previous short-sightedness, it may have to be re-adjusted to new conditions, but the essential fact is that it will be there to build around and to serve."

A League of Nations (Invitation  
to Econ Group)

# 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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(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

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 kindness 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

“A glorious adventure in peaceful progress and fruitful cooperation for social benefit” was the description of the League’s health work given by Dr. Frank G. Boudreau, Member of the League’s Health Section for twelve years and now 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** 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.

MR. HERBERT L. MAY  
“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 Guerro 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 Oliván 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."

D Loh Capman  
April 19-20 1941

Mr. Sweetser's summaries of the  
speeches, prepared for publication in  
a pamphlet entitled "World Organization"

FOREWORD

For twenty years, during the two decades between World Wars, a succession of Americans had 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 most complete and effective cross-section of international life.

Some made only a single ~~mission~~<sup>trip</sup>; others crossed regularly each year; some took up residence abroad. Some went as individual experts; some went as American government representatives; some went as international officers.

Together they ~~undoubtedly~~<sup>probably</sup> 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 last summer, 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 ~~last~~ 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 at the number and the variety of ~~these~~ ~~that~~ to be invited and gratified at a response which was double that anticipated.

Three main sessions were held. The opening session 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 E. 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 and final session was a lunch at the Princeton Inn, presided by Mr. Arthur Sweetser, Director in the Secretariat at Geneva temporarily established at Princeton, and 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 such work 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."

Just at the close, 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 immediately replied expressing the gratitude of himself and his colleagues for the encouragement given them by the confidence <sup>shown</sup> in the future and renewing his appreciation of the spirit of friendly hospitality and comradeship shown his colleagues in Princeton.

W E L C O M E

President Harold E. Dodds of Princeton University

President Harold E. Dodds

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. To many of us who have become case-hardened to reunions in the spring, the character of this one is distinctly unusual. For you, it is a reunion of the spirit; for us who are permitted to join with you, it is a real opportunity and pleasure.

"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.'

"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. I hope they feel we have in some measure fulfilled our promises to them.

"In this reunion the old adage 'In time of peace prepared 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 inter-

national 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 now now be facing the situation we are facing.

"We Americans/<sup>are</sup>perhaps more familiar with the work of the Section now in Princeton than with other League work. We know its intelligence and reporting work and appreciate how thorough and helpful it has been. We have come to realize that, like disease and drugs, business cycles do not follow 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 American nation and individual, the political lines are all but dissolved.

"When it comes to increasing international cooperation, we have also learned how easy it is to draft blueprints which by some curious twist in human nature just will not work. In health matters, of course, the issue is obvious; everyone agrees it is desirable. The activities in public health and welfare centered at Geneva 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."

R E S P O N S E

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

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

"We felt it to be of great importance that a League office on this side should be established at an educational center. We had hoped that it might make a contribution to American education and tonight we see an evidence of 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. This embarrassment was broken in the case of the Labor Office when the United States became a member and her representatives came over proud to represent their country and its institutions. Not until today, however, have Americans associated in this whole complex of work met in the same room or with the consciousness of all working together for a single common purpose.

"Few people, I fear, 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 a 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, all of it, I may say I hope not tactlessly, in the western hemisphere. 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 a sum representing what would be its share of the Court's expenses. The fact that the League has been able to meet the financial strain is a compliment both to those responsible for the Treasury and to the efforts of economy on all sides. 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 for the second time 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 to international collaboration. The data which has been assembled, the traditions which have been built up, the experience in large-scale international administration which has been acquired could not disappear without tremendous loss to the international community. Whatever be the future of the world, the need for intelligent cooperation between states will be greater than it ever has been.

The greatest weakness of the League in these past twenty years, stressed in every important discussion on the subject, has been its lack of universality.

First, of course, the United States were not members, and when Germany, Japan, Italy, and later Russia, left, it became even more difficult to fulfil obligations based on universality. In the discussions in the Committee of Twenty-eight and in the Sixth Commission, you will find as a leit motif for every weakness this lack of universality.

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. In Norway we have a saying that every good business is started during the bad years. We are trying now to cement the foundations of League work, making it possible for the average man to see it as a tangible reality. The work being done in Princeton, Washington, and Montreal should contribute greatly to that end.

