

# THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

## Historical Studies - Social Science Library

ITEMS REMOVED : MITRANY, DAVID - PERMANENT MEMBER 1946

1) "The Londoner's Diary," Evening Standnard, May 2, 1946.

2) "International Consequences of National Planning," by David Mitrany,  
The Yale Review, date not specified.

December 23, 1946

Dear Walter:

Marie and I are going off on Wednesday for a holiday in Florida to return at the end of January. It is just possible that Mitrany will get here before we return. I am asking Miss Richardson to send you notice of his arrival and leave it to you and your colleagues to take care of him.

Yours sincerely,

Frank Aydelotte

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

TELEPHONE: CENTRAL 7474

UNILEVER HOUSE,

BLACKFRIARS, E.C.4.

17th December, 1946.

*Dear Miss Horton,*

A little while ago Hattie Kennedy wrote me that you had taken her place at the Institute and I am looking forward to the pleasure of meeting you. I am sorry to trouble you with all sorts of things already in advance of our meeting, and I apologise for this, but as you know my things were left in somewhat of a muddle when I was detained by the outbreak of the war. She may have written to you about one or two things, and the one thing which I was anxious to find out was whether you could perhaps lay your hands on a black winter overcoat with a grey wool lining, which I left behind. I have no other winter overcoat here and I am not looking forward to facing the winds of Boston without one. If therefore the coat is readily available, I wondered whether you could kindly arrange to send it to Mr. E.C. Carter at the Institute of Pacific Relations (1, East 54th Street, New York) with whom I am going to stay the night on my landing in New York.

I am due to sail on the Queen Elizabeth on January 11th and will be going first to Cambridge, where my address will be, c/o Professor Huntington, 48, Highland Street, <sup>Cambridge</sup>. I hope to come to Princeton at the end of January and I believe that Mrs Marquand is kindly going to take me in, at least for the first part of my stay. Is there any hope of finding a room at the Princeton Inn for the rest of my stay, that is to the end of February?

Please accept my thanks in advance for all your friendly help and my good wishes for Christmas and the New Year,

*Sincerely yours*  
*D. Mitrany*

Miss Horton,  
Fuld Hall,  
Princeton,  
NEW JERSEY,  
U. S. A.

Private

Memorandum on a Study in Politics

I. Politics is the most venerable and inclusive of all the social sciences, but in method it has remained the most backward of them. The other social sciences have branched off from politics, as traditionally conceived, and on doing so each one has had to create a method of its own - as in this field, method is hardly separable from doctrine and purpose. Economics, especially, through the intense work and interest devoted to it during the past hundred years, has been able to develop methods which embolden its practitioners to aspire to the achievements of a pure science.

Politics, however, as studied and taught still, has remained in the main an accumulation of doctrines - interesting but mostly irrelevant. Higher teaching in the Universities still is based on a scholastic exposition of that miscellany of old doctrines; and in so far as new doctrines are put forward, they work for the most with the norms of the old.

The only change in recent years has been an attempt to develop a positive method, through the quantitative analysis of certain isolated factors and situations (pressure groups, voting frequency, measurements of public opinion, and so on). The instrument has been elementary, and the method hardly related or relatable to any systematic general theory. One should mention also the attempts at a psychological approach, in which Graham Wallas has been a pioneer. Though empirical, the studies in that group have been stimulating; but as a general method this approach must wait on the development of the psychological instrument with which it works.

Politics, therefore, though the cardinal social science, is still in search of a scientific method. That protracted adolescence goes a long way to explain the ease with which so many esoteric doctrines have been propagated



in recent years; even the most self-willed dictators, it seems, having felt the need to legitimize their rule by wedding it to a formal doctrine. These are ephemeral phenomena. More significant is the hold which the materialistic doctrine, in its Marxian setting, has acquired of late; so much so that it now dominates the minds of those who oppose it as much as the minds of those who support it.

There are a number of momentary reasons for that. But the main reason is that the materialistic doctrine, as elaborated by Marx, is at present the only one providing certain universal concepts which can be used in combination with a factual analysis satisfying modern ways of study - the only one, that is, which can lay some claim to a scientific status. That reputation and influence is the more significant because the Marxian framing of the materialistic doctrine has really vitiated the scientific claims of the method in two respects. It has decreed in advance that the economic factor is the determining element in political life and change, and in that degree has prejudiced both the working of the method and its results. It has, secondly, introduced the notion of the class struggle as the spring of all social action, thus injecting into its whole system a teleological element which must elude any attempt at positive analysis.

II. Is it possible to find a fresh approach to Politics which should lift this ancient discipline out of this scholastic stagnation; - an approach which should have a solid philosophical core, so as to permit a statement of theory in sufficiently universal terms; which should be capable of applying the tests of positive analysis to the history of government, as well as to the facts and problems of government; and whose results shall not depend for their significance on dogmatic apriorisms like 'class struggle' and 'democracy', 'individual liberty' and 'national sovereignty'?

Having gone over the field again during the past two years with this question in mind, with excursions in one or two specific directions as a test, I am inclined to believe that such a fresh approach is possible; and various scholars with whom I have discussed my tentative hypothesis have encouraged me in that belief.

The argument which leads up to that working hypothesis can be stated briefly.

Government, as an institution and as an act, has never been an end in itself. Men did not gather in communities in order to set up certain political institutions; they gathered for certain social ends, for the better performance of certain common functions, and institutions were set up to facilitate that performance. Government has been a framework destined to enable the social life of a community to unfold itself peacefully and progressively (just as the buildings which so dominate our landscape are but protection for the real life which goes on within them).

Social life has ever been in a state of flux, in its needs and in its means. To perform their function adequately, forms and rules of government have continually had to adapt themselves to that evolution; and every political doctrine, though argued in universal terms, has really been concerned with some such specific problem of change, either approving it or opposing it. Marxian theory says that all that is the expression and result of a continuous class struggle. But if the influence of princes grew in times of political crisis, that of the soldiers in time of war, and that of the bankers and traders when economic action was pressing - was it because their class was momentarily in the ascendant or because their function was then predominant? If rules interfered at times less and at times more with social

activities, was it because of changing political fortunes or changing theoretical fashions; or was it because social conditions and problems called in a varying degree for common action and control? It seems <sup>possible</sup> to hold that the active element in the history of political institutions has been not their form but their function.

The methodological problem suggested by that premise is to find the correlation between the forms of government and the functions of government. If such a correlation, sufficiently general and substantial, can be discovered, we should at last have an inductive method capable of building up a systematic body of political knowledge, and from this in turn find the means to formulate a body of political 'laws'.

III. Not the least merit of such a functional approach, in so far as the hypothesis works true, is that it would not be bound in advance by either doctrinal or territorial limitations. By its very nature it would ~~be~~ <sup>pass over</sup> ~~away with~~ the wholly dogmatic division between municipal and international political theory. The now much-discussed problem of Security might serve as an illustration.

A study of it on those lines, following up its evolution through history, would probably show a continuous functional correlation between the nature of the social group and the means used to protect it: - from the self-contained city life protected by city walls the function of security gradually moved to the self-contained national life protected by national military establishments. But then an unnatural break between means and ends happened. At a certain period in history social life overflowed beyond the limits of the national territory, but 'security' did not follow suit; it remained bound to national means and to a national scale. At the

same time, and no doubt for the same reasons, its whole sense changed. It came to be looked upon no longer as a political function but as a political prerogative; and the State, from having been an instrument of security, to protect social life, became the chief object of security, to which for that purpose all social life had to be subordinated.

A functional study of Security would reveal when and how the break happened. The method thus seems capable of taking naturally in its stride, without special deviation, both the physiology and the pathology of political institutions, so to speak; and it will be seen from the above reference to the State how through positive analysis the method leads up, directly and rationally, to the theoretical position.

The summary example used above indicates the lines to be followed in the preliminary studies. It is neither necessary nor desirable to attack the whole field from the outset. The method makes it possible to select certain 'functions' and to study them separately; and these first sectional studies will provide the means both to develop the method and to test it. That should be a sufficient task for the current academic year and the next - a task which because of its experimental nature must be kept in limited hands. If by the end of that period the method has proved itself, and in the process has become sufficiently perfected for more general use, then it would be timely to widen its application to the field with the cooperation of a group of workers.

The analytical work involved will of necessity be considerable. The sectional studies must rest upon a thorough historical analysis; and while they will have to rely in that upon existing material, most of the material will have to be re-grouped and recast for the purpose of this approach. At the same time, the workers will have to watch continuously for any new fact or view

which may throw fresh light on the relations between social life and government, in a particular function or in a particular period. The characteristic aim of the method is to reconstruct the meaning of institutions of government - not descriptively, from texts and forms, but functionally: as the active nervous system of all political community, affecting and being affected by every aspect of social life.

D. M.



CROSS REFERENCE

Memo from W.W. Stewart to Mrs. Katherine Russell

RE Stipend for Mr. Mitrany

See School of Economics and Politics

December 14, 1946

Miss Kathleen Harris  
Political and Economic Planning  
16 Queen Anne's Gate  
London, S.W.1, England

Dear Miss Harris:

I am most grateful to you for sending me  
this copy of the November 15th issue of "Plan-  
ning" at the request of Professor Mitrany. I  
shall study it with the greatest interest.

Yours sincerely,

Frank Aydelotte

Copy to Professor Mitrany

November 30, 1946

Dr. David Mitrany  
Unilever House  
Blackfriars  
London E.C.4, England

Dear Mitrany:

Many thanks for your letter of November 27th. We are going away on Christmas Day, expecting to return to the Institute at the end of January. I am sorry not to be here to welcome you when you arrive but when we do return we hope very much to have a visit from you in our house.

I think it extremely likely that they will want you to lecture at Princeton and I shall make some inquiries immediately.

Meanwhile we have a custom here at the Institute which you could not know about since it has grown up since you went away. When we have a distinguished guest we invite a lot of people to tea and ask him to speak informally and to answer questions after tea. The questions are always extraordinarily interesting and we always suggest to the speaker that he talk only briefly so as to allow plenty of chance for inquiries. Once or twice we have even had no speech and only questions. I want to say right off that we shall certainly expect to give a tea in your honor, inviting perhaps a hundred people from Princeton University and I hope you will think up some provocative remarks to make.

Looking forward with great pleasure to your visit,  
I am

Yours sincerely,

Frank Aydelotte

TELEPHONE: CENTRAL 7474

UNILEVER HOUSE,

BLACKFRIARS, E.C.4.

27th November, 1946.

*Dear Mr. Aydelotte,*

You will probably be going soon for your winter vacation and I thought I should let you know that the date of sailing still is January 11th. I shall be going to Cambridge first for about ten days and towards the end of January will come to Princeton. Mrs Marquand has kindly written, but I am rather distressed to think that my visit in the present circumstances of grand life in Princeton may actually cause some inconvenience to my friends.

Because of these circumstances I have not written to anyone at Princeton to ask whether they would wish me to give any lectures. I do not want to burden their programme, but neither would I wish them to think that I am disinclined to do anything during my visit. May I leave it to you, if you think it proper, to mention that if they wish it I could lecture on the Problem of International Organisation or Sovereignty and International Organisation (in a non-juridical way) or the Rights of Man and International Organisation? All these are subjects from the book on which I am working. I do not like giving lectures on topical problems, but of course I would not mind speaking to private groups or seminars on such subjects.

My very good wishes to you and Mrs Aydelotte and Bill for the holidays and the New Year. You must know how much I am looking forward to seeing you all again

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

*Always yours sincerely**D. Mitrany*

# PEP (POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC PLANNING)

Station: St. James's Park  
Telephone: Whitehall 7245 and 7246

16 Queen Anne's Gate  
London, S.W.1

26th November, 1946

Dear Sir,

The enclosed issue of PLANNING is sent you at the request of Professor David Mitrany.

It is the latest in the series of PLANNING broad-sheets produced by P E P, which is a non-party, fact-finding organisation, composed of people drawn from a very wide range of professions and industries who are interested in the objective study of the economic and social problems which confront this country, and who contribute voluntarily their practical knowledge to that end.

PLANNING is published every three weeks and is obtainable in the U.S.A. from the office of the New Republic, 40 East 49th Street, New York City, for an annual subscription of \$4.50.

Yours very truly,

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

*Kathleen Harris*



October 14, 1946

Dear Mitrany:

I wrote to Mrs. Marquand and enclose her reply. I note that she intends to write to you and if she doesn't, I think you might, a little later, send her a line letting her know about your plans. She has taken a delightful interest in the government houses which we are erecting east of the Institute, and I need not say how deeply we appreciate her help.

This has been an extremely busy place this Fall, what with our own members and the stream of visitors who have come for the Princeton Bicentennial and who pay us a visit at the same time. I think you will find a lively and stimulating atmosphere when you come over in January.

Yours sincerely,

FA:kr

Frank Aydelotte

Professor David Mitrany  
Unilever House  
Blackfriars  
London E.C. 4, England

October 2, 1946

Professor David Mitrany  
Unilever House  
Blackfriars  
London E.C. 4, England

Dear Mitrany:

Many thanks for your letter of September 25th. It would be very convenient to us if you went to Mrs. Marquand first since I have had practically no holiday this summer and am determined to spend the month of January in Florida. I am writing to Mrs. Marquand today to say that you are coming. I am, of course, not asking her to take you in but I hope she will think of that on her own account.

I apologize for the whole Institute faculty, myself included, for lack of acknowledgment of your book "American Interpretations." I received the copies safely, distributed them among your friends in our faculty but things have literally been so hectic here that no one has been able to do anything that he would really like to do. We are blessed this year with the largest and most distinguished membership we have ever had. In addition Princeton University is holding a long series of conferences in celebration of its 200th Anniversary and we are simply inundated with distinguished visitors at a time when the housing shortage is acute and service very difficult to obtain.

The Institute is bringing down from the Adirondacks 38 surplus Government apartments which are brand new and have never been lived in. The contractor is sawing them to pieces and moving them down here with incredible speed so that when you arrive in January you will see them in all their glory. Meanwhile members of the Institute are sleeping in their offices on the fourth floor, members of the Faculty are opening up guest rooms and we are literally at our wits end to take care of our visitors. We rush from conferences on the frontiers of science to deal with Princeton landladies on the subject of admitting children. Certainly conditions as I saw them in Oxford were no worse than they are in Princeton.

With kindest regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

FA:jsr

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PLEASE ADDRESS REPLY TO

25th September, 1946.

DEPARTMENT

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

Dear Aydelotte,

I am very grateful for your kind note and still more for your friendly invitation that I should stay part of the time during my visit at your house. I should, of course, like to do so if it is not any inconvenience.

If Mrs. Marquand should be in town when I arrive and wants me, I should like to go there first. When I first came to Princeton, Mrs. Marquand literally picked me out of the street, and she and her children have always treated me as if I were part of the family. We shall be able to arrange all this in due course.

Can you solve for me a little mystery? Towards the end of April last I sent you six copies of my little book of "American Interpretations" by air-mail, quite frankly thinking that, apart from wishing to see the book, it might be helpful<sup>to me</sup> in discussing the new arrangement with the Trustees.

-2-

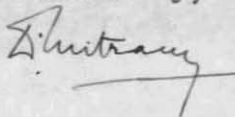
I have never heard from you or anyone else whether the books got into your hands, although I have had acknowledgments for every individual copy I have sent to American friends.

Have you ever seen it, and if not what would have happened to the six copies?

The book has had a friendly reception here and several reviewers have described it as indispensable for English readers; but you will be still more pleased to know that such expert historians like Arthur Schlesinger and Allan Nevins have approved of it. That is almost more than I had dared to expect.

With all good wishes and many kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'D. Mitrany', with a horizontal line extending from the end of the name.

(D. MITRANY.)



September 14, 1946

Dear Mitrany:

Warmest thanks for your letter of September 11th. I am most grateful to you for presenting me with the subscription to the Universities Quarterly. This is a magazine which I shall, of course, want to have and I shall certainly continue my subscription after the trial period is ended.

I think your plan to make your visits to New York, New Haven and Cambridge in January before you come to Princeton is admirable. The fact is that vacations here are not observed by many individuals. I have been in Princeton myself every week this summer and I have been able to hold meetings of the Standing Committee of the Faculty practically every week.

The fact is that I wish our Faculty would take more holidays and I intend to set them an example this winter by going to Florida during the month of January. I was a little bit selfish in suggesting that your visit here should come in February, since I want to see as much as possible of you myself.

With kindest regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

FA:kr  
D. Mitrany, Esq.  
Unilever House  
Blackfriars, E. C. 4  
London, England

Frank Aydelotte



TELEPHONE: CENTRAL 7474.

UNILEVER HOUSE,  
BLACKFRIARS, E.C.4.

11th September, 1946

Dear Mr. Aydelotte,

Very many thanks for your friendly letter. I too, am looking enormously forward to coming to Princeton and naturally I want to make the most of my month there. Having been unaware that the Institute does not meet until the first of February, I had arranged to sail on January the third on the Queen Elizabeth, and I will keep to that arrangement as there is a rush on bookings. But I have in any case to pay visits to New York, New Haven and Cambridge, and in the circumstances I will arrange to do this first and come to Princeton towards the end of January. Perhaps I may write you in more detail when my other arrangements are fixed up.

I have just received the enclosed leaflet announcing the appearance of a new periodical devoted to university affairs, to be issued by the group which runs the New Statesman, and knowing your interest in all this I have paid the subscription for the first four issues to be sent to you at Fuld Hall.

With all good wishes,

Always sincerely yours  
David Mitrany

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

THE LOWER FARM,  
KINGSTON BLOUNT,  
OXFORD.