The opportunities afforded on this side of the Atlantic may mean more for the future than any of us today realize. The more I see of the work under way and contemplated, the more I am impressed with its importance. No Peace Treaty can be satisfactorily prepared unless the necessary documentation is at hand. The last great treaty was concluded without sufficient expert advice outside the political and military fields; no adequate preparation had been made to meet the colossal difficulties resulting from the demobilization of millions of men or the readjustment of wartime production to peacetime production.

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. We hope it will be spurred all along

the line by meetings such as this. In the present hour of darkness, it is essential to build in full confidence for the future of mankind. We are profoundly grateful to the three Princeton institutions and the Rockefeller Foundation for their far-sighted understanding and cooperation. We trust that one day they will find that their every contribution to international work has been like bread thrown upon the waters which will come back to repay them manifold.

## E C O N O M I C S

A summary of the problems of the League's Economic Hon. Henry F. Grady 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 1937, and its first American Chairman.

"The period between the two wars was not a period of economic peace," Mr. Grady said. "Except for the middle twenties, 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 rehabilitate the world economic system on a basis which would give security, prosperity and social peace; the history of the various technical committees is a history 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 economic warfare and regimentation; 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 would be 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 reversal to totalitarian methods practised before military warfare broke out. It is not surprising that those of us who hoped to get Germany to accept the philosophy of the 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 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 surpluses. She does not allow the balance of trade to be against her. Under her barter system, there would be no transfer of funds except in payment for German goods. A country with such a control of trade could easily determine another's economic development. So the 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 economic 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 suggested the possibility of the two systems getting along together, but our Committee was loath to study the question because obviously it meant studying 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 other 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."

S T A T I S T I C S

Never in history, according to Mr. E. Dana Durand, Mr. E. Dana Durand Chairman 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. ~~Yet despite this, the League's statistical organization has accomplished far better results than could have been anticipated.~~

"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 following year it 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, <sup>it</sup> 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 occupying the highest positions in their national statistical services. It has met annually at Geneva, with frequent sub-committees and much correspondence, and made 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 and the Statistical Yearbook, and a number of other publications such as 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. "

Leon Dec '43

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED AT CONFERENCE IN PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY  
DECEMBER 11 AND 12, 1943

A group of American citizens who have been officially associated in various capacities with nearly every branch of work of the League of Nations, meeting December 11-12 in Princeton, N. J. to consider studies which have been under way for several months to determine, first what contribution the League of Nations can best make to the postwar settlement, and secondly, what should be the attitude of the American people toward the League of Nations:

1. Welcomes the Moscow Declaration calling for a "general international organization."
2. Welcomes the subsequent Senate Resolution endorsing the Moscow Declaration as this endorsement promises to prevent a repetition of the deadlock which paralyzed United States Government action in 1919 and in subsequent years.
3. Urges the United States Government in cooperation with other governments at the first opportunity to take steps to implement the Moscow Declaration and the Senate Resolution for a general international organization.
4. Supports the action of the United States Government in initiating special United Nations Conferences on Food and Agriculture and on Relief and Rehabilitation which have resulted in the establishment of international organizations.
5. Expresses the hope that as other needs develop other conferences will follow as rapidly as possible on such specific questions as currency stabilization, aviation, shipping, etc.
6. Also welcomes the action of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Council in inviting the technical organizations of the League of Nations and the International Labor Organization to send representatives to participate in the Atlantic City Conference and in all other appropriate future work and conferences, thus developing effective coordination in the work of these international agencies. The group also notes with appreciation that the Interim Commission on Food and Agriculture has invited representatives of the technical organizations of the League of Nations to participate in the work of the Interim Commission whenever appropriate.

The group urges that the United States Government give particular attention to the following considerations:

1. Full recognition and support of League agencies continuing to function during the war, including particularly those on American soil, such as the Economic and Financial Mission at Princeton and the Drug Supervisory Body in Washington.
2. Adherence to the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice as recommended by every President and Secretary of State since the Court's creation in 1922.

The group also urges the appropriate authorities of the League of Nations and of the United Nations to give early consideration to the necessity of coordinating the international agencies developed after the first World War with those developing during the present war for the purpose of assuring continuity and of benefiting from the experience of nearly a quarter century of international work.

The group emphasizes the necessity of developing an effective system of collective security.