27.VIII.46

Dear Mr. Joliffe,

As I expected, I have been asked to attend the International Studies Conference in Paris at the end of October, and I am anxious to do so, because the whole future of these conferences is to be discussed there. The conference itself will be short, but it breaks into the academic autumn time-table, and I should prefer therefore to come to Princeton in time for the opening of the second half-year. If this meets with your approval, and is convenient to our colleagues, I would leave here as soon as possible after New Year and probably come straight to Princeton, for about a month. After that I should like to spend another month visiting Churchill, Yale, Harvard etc., I take it that the Institute opens again about the middle of January, as before.

I will not write about politics now - we are all terribly depressed and feel almost hopeless. There seems to be no prospect of building up a full international organisation, on a political basis; and in the meantime we are neglecting the great social improvements which the

THE LOWER FARM  
KINGSTON BLOUNT  
OXFORD

Western people could set on foot by working together  
on practical issues - food, etc. That need not exclude  
Russia if she wants to come in, but need not wait on  
Russia if she doesn't. And it is plain that social  
restlessness in the West, the Far East, etc. is the worst  
ingredient in Russian political judgments.

I hope you are having a good rest, and that  
you are beginning to fit. With all good wishes,

Always yours sincerely

D. Mitrany

D. Mitrany

TELEPHONE: CENTRAL 7474.

UNILEVER HOUSE,

BLACKFRIARS, E.C.4.

1st July, 1946.

Dear Dr. Aydelotte,

... Professor Mitrany has gone to Holland on a short visit for the office, and has asked me to send on to you the enclosed copy of a tentative synopsis he has prepared for the discussion on "Security" at the forthcoming International Studies Conference. He thought you might be interested to see this.

We dispatched to you six copies of the Professor's new book "American Interpretations" on May 15th by air mail but we have never heard from you that they arrived. Perhaps you will let us know if they did turn up.

Yours sincerely,

*Norah J. Ford Smith*

Assistant to Professor  
Mitrany.

Dr. Frank Aydelotte,  
Fuld Hall,  
Princeton, N.J.  
U.S.A.

Encl.

DRAFT SYNOPSIS FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDIES CONFERENCE ON SECURITY

By David Mitrany

1.

- I (i) Historical sketch of the rise and evolution of the idea of collective security. Broadly, three stages might be distinguished, as exemplified by the Hague Conferences, the Covenant of the League of Nations, and the Charter of the United Nations. The first was concerned with regulating the manner of conducting war; the second sought to restrain the very act of war; the Charter, still in the main designed like the Covenant, shows the beginning of an effort to deal with the actual causes of war.
- (ii) The discussion itself might conveniently be arranged in three parts - to bring out in what manner and by what means in comparison with the Covenant the provisions of the Charter are designed to strengthen the machinery for collective security; to consider, beyond the textual provisions, the political and technical implications for the effective working of that machinery; and to examine in a broader sense whether the general conception of security which permeates these arrangements is adequate for ensuring continuous peace under present conditions.
- II Comparison between the Security Provisions of the Covenant of the League of Nations and those of the Charter of the United Nations.
- (i) Increased emphasis upon 'positive action' in the very language of the two documents. The Charter is devised to maintain peace and security and to achieve international cooperation, whereas the Covenant aimed to promote and further. The Charter reproduces the substance of the provisions of the Pact of Paris - the undertaking to refrain from war is absolute. Functions and procedure are tightened and concentrated, to make them practical and effective. Evident in two fundamental aspects intended to give the Security Council:
- (a) effective power of decision
  - (b) effective means of action.
- (ii) Power of decision. The 'releasing mechanism', whereby the political organisation can take action, has been speeded up by a number of innovations:
- (a) Power of decisions is concentrated in the hands of the Security Council. The General Assembly may discuss general issues and make recommendations, but may not do even that on an issue taken up by the Security Council. The Assembly is to give the Council by the Charter i.e. once and for all, the right to act on behalf of all the members, who would undertake to abide by the Council's decisions and carry them out (Ch.VI, B1). The Council becomes in regard to security the nucleus of a world executive.
  - (b) The Security Council can decide whether a threat to peace exists or not without need to prove, as in the Covenant, a breach of the actual provisions.
  - (c) Questions may be laid before the Security Council by any member of the United Nations or even by the Secretary General (thus rendering the 'gap' in the Covenant, such narrower if not actually closing it) Article 15 & 11 of Covenant, Article 53 para 1 and Article 99 of Charter
  - (d) By allowing decisions to be taken by a majority a revolutionary change in international law and custom.



(iii) As each member of the Security Council is continuously represented at the headquarters of the organisation (Article 28 para 1), any situation can be dealt with immediately; whereas the Covenant only expected the Council to meet 'forthwith' if any member requested it.

(iv) Under the Covenant, even after a decision by the Council that action was necessary, it was left to each individual member to decide what part it would play in the action. Under the Charter if the Security Council decides on preventive action, every member is bound to act on receiving the call (Security Council may call on all or some of members to apply diplomatic, economic or military sanctions as the Security Council deems advisable).

(v) Means of Action. Finally the Security Council also has means for direct and immediate action through its Military Staff Committee and through the nucleus of forces which Members have to put at its disposal in advance (Ch. VIII. B. 4-9).

SOME QUESTIONS SUGGESTED BY THE CHARTER'S ARRANGEMENTS FOR SECURITY.

- 1) The procedure for preventive and repressive international action has been tightened and quickened; but how much does the success of this security machinery still depend upon the existence of a will to cooperate, at least among those members of the Security Council who have a power of veto?
- 2) The security provisions of the Charter can be put into effect by an affirmative vote of seven members of the Council, but these must include the five permanent members - which gives a right of veto to each of the permanent members. Is this an advance on the procedure of the Covenant which required unanimity but with the exclusion of the parties to the dispute?
- 3) To what extent can the veto be used:
  - (a) to prevent the Security Council from taking up consideration of a dispute?
  - (b) from taking steps to terminate a dispute?
  - (c) from taking action to prevent or restrain a breach of the peace?
- 4) In general do the security provisions give real power and means for effective action?

### III SOME IMPLICATIONS OF THE PROVISIONS OF THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS.

#### A. Military

- 1) What forces and machinery are necessary for effective action to implement decisions of the Security Council?
- 2) Would such machinery amount to an international directorate to control a pool of national forces? Or would such forces form an international policing force endowed with autonomous executive ability and powers?
- 3) The Military Staff Committee of the United Nations has a stronger executive position than did the permanent Military Commission under the League. Has it sufficient means and authority for effective action?
- 4) a/ What part can regional arrangements play in enforcing security? And what should be their relation to the central organisation?  
b/ Regional agreements: In cases of urgent danger of aggression should members, who have entered into regional security pacts, be allowed to take covering measures independently of prior agreement by the Security Council?

#### B. Political

- 1) What constitutional arrangements must member States make for executing decisions of the Security Council? (e.g. U.S. Congress v. Executive action).
- 2) Does the fact that the Security Council is empowered to call upon any or all of its members to take action of one kind or another mean on their part an absolute renunciation of neutrality?
- 3) As regards non-members, should there be any means whereby they should be constrained from in any way helping a State against whom action is being taken, or alternatively from preventing by any means the effective action of the members against such a State?
- 4) Does the effective working of the Security Council imply a willingness of Member States to pursue a common foreign policy; or at any rate always to

act upon certain agreed fundamental principles? If so, does this involve the relinquishing by States of their sovereign right in regard to the interpretation of international obligations?

IV

QUESTIONS CONCERNING THE GENERAL CONCEPTION OF SECURITY.

Note In the Charter of the United Nations, as in the Covenant of the League, the conception of security still is essentially one of defence against aggression and therefore of military action as the need may arise. These international agreements might indeed be regarded as collective permanent alliances, multilateral but of the same species as the bilateral alliances of the past. It might be argued that the Charter obligations are continuous and automatic, i.e. not dependent as treaties of alliance usually are upon a specified casus belli. On the other hand, it might be noted that a State usually pledged all its means and forces in support of a particular alliance, whereas under the individual treaties to be concluded with the United Nations, members have to put at its disposal only limited specified forces.

1) Are such military arrangements adequate, in view of the changes in the nature of warfare?

(a) Can the materials and means of production used for modern warfare be distinguished clearly from those used for normal needs; and if not, can the new armaments be controlled as the old type could? (Nazi Germany showed even before the advent of the new 'concentrated' weapons that a country could arm in secrecy).

(b) Does the prohibition or control of weapons used in a previous war act as a stimulant for research in new methods of warfare and the use of revolutionary means of aggression?

(c) i/ Can military safeguards, however ingenious, foresee and check possible preparations for aggression through peaceful commerce? ('Open door' as regards raw materials and trade, like free commerce in wheat and cotton, made possible the accumulation of war stocks by open and legitimate means.)

ii/ Since modern war requires heavy stocks of key raw materials and in view of the fact that control of armaments should, if effective,

prevent stock piling by individual nations, should the U.N.O. have responsibility for keeping a reserve of such materials for the use of its members under instruction from the Security Council.

- 2) Is political peace compatible with sharp economic competition in oil, aviation, atomic energy research and production, etc.?
- 3) How can negative methods of control to prevent aggression, which may involve restriction or even destruction of certain means of production, be harmonised with positive efforts for development of materials and production for the common advantage? (For instance, control of the Ruhr, of German and Japanese industrial potential, for general needs).
- 4) (a) What part could the incipient international executive agencies play in reconciling controls for security with service for improved standards of living?  
(b) Should such areas as the Ruhr be under international control - together with key strategic points?
- 5) Since war now employs and affects the whole of a nation's economy, is it possible for an international authority to keep law and order without interfering in national affairs?
- 6) The present approach to Security is concerned with sporadic disturbances of the peace, under abnormal conditions. Is not a new conception of security needed, concerned with the continuous maintenance of peace under normal conditions (i.e., 'social security' in its broadest positive sense, rather than merely negative military security).
- 7) Can international conflict be avoided merely by checking the use of violence and by the 'peaceful settlement' of disputes - or must the causes of friction and conflict be dealt with - as with the causes of crime in national life?
- 8) Is the historical problem of the moment not so much how to keep the nations peacefully apart, but rather how to bring them actively together?

London 18.6.46.



AIR MAIL

Telephone-Central 7474.

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

12th June, 1946

*file*  
*Dear Aydelotte,*

Your kind letter of May 24th has done a great deal to mitigate my regret for the decision which I had to make at present. You, the Trustees and my colleagues in the School of Economics and Politics, I am fully aware, have dealt in a very friendly and understanding way with my problem, and the arrangement which you suggest, is very pleasing to me. My main desire was to keep an active connection with the Institute, and my colleagues' and your decisions make this possible in a way which does not hamper your own arrangements at the Institute, which you know I also had much at heart.

At the moment I only want to assure you that, unless disaster overwhelms us, I do not intend to delay the scholarly work of which I spoke to you and which means everything to me. I would much prefer to live in modest circumstances and do that work than accept conditions which would hamper it. I very much hope that I shall have your friendly help and encouragement even when you retire from the Institute.

Thank you also for taking such a friendly interest in the financial aspect. It is quite clear that the Institute will have no direct obligation towards me after July of this year. At the same time I should be very grateful if, as you suggest, the Institute could for the time being continue to make whatever payments are due to the Teachers Annuity Association and also for my Massachusetts Insurance, as they have done hitherto and on the present basis. We are still not allowed to make remittances except with a special permit for each individual case, and the whole thing is too complicated to

(straighten out..



AIR MAIL

Telephone-Central 7474.

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

contd.

straighten out by correspondence. It would be a real help therefore if the Institute would kindly keep these things going until I come over later in the year, when I will have a chance to make new arrangements and will refund whatever sums the Institute has paid on my behalf.

Would you please thank the Trustees and my colleagues for their good will and tell them how delighted I am that I can remain one of their group. I know what the whole arrangement owes to your own personal goodwill and effort.

*Always sincerely yours**D. Mitrany**I hope that you are quite recovered by now from the bugs which bothered you here.*

Dr. Frank Aydelotte,  
Fuld Hall,  
Princeton,  
NEW JERSEY,  
U. S. A.

June 15, 1946

Professor David Mitrany  
Unilever House  
Blackfriars  
London, E.C.4, England

Dear Mitrany:

Warmest thanks for your letter of June 12th. Certainly you could not possibly feel greater pleasure at this continuation of your connection with the Institute than I do myself. I shall have retired before you return for any extended work here but the Trustees have kindly offered to give me offices in Fuld Hall and I shall expect to be here daily. The only difference will be that I shall then be carrying only two jobs instead of three.

I hasten to say that the Institute will be glad to carry on the payments to the TIAA, leaving it to you to make repayment when transfer of funds from England becomes feasible. You may decide to make the payments regularly through the Institute until you are 65 instead of making them directly to the TIAA. That will be absolutely as you prefer. I am asking Miss Miller also to take care of the Massachusetts insurance.

I am glad to read what you say about getting on with work on your book at the earliest possible moment. You have had a wonderful experience and you ought to distill it into some permanent form before too long.

Let me repeat in closing how pleased I am that the whole matter is permanently settled.

With kindest regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

Frank Aydelotte

FA:jsr

J.R.

PERSONAL

May 24, 1946

Professor David Mitrany  
Unilever House  
Blackfriars  
London E.C.4, England

Dear Mitrany:

On my return from Palestine I reported to the School of Economics and Politics and to the Trustees our various conversations in regard to your position and the contents of your various letters to me concerning it. We understand the importance of the work which you are doing and the consequent impossibility of your returning to the Institute at this time. That being the case it is, of course, important for us that we should be in a position to make another appointment in your place. At the same time the Faculty and Trustees considered sympathetically your desire to maintain a permanent connection with the Institute and we are, on our part, anxious to make that possible. As a result of our deliberations we have agreed upon the following arrangements:

We propose to make you a permanent member of the Institute as from July 1, 1946 until you reach the age of sixty-five, without stipend, except for such time as you may be in continuous residence. The Faculty of the School of Economics and Politics welcomes the idea of having you as a kind of outpost in Europe and it would give us great satisfaction if you could arrange to visit the Institute, say once a year during term time for a period of four weeks, in which case we should expect to offer you an honorarium of \$1,200 for each such visit.

When the time comes that you would like to return here for continuous residence, it would be our plan to award you a suitable stipend, the amount of which can be fixed at the time.

If you are willing to accept this arrangement, the question immediately arises what should be done about your annuity contract with the Teachers Insurance and Annuity Association. Annuity payments under this contract amount at present to \$2,252.56, one-half of which has heretofore been paid by the Institute and one-half by you. I hope very much that you can arrange with Lever Brothers to assume the payments heretofore made by the Institute so that you will be entitled at the age of sixty-five to the contemplated annuity of approximately \$4,000. You understand, of course, that the contract belongs to you and that payments heretofore made are entirely your property so that if no more payments are made, you would be entitled to whatever annuity the present accumulations would bring and that you are entitled to make either smaller or larger payments on the contract, increasing or decreasing the amount of your annuity accordingly. If you wish to make your payments through the Institute for Advanced Study that can be arranged or I think it would be satisfactory to the TIAA to have you make remittances directly to them. If there is any difficulty

Professor David Mitrany

- 2 -

May 24, 1946

about the transmission of funds from England to the United States, we should be glad to do whatever we can to help out in that matter. I assume that if the British Loan is approved by Congress during the present session, that a good many of these exchange restrictions will be removed.

We all hope that the arrangements outlined will be satisfactory to you and that you will eventually be able to spend some years at the Institute writing the great book which you have in mind. Meanwhile I am frank to say that I think this arrangement will be extremely interesting to the School of Economics and Politics if you can make the annual visits which I mentioned, since you will in this way be able to bring us each year information and opinions about the international situation which we could obtain in no other way.

With kindest regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

Frank Aydelotte

FA:jsr

Copy to Miss Miller

May 15, 1946

TO MEMBERS OF THE SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS  
AND POLITICS:

I have this morning received copies  
of Mitrany's most recent book, "American  
Interpretations." I enclose a copy  
herewith and should be greatly interested  
in any comments you may care to make.

FRANK AYDELOTTE

Faijer

Copy to Professor Stewart  
Warren  
Earle  
Riefner



Board Minutes  
9 May 23,  
1946

an appraisal. We share your hope that these conferences will contribute to a better understanding of the problems with which mankind is now confronted and to the maintenance of freedom in a peaceful world."

On motion, duly seconded and carried, it was voted that pending final disposition of the Gest Oriental Library, Miss Swann be retained temporarily as Curator after her retirement on June 30, 1946, this appointment to be month by month, and that she be granted a suitable honorarium for this service.

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

The Director reported that the following resolutions prepared by Mr. Schaap concerning Mr. John R. Hardin, had been duly signed by the Trustees and sent to Mr. Charles R. Hardin.

May 17, 1946

RECOMMENDATION TO THE FACULTY:

The Director reported that he had said to Professor Mitrany that it was the feeling of the Board and Faculty that he should either return to the Institute in September, 1946 or relinquish his position.

Professor Mitrany finds it very difficult to return to Princeton at the present time on account of the very unusual opportunities which he has of participating in the discussion of international questions in connection with his work for Lever Brothers and also because of his domestic situation at home. Professor Mitrany realizes that if he is not to return, the School of Economics and Politics would like to have his position declared vacant so that another appointment could be made. He has raised the question whether any connection with the Institute could be established which would make possible another appointment and which at the same time would continue his relationship to the Institute. He thinks that he might want to return two or three years hence for a period of continuous research and writing up to the age of sixty-five.