In implementing these resolutions the group urges that account be taken of the following principles arising from the twenty-year experience of the League of Nations in the period between wars:

A. As regards international organization and administration

1. That the nations of the world have reached the point where a cooperative organization is not only desirable but essential for a host of activities which have reached the international stage.
2. That that organization should be universal in character and built around one central authority as representative of the broad interests of the whole community of nations.
3. That that organization may have affiliated agencies organized either (a) on a regional basis, or (b) on a subject basis.
4. That any such affiliated agencies should be fully autonomous within their particular fields but should operate within the cooperative framework of the central organization, with proper allocation of funds, and documentation between themselves and the central organization.

5. That independent or uncorrelated agencies tend to build up a separatist attitude which militates against the free cooperation which should exist between all agencies seeking peace and progress amongst nations.
6. That, on the contrary, closely coordinated agencies can often pool their experience or facilities to the greatest advantage.

B. As regards security, prevention of war, sanctions, peaceful settlement and disarmament

1. That problems of security and prevention of aggression have an urgency and compulsion which put them in a different category from other, more normal and more slow-moving international problems and thus offer the possibility of a different, or even separate method of treatment.
2. That such problems depend primarily on the Great Powers and their willingness to take a positive position, and that, unless all the principal military powers agree on concerted measures, any really effective action in a major crisis is extremely difficult, if not impossible.
3. That, contrary to a wide-spread view, the smaller powers also have great importance in this basic problem, whether as areas of conflict or as support for the principle of collective security and also for specific action.
4. That the existence of a common agency of disinterested mediation can appreciably improve the chances of settlement of international disputes, as demonstrated in the Aaland Islands, Greek-Bulgar, Peru-Columbia and Paraguay-Bolivia conflicts.
5. That such an agency, again contrary to common belief, is susceptible of very quick action and can be brought into operation in a few days' time, as in the Greek-Bulgar affair.
6. That its effectiveness can be measured in very direct ratio to the degree of force known to be behind it.
7. That, in the event of aggression, it is definitely possible, and indeed far easier than thought, to get a large number of nations to pass a verdict of guilty on the aggressor state, as in the case of Japan and Italy.
8. That in the event of agreement of principle, it is technically possible and even not too difficult, to organize economic sanctions on a worldwide scale, as in the Italo-Ethiopian conflict.
9. That the question whether or not such agreement will be reached is again primarily a question of the Great Powers, as demonstrated negatively in the Sino-Japanese affair.

10. That, if sanctions are initiated, they must be initiated in direct relation to the probable course of military events and become effective before the military goal is achieved, as was not the case in the Italo-Ethiopian conflict.
11. That lack of an effective system of collective security is the greatest single element underlying other causes of disunity between nations, notably heavy armaments and uneconomic tariff barriers.
12. That, conversely, armaments are the result rather than the cause of political insecurity and their reduction should be sought primarily through the removal of their causes rather than on a gun-for gun mathematical basis.
13. That once disarmament is agreed to, adequate measures of supervision and control can be set up to prevent abuse or violation of agreement.
14. That, if there is to be any hope of improving the world political situation by peaceful change recommended by the community of nations, there must be a change in the unanimity rule which made such action impossible in the 1919-1939 period.

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COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY  
League of Nations Association  
8 West 40th Street  
New York 18, New York

# The League of Nations and Post-War Settlement

Recommendations of a group of American citizens  
who have been closely associated with the League

THE adoption of the Four-Power Declaration of Moscow and the passage of the Connally Resolution by the United States Senate calling for a "general international organization" throw into sharp relief the question of the contribution which the League of Nations can make to the great problems of the future. Over two hundred and fifty American citizens have at various times and often for long periods participated officially in different phases of the work of the League. As many as could be reached met at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, New Jersey, December 11-12, 1943, on invitation from the League of Nations Association, to consider the relation of the League of Nations to the present situation.

The background for that Conference was laid in a series of eighteen studies which were initiated by a Committee of Inquiry set up by the League of Nations Association. Each study was prepared by an American citizen associated with the work of the League, and each deals with a particular phase of its work, such as security, reduction of armaments, economic and financial problems, the drug traffic, mandates, health and general principles of international organization.

Through the cooperation of the Woodrow Wilson Foundation and the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace arrangements are now being made for the publication of these studies in book form. Meanwhile the Committee of Inquiry makes available the full text of the resolutions adopted at the Princeton Conference, believing them to be important as embodying conclusions reached by the Americans best qualified to speak concerning the relation of the League of Nations to the post-war settlement.

## TEXT OF RESOLUTIONS

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