The Director and the School of Economics and Politics considered the whole question sympathetically and recommend that Professor Mitrany should be given permanent membership in the Institute without stipend except when he is in residence, this membership to continue up to the age of sixty-five; that the Institute should continue to make its payments to the TIAA on the same basis as heretofore, provided that Professor Mitrany matches these payments; that Professor Mitrany should undertake to spend a few weeks at the Institute during term time each year that he is not in residence ~~at his own expense~~; that Professor Mitrany's professorship should thus be vacated so that another appointment can be made at a suitable time. *without expense to the Institute*

If Professor Mitrany finds it possible to spend some years in continuous residence at the Institute, it is expected that the School of Economics and Politics will recommend a suitable stipend and that the Trustees will enlarge the regular stipend fund of the School of Economics and Politics to cover this amount.

It is the belief of the School of Economics and Politics that this arrangement while unusual will have real value for the School as well as for Professor Mitrany. The School would have in effect an outpost in England and every effort would be made to get the maximum value in discussions and research from the annual visits contemplated under this arrangement.

FA:jer

C O P Y

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FA:jer

*Impresson sketch, Warren & Reifer*

*With the Author's Compliments*

(this article expected to appear in  
Fall edition of Yale Review)

*when you have finished  
with it please return to F.B.*

TELEPHONE: CENTRAL 7474.

UNILEVER HOUSE,

BLACKFRIARS, E.C.4.

13th May, 1946.

Dear Dr. Aydelotte,

We have sent to you today by air mail six copies of the Professor's little volume entitled "American Interpretations". The book is not yet officially out, but Professor Mitrany thought you might like to have a few advance copies.

Yours faithfully,

*Nora J. Ford Smith*

Assistant to Professor  
Mitrany.

Dr. Frank Aydelotte,  
Fuld Hall,  
Princeton, N.J.  
U.S.A.

Encl



May 13, 1946

MEMORANDUM FOR MEMBERS OF THE SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS AND POLITICS:

I had several conversations with Mitrany while I was in England and must now make a recommendation to the Trustees on May 23rd as to his status. I told Mitrany that we felt that his leave of absence must end this year and that he should either return to the Institute in September 1946 or resign.

Mitrany is extremely loathe to accept either alternative. He is occupied at the moment with interesting and important work and his family situation makes it very difficult for him to leave England. On the other hand he would like to keep a connection with the Institute and if possible return here a year or two hence to spend the last five years before he is sixty-five, writing a book which would be a kind of distillation of all his practical experience in international affairs during the war and post-war period. Mitrany would accept almost any status that we thought it right to assign to him. He would also make an effort to come into residence in Princeton for the second half of the year 1946-1947 if we thought that advisable.

I said to Mitrany that I could not go beyond the statement which I have quoted in my first paragraph but that I would discuss the whole matter with the School of Economics and Politics and with the Board of Trustees at the Annual Meeting in May.

FRANK AYDELOTTE

FA:jsr

THURSDAY, MAY 2, 1946

# THE LONDONER'S DIARY

**CONFUSION** — between Government departments supervising the export of diamonds has left a loophole in controls intended to defeat the flight of capital. "Diamond detectives" watching the operations of traders tell me their hands are tied by conflicting regulations.

Here are the facts. Rough diamonds, those used for industry, cannot be exported unless the trader lists them, presents them to the Export Licence Board, has them surveyed and valued, and gets a permit for a lot to be sent out of the country.

But diamond tools, by a ruling of another Government department, may leave the country freely without licence.

An exporter can buy a diamond tool for about 4s.; an unscrupulous exporter can insert any diamond he wishes and smuggle it out of Britain free of licence or control.

## Being investigated

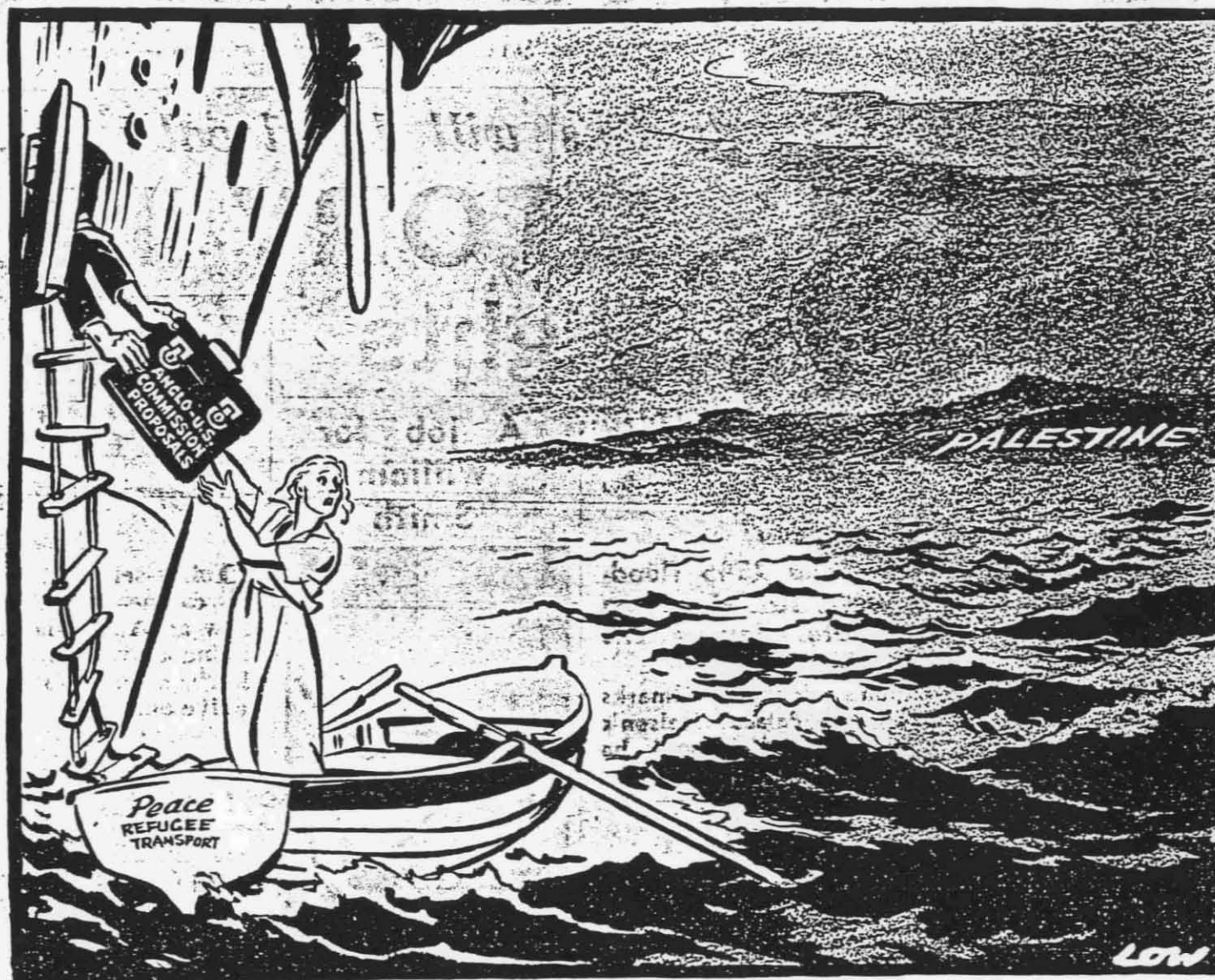
It is also possible for smugglers to put polished or unpolished gem stones worth hundreds or thousands of pounds each into cheap metal holders which conceal all but a tiny cutting point.

I asked the Board of Trade about the problem. Their reply was: "The question is being investigated by the Ministry of Supply."

## Hotels full

LONDON'S leading hotels are full up. You cannot get any accommodation in them. People from the provinces wanting to see the V Day parade on June 8 will be unlucky at these hotels unless they booked well in advance.

Are the present hotel guests holding places for the big show? The Hotels and Restaurants Association think not. Guests are permitted to remain



NOW ALL YOU HAVE TO DO IS GET ASHORE (Copyright in All Countries)

Kingston Blount  
Oxford

29.IV.1946

Dear Aydelotte,

Can you stand a postscript to my cable and letter of two days ago, by way of emendation? Forgive me, but things have a way of getting criss-crossed nowadays. I have just been asked to go at the end of May to Holland, to give some lectures and meet some of the political people; and at the same time I have been asked from Paris to prepare a synopsis on International Security for the meeting on international studies which is due to meet in October.

Things are tense and pressing, and these are just the kind of things which, as I said to you, make it so difficult to draw away from here now. But I want to come to Princeton, for the reasons I gave you two days ago, and the only change in my suggestion I would beg you to accept, if the idea is at all acceptable, is that for the moment we might leave it open whether I should come in the first or in the second half-year. I had inclined to the first, but if I can be of some help at a time like this, without taking any political part, I should not feel it right to refuse.

Waiting till January would have the one solid advantage that I might be able by then to finish the book on international organisation of which I spoke to you and on which I am already working; and I could then also on the basis of the MS. give a short course of advanced lectures if the Institute and the University authorities should wish it. Needless to say, if the Institute wish me to come, I will try to let you know as early as possible in the summer which appears to be the more suitable time.

Again with many thanks and the kindest of wishes,

Always sincerely yours

*D. Mitrany*



Kingston Blount  
Oxford

27.IV.1946

Dear Aydelotte,

I have only just heard from Rhodes House, where I had sent you a note, that you had flown straight home. I know that this was what you wanted, and so I am glad for your sake, but I am sorry I missed the chance of another talk with you. It so happens that the Friends Peace Committee have this week consulted me with regard to their work and I made certain suggestions which I would have liked to mention also to you, in the hope that something might be done also from the American end. But that apart, I very much wanted to discuss another possibility as regards my personal affairs.

Would it be a help to you, and in general desirable, if I came to Princeton in the fall for the first half year? I could not stay more than that, and even so I am taking a certain risk, but it may otherwise be useful from a number of reasons. In the first place, it may make your discussions with the Trustees easier, as showing that I am not cutting myself adrift without further ado, and my suggestion stands or falls by this first consideration. My general view remains the same, but it may be more helpful to have a chance to see you and my colleagues on the spot and discuss the problem in general. That is the second point, that things are moving in a way which no faculty of the social sciences can ignore; without becoming wholly topical, it should be worth while to take stock, from our respective and varied experience, and see where we stand and what needs to be done. I am particularly concerned with the increasing use of academic experts for government work - a thing wholly desirable in itself, but full of risks for academic independence. Finally, as it is in the nature of things that I should try when here to interpret American outlook and policy, it would be good, with the world going as it is, that I should come and freshen up my own understanding. (The volume with the four essays I call 'American Interpretations' is ready and I hope to send you a few early copies within a few days.)

If this suggestion is favoured by you, and it is made to you privately, I would hope to be with you in time when the Institute opens. For my part, and again merely as a suggestion which might be helpful, I should be satisfied with a third of my yearly salary. I have not yet spoken about this to anyone here as I was waiting to see you first. I am sure that Heyworth will want to do anything that is agreeable to you, as he appreciates your friendly cooperation in the past. And my wife will want to do what is best for me, even if it should put a strain on her. Would it be asking too much for a word by cable just to indicate whether all this appeals to you or not, just for my personal guidance?

I very much hope that the day in Lawrence has given you a chance to build up your strength, and I am anxious looking forward to reading your report. With all my good wishes and always yours & Mitrany

RADIOGRAM

Received April 27, 1946

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

Sorry miss you. Sending today air mail letter with alternative  
suggestion.

MITRANY  
Kingston-Blount  
England

jsr



THE LOWER FARM,  
KINGSTON BLOUNT,  
OXFORD.

25. IV. 46

Dear Agdelite,

It was good to know that you  
had got over the worst - I very much hope  
that the stay in Switzerland has given  
you a chance to regain your strength.  
I am keenly waiting to read the  
Commission's Report.

If, as I hope, you will be passing  
through England on your way home, please  
let me have the chance of a talk with  
you. I have one personal and one general  
matter I should like to discuss with you.

Yours with good wishes,

David Mitrany

XXXXXXXXX Dr. Aydelotte,

February 12th, 1946

Dear Mitrany,

I arrived at Rhodes House to-day and find your letter. It is most kind of you and your wife to ask me to Kingston Blount, but I regret to say that I do not think I ought to accept. I am staying here at Oxford to consult a couple of doctors, and try to find out the identity of this germ which gives me these occasional bouts of chills and fever. I don't think I ought to move until they have found the answer and cured it, and then I ought to be off to Palestine. I shall hope to see you here as soon as I have made a little more progress.

Yours sincerely

Professor David Mitrany  
The Lower Farm  
Kingston Blount  
OXFORD

THE LOWER FARM,  
KINGSTON BLOUNT,  
OXFORD.

10<sup>th</sup> II 46

Dear A. Walcott,

We are both much distressed that you should have such misfortune since coming to England - and I know that that must weigh most heavily on your mind, & being disabled from carrying out the task you had undertaken. But we trust, for every reason, that it is only a very temporary disablement - your experience and judgment will matter greatly for the Commission's final Report.

We cannot offer you the comforts of Rhodes House; but if a few days in the country would help you to find your strength, you must know that we should love to have you here and care for you. It is peaceful, and the air is good, as relative to Oxford we are fairly high up.

THE LOWER FARM,  
KINGTON BLOUNT,  
OXFORD.

Please do not let me intrude on  
your rest, until you find it quite convenient,  
I should like to see you again, of course,  
but there is no hurry. I shall be in  
London till Friday (Central 7474) and  
could come down to Oxford on any day  
you may wish. Or I could come from  
here on any day from Saturday to Tuesday  
next. Just get someone to let me know  
what would be least troublesome to you,  
And if there is anything I could do for  
you in London, it would be very good; I have  
a good secretary and between us we  
could attend to anything you may wish.

My wife and I send friendliest  
wishes for your recovery - you will have  
to be patient with yourself and give  
your body a chance to get really well.  
Always yours sincerely, David Mitrany

COPY FOR AYDELOTTE

Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry,  
c/o American Embassy,  
London, W.1,  
February 2, 1946.

Professor David Mitrany,  
Unilever House,  
Blackfriars,  
London, E.C.4.

Dear Mitrany:

Warmest thanks for your memorandum which puts the case very clearly. The point of view of the trustees I think I made sufficiently clear to you but they think they ought to have a final decision by the time of the annual meeting in April. I am, however, asking that this meeting be postponed if I am not home in April and when the time comes I shall put the whole problem sympathetically to them. There are several things rolling around in my mind. I will let you know what I am able to work out.

Yours sincerely,

Frank Aydelotte

FA:frw



**LEVER BROTHERS & UNILEVER LIMITED**

UNILEVER HOUSE · BLACKFRIARS · LONDON · E·C·4

TELEPHONE

CENTRAL 7474 (EXT.....)

PLEASE ADDRESS REPLY TO

DM/DS DEPARTMENT



TELEGRAMS "LEVERBRO, TELEX, LONDON."

CABLES "LEVERBRO, LONDON."

30th January, 1946

*Dear Mr. Delatte,*

Here is a letter, a summary of our conversation, which I promised to give you. I hope that it is a clear enough statement of my position, and I hope that it also makes clear that I do not want to interfere with anything which the Trustees may have in mind.

The point which weighs heavily with me, but which, for obvious reasons I could not mention, is the fact that we know nothing about the future direction of the Institute.

Whatever my personal problems, I should have little hesitation if you had remained in charge; however, you will see that at the end of the letter, while leaving you and the Trustees completely free to decide as you think best, I have thrown out a suggestion which may possibly help to meet both your needs and my wishes. I gathered from you that you will probably like to make some new appointment, and that you clearly cannot do this whilst committed to my appointment financially.

Realising this I should be satisfied, if it were possible, to retain a formal connection with the Institute - in the form of a fellowship or some such thing - without remuneration. This would leave you completely free to make a new appointment without any obligation to myself, now or in the

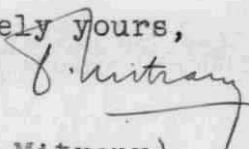
(2)

future; while it would encourage me to arrange, at a more suitable moment, to come back and work at the Institute, leaving the financial arrangements to be made on whatever basis may be possible at the time ( such as an outside research fellowship).

I have not put this suggestion in a more detailed way in the formal letter, because I wanted to leave it to you to explore whether that would meet the needs and wishes of the Trustees, in the event of their not being able to see their way to continue the present arrangement. I have only one thing to add - to thank you for your never failing kindness and understanding. I hope that whatever the solution may be with the Institute itself, you and I will find continued opportunities to work together when you retire.

With gratitude and all my good wishes,

Very sincerely yours,



(D.Mitrany)

Dr. Aydelotte,  
c/o U.S. Embassy,  
London, S.W.1

Enc.

Lower Farm,  
Kingston Blount,  
Oxon.

M/S

30th January, 1946

*Dear Mr. Telotte,*

I am grateful that you gave me an opportunity to hear from you what the situation is at the Institute and my own position in relation to it. As you can do no more than submit the matter to the Trustees, perhaps it would be helpful if I summarised the points I put to you yesterday:

(1) As you are aware, I asked leave to stay here for a time for two reasons - one personal, and the other practical - in an academic sense. By this I mean not that I wanted to take an active part in the tense political issues that have come up in recent years, but that they give to the student of politics an exceptional if painful opportunity, like that which an epidemic gives to a doctor. He can see, working out in practice, things which he usually envisages only in theory.

(2) In both respects conditions have actually hardened these reasons since the end of the war. During my work for the Government I had foreseen and gave warning that at the end of the war life would be more difficult and, therefore, political tension greater. But I admit that they are much worse than even I anticipated. As regards my personal problem, we have actually lost the help we had at home during the war, and so far I have found it impossible to replace it. I could not very well go away without making some adequate provision of this kind, and at the moment, no one can tell how things will work out later in the year. That is equally true in regard to the general political situation, both internally and internationally. I find myself here in the midst of stresses and problems which, even in old England, are affecting almost every political institution and tradition, and while I keep strictly aloof from any direct participation, I have, from my personal contacts, an opportunity to watch these changes in action. It is as uncomfortable and even painful as would be the life of a doctor in an epidemic, but it is also as instructive as would be the other. My whole purpose is to try to derive from it the knowledge and understanding which would enable me to interpret the trends of our time in a scholarly way in whatever teaching I may come to do later on.

(2)

(3) As far as circumstances will allow, I have, as I have explained to you, a clear programme of work. While I am watching the march of events, I am not remaining unoccupied in an academic sense. Two years ago I published the booklet on international organisation which, if I may say so, has had a remarkable reception; it has run through several editions and has been translated into several languages. Last year I brought out the research study on regionalism in South Eastern Europe, which I initiated and guided throughout. My present programme covers three volumes: a small volume of essays on American problems which is going through the press now; a second small volume of essays on certain theoretical aspects of the socialist attitude to agrarian problems - based on original research - which should go to press fairly soon. Thirdly, instead of reprinting, with some additions, the small study on international organisation, as I have been asked to do, I intend to develop it into a more substantial volume; I have most of the material ready and hope to finish the manuscript by the end of the year.

These are definite commitments. They may seem rather varied in subject and scope, but with your knowledge you will quickly perceive that there is a sociological trend which runs through them all and gives them a unity of approach. That is indeed my ultimate purpose. When these several things are finished, I intend to stop writing on topical affairs and to concentrate on a major and what I would hope to be original treatise on Political Science. That would be a work which would take several years to achieve. I would hope to put into it all I have learned from former study and from observation and experience in these years of stress, and it is during the preparation of that work that I would also hope to give something really mature to whatever students may be interested in working with me. It is also during those years that on my part I would need the academic peace and security which the Institute offers so admirably.

.....

(4) You and the Trustees will, I hope, see therefore that, apart from the personal reasons which at the moment tie me down so seriously, I also have scholarly reasons which have kept me here. They may be in your eyes justified or not - that is a matter of opinion - but at least I hope you will agree that they are clear. My present appointment gives me the advantage of being able to do all I want to do in a way which I hope will justify my connection with the Institute, without in the meantime my being a burden upon you. As regards freedom of action and work, my present appointment has been interpreted with complete generosity. I believe you know that it brings me no other advantage, rather the other way round, as the copy of the letter

(3)

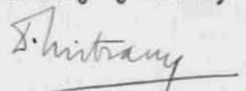
which I attach here will make clear. But, at the same time, you will also see why I am incapable of making a clear decision now. Both in my personal affairs and in my work I am dependent on circumstances which no one can foresee - a state of affairs which is general, not peculiar to me. It is indeed harder to make a decision now than it was during the war.

(5) The message which you brought me from the Trustees finds me therefore in a tight corner. This is not a complaint - the Trustees and you and my colleagues on the Faculty have treated me throughout with the utmost liberality - you know how truly I have appreciated this and how affectionately interested I have remained throughout in the progress of the Institute. For this reason I also appreciate the very natural wish of you all to have the position clarified. I appreciate this to the full, and yet, as I have explained, I am unable to do so myself while in the midst of these unstable and uncertain conditions. Apart from my personal attachment to the purpose of the Institute, you will see from what I have said about my program of work that I must put great value on maintaining the connection; I should have hoped therefore that you and the Trustees might have been willing to let me continue for a while on a basis dictated by circumstances which are so very exceptional.

(6) That is my side of the case. I cannot know in what measure and in what way it interferes possibly with plans which are being made for the immediate work at the Institute, but you may be sure that, whatever my own problems, I should want to help with those plans, not to hinder them.

Knowing that you and the Trustees will look with sympathy upon what I have said before, I must leave therefore the decision in your hands; merely reiterating that it is my wish and my hope to retain my association with the Institute in whatever form would interfere least with the plans for the immediate development of its School of Economics and Politics.

Very sincerely yours,

  
(D. Mitrany)

Enclosure:

Dr. Frank Aydelotte,  
c/o U.S. Embassy,  
London, W.1.



AYDELOTTE

Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry,  
33 Grosvenor Square,  
London, W.1  
January 24, 1946.

Professor David Mitrany,  
Unilever House,  
Blackfriars,  
London, E.C. 4.

Dear Mitrany:

We arrived by the Queen Elizabeth last night but I have ignominiously been compelled to take to my bed in the Hyde Park Hotel (Room 814). If I obey my doctor I should be here for some days though I had hoped to spend the week-end at Oxford. If you will ring me up, say on Monday, we can make an appointment for a talk.

I was over-tired when we left and apparently put up a very feeble resistance to whatever germs have gotten hold of me and the doctor is now disposed to treat me pretty severely, with all my friends at Oxford aiding and abetting him.

With kindest regards, I am,

Yours sincerely,

Frank Aydelotte

Telephone MAYfair 9181,  
Extention 1019

FA:frw

THE LOWER FARM,  
KINGSTON BLOUNT,  
OXFORD.

21. 7. 46

Dear A. Walcott,

I see that your ship is due on ~~uesday~~ Wednesday, and I am sending you a line of welcome, and also to wish you once more Godspeed in your mission.

I also gather that your stay in England will be short - and no doubt a busy one. Therefore I will be in your hands as to day & place of meeting. If you could come out here for a meal - and now we can send a car for you - it would be both a pleasure and a help. But let me know what you wish. I shall be at Merton House, Blackfriars, L.C.4. (Tel. Central 7474) till

THE LOWER FARM,  
WINSTON BLISS,  
OXFORD.

midday or Friday, when in the ordinary course  
of things I could return here for the  
weekend.

Apart from the personal matter, I  
should also be glad of a chance to  
talk with you about the subject of your  
inquiry - without prejudice to your official  
status.

Always with good wishes,

John Z. Mitrany

THE LOWER FARM,  
KINGSTON BLOUNT,  
OXFORD.

Z. I. 46

Dear Adolphe,

I was on the point to write you to  
with you sat next in your work on the Jewish  
Commission - it is a heavy burden. As  
a problem, the material facts are simple, but  
I know of none other in which they are so  
overweighed by emotional prejudice. Brace  
yourself against being thought wicked ~~of~~ <sup>both</sup>  
sides, before you're done with it.

As I said, I was about to write you,  
but now I have your note telling me that  
you will be here soon, and that is more  
than welcome to me. You will <sup>be</sup> pretty busy,  
I am sure, but if you can't manage a  
weekend here - which is what we would  
greatly wish - please see that we have it

THE LOWER FARM,  
KINGSTON BLOUNT,  
OXFORD.

best a long evening together, as we will  
have much to talk about.

Meanwhile, our very good wish to  
yourself thru. to Walter - and to help  
you in your work.

Always yours

D. Mitrany



January 1, 1946

Professor David Mitrany  
Unilever House  
Blackfriars  
London E. C. 4, England

Dear Mitrany:

You have doubtless seen from the newspapers that I have accepted an appointment on a Joint Anglo-American Commission on Palestine. Our English colleagues are now on the ocean and we begin our hearings in Washington on January 7th. Sometime in the latter part of January we shall transfer to London and I hope to see you then and to get your decision in regard to whether or not you intend to return to the Institute. I shall be away for something like two months and hope to get back here for the Annual Meeting of the Board in April.

Looking forward with great pleasure to an opportunity of an early conversation with you, I am

Yours sincerely,

Frank Aydelotte

FA:tjr

DAVID MITRANY

Education

*Kolonialinstitut (Hamburg), Sorbonne (Paris)*  
Ph.D., D.Sc., London School of Economics  
and Political Science.

Honors

~~Fellow, Royal Economic Society.~~

Career

Editorial staff, Manchester Guardian, 1919-22;  
Ass't. European editor of Economic and Social History of World  
War (Carnegie Endowment for Interntl Peace), 1922-29. Lecturer  
on politics, University of London; visiting professor in govern-  
ment, Harvard Univ., 1931-33; Dodge lecturer, Yale Univ., 1932;  
Nielsen Research prof., Smith College, 1951. Member, British  
Co-ordinating Committee for International Studies, 1927-30.  
Professor, Institute for Advanced Study, 1933-46, permanent  
member since 1946.

Adviser on international affairs to Unilever  
and Lever Bros., since 1943.

WWR ✓  
WWS ✓  
RBW ✓

October 20, 1945

Professor David Mitrany  
Unilever House  
Blackfriars  
London E.C.4, England

Dear Mitrany:

The Board of Trustees met yesterday and I reported to them the substance of our conversations in July. The Trustees are very glad to extend your leave of absence without salary through the academic year 1945-1946 but would like you to decide some time before the annual meeting in April 1946 whether you propose to return to the Institute or to give up your position here. It would be a convenience to me if you could reach a decision some time before the end of February 1946 so that I should have ample time to arrange the docket for the Annual Meeting.

I gave the Trustees as full an account as I could of your activities in London and mentioned your various publications. I told them also of your personal situation and the difficulties which you felt in being separated from Mrs. Mitrany during the academic year. I indicated that the problem was one which only you could decide. We should be glad to have you back in Princeton but would perfectly understand if you felt that you ought to remain in England.

With kindest regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

Frank Aydelotte

FA:jsr

*Mitrany*

TELEPHONE : CENTRAL 7474

UNILEVER HOUSE,

BLACKFRIARS, E.C.4.

NFS/SW

9th November, 1945.

Dear Dr. Aydelotte,

We are busy trying to find out who is Bruce Truscot, but the secret of his identity is most carefully guarded. Prof. Lauwerys, lecturer in Education at the University of London, thinks that the pen-name belongs to someone particularly eminent in the educational world but has no idea who it is. Professor Mitrany has a number of lines out and if we have any success we will write to you again.

Yours sincerely,

*Morah J. Ford Smith*

Assistant to  
Professor Mitrany.

Dr. Frank Aydelotte,  
Fuld Hall,  
Princeton,  
N.J.

October 3, 1945

Dear Mitrany:

Warmest thanks for Grundy's autobiography. I knew him at B.N.C. and was greatly interested in various aspects of his life story as told in this book. He was not a great man but he was the kind of interesting, human fellow that Oxford can produce and make happy. He was a good golfer but gave it up at the age of 57 or 58 because he found that he was going off his game. He thereupon took up croquet, which he stoutly defends as a game requiring both skill and strategy. My golf has not yet begun to deteriorate, but I suppose it is only a measurable time until it does. When that happens, I don't know whether or not I shall give up the game, but if I do, I am pretty certain I shall not take up croquet.

I have just announced the appointment of Siegel to our mathematical faculty. He is a great addition. Some scholars outside the Institute think he has the most powerful mathematical mind now living. He may eventually want to go back to Germany and if he does I should respect him for doing so. We have persuaded him, however, that for the moment there would be no opportunity in Germany comparable to what we can offer him here.

With kindest regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

Frank Aydelotte

Professor David Mitrany  
Unilever House  
Blackfriars  
London E.C.4

FA:KK



September 18, 1945

Dear Mitrany:

Warmest thanks for sending me Bruce Truscot's second volume on Red Brick. I have read it with the greatest interest. His penetrating criticisms ought to have great influence on English plans, and they deserve to be widely considered in the United States. Have you any idea who Truscot is?

Our Institute term is starting well with Fuld Hall crowded to the bursting point. We still have the members of the Economic Section of the League as our guests and are back nearly to the peacetime number of members. I wonder if you are seeing Loveday while he is in England. The Meritts sailed yesterday and I am afraid are going out to meet what remains of a tropical hurricane which is slowly making its way north from Florida.

With kindest regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

Frank Aydelotte

Professor David Mitrany  
Unilever House  
Blackfriars  
London, E.C.4  
England

FA:KK

March 28, 1945

Dear Mitrany:

Many thanks for your letter introducing Horace Alexander. The American Friends Service Committee is arranging for him to come to the Institute on April twelfth, and I am looking forward with great pleasure to a talk with him. It will be very useful to have a man in the United States who knows something about India at first hand. A good deal of ill feeling is being stirred up against England these days on that subject by people who know nothing about it and who really care nothing about the interests of India but are only anxious to get in a dig at England.

4      With kindest regards, I am  
Yours sincerely,

Frank Aydelotte

Professor David Mitrany  
Unilever House  
Blackfriars, E. C. 4  
London, England

FA:KK

December 29, 1945

Miss Norah J. Ford Smith  
Assistant to Professor Mitrany  
Unilever House  
Blackfriars  
London E. C. 4, England

Dear Miss Smith:

Dr. Aydelotte has asked me to thank you  
for sending him the very interesting report  
from Professor Mitrany on "The International  
Functions of a University" which he is very  
glad to have.

Yours sincerely,

Jane S. Richardson  
Secretary to Dr. Aydelotte

December 13, 1945

Professor David Mitrany  
Kingston Blount  
Oxford, England

Dear Mitrany:

I have thought very carefully over your letter of November 12th and can only say that so far as I can see the situation at the Institute for the next few years will be just as I described it to you in Oxford last July. No progress has been made so far towards the choice of my successor and at the moment I have no idea of the type of man who will be chosen. When we get down to active negotiations I shall try to keep you informed of them but judging by the present rate of progress it will be some time before there is any news.

You will probably have seen in the English newspapers that I have just accepted an appointment on this joint Anglo-American commission on Palestine. I realize that it is a very difficult if not impossible job but it was put up to me in such a way that I did not feel free to refuse. I suppose the work is likely to take me to London before very long and if that happens I shall hope for the pleasure of talking things over with you in a way that is impossible in a letter.

With kindest regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

Frank Aydelotte

FA:jsr

TELEPHONE: CENTRAL 7474.

UNILEVER HOUSE,  
BLACKFRIARS, E.C.4.

5th December, 1945.

Dear Dr. Aydelotte,

Professor Mitrany thought you  
... would be interested to see the enclosed  
report of the Association of University  
Teachers on "The International Functions  
of a University".

Yours sincerely,

*Norah J. Ford Smith*

Assistant to  
Professor Mitrany.

Dr. Frank Aydelotte,  
Fuld Hall,  
Princeton,  
N.J.



October 20, 1945

Professor David Mitrany  
Unilever House  
Blackfriars  
London E.C.4, England

Dear Mitrany:

The Board of Trustees met yesterday and I reported to them the substance of our conversations in July. The Trustees are very glad to extend your leave of absence without salary through the academic year 1945-1946 but would like you to decide some time before the annual meeting in April 1946 whether you propose to return to the Institute or to give up your position here. It would be a convenience to me if you could reach a decision some time before the end of February 1946 so that I should have ample time to arrange the docket for the Annual Meeting.

I gave the Trustees as full an account as I could of your activities in London and mentioned your various publications. I told them also of your personal situation and the difficulties which you felt in being separated from Mrs. Mitrany during the academic year. I indicated that the problem was one which only you could decide. We should be glad to have you back in Princeton but would perfectly understand if you felt that you ought to remain in England.

With kindest regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

Frank Aydelotte

FA:jer

Copy to Miss Miller

Miss Wise

TELEPHONE: CENTRAL 7474

UNILEVER HOUSE,

BLACKFRIARS, E.C.4.

19. VII. 45

Dear Ardelite,

I am so sorry I was out when  
you "phoned," and we failed to get you  
at the "Athenaeum" afterwards.

It is very kind of you to offer to  
cancel your Monday lunch, but I  
don't want to interfere with your  
engagements. Would you be free  
to see me if I come in about  
11.30 on Monday evening? I  
have to catch the 2.40 to Cambridge,  
as I am giving the opening talk  
at a Students' Conference that evening.

My good wishes to you.

Yours sincerely,  
J. E. Hartley

If you would kindly leave a "phone  
message at Kingston Blount,  
you need not trouble to write, I  
shall be there from 6.30 on Friday  
night, but I have Mr. Reilly  
staying with me over the weekend.

TELEPHONE: CENTRAL 7474

UNILEVER HOUSE,  
BLACKFRIARS, E.C.4.

10.VII.46.

Dear Mr. Delotte,

Welcome to England, again. I  
found your post note here when I returned  
last night and I was glad to know that  
I will see you soon. I saw ~~you~~ last  
Thursday, but he must be gone by now.

I will try to get in touch with  
you ~~over the weekend~~, to see what would  
be a convenient time for you for a talk.  
But, in any case - though I hope we  
will meet well before that - could you  
kindly lunch with us here on Thursday  
25th July? Herzog & I have would  
much like to see you again.

All my good wishes to you  
Yours ever  
D. Mitrany

Please remember me kindly to  
Mrs. Allen, also the younger generation.  
I hope the young couple is full of melody.

TELEPHONE: CENTRAL 7474

UNILEVER HOUSE,

BLACKFRIARS, E.C.4.

17. vii. 45.

Dear A. Delbo,

I'm sorry - I hope I sh  
not cause you too much inconvenience.  
I will give you another call - and perhaps  
you will kindly call me if you should  
be in town in the meanwhile.

With very apologetic kind regards,

Yours sincerely  
David Mitrany

EXHIBIT 10

10 - Baller

Bauer

Allen + Kilton



Waterford, Connecticut  
September 5, 1945

Professor David Mitrany  
Unilever House  
Blackfriars, London E.C.4  
England

Dear Mitrany:

I am tremendously interested in your letter of August 30th about lend-lease and realize fully the soundness of the points which you make. For my own part I think the suddenness with which Truman announced the termination of lend-lease constituted a grave political mistake. A great many people share that feeling in this country and on the rebound it will be possible, I think, to make some kind of feasible arrangement for continued supplies to England. The fact remains that the thing was done with a brutal kind of crudeness which is only too common in the American treatment of other countries. Even the phrasing of Truman's statement was hopeless.

I realize that this problem, serious as it is, becomes insignificant in comparison with the problem of Europe. I had a long talk with Salter about that when I was in London in July. It has now become clear to officers of our occupation forces and I think that we are quite certain to make some efforts though probably inadequate ones to relieve the inevitable distress. Whether we can do enough to keep organized society in being remains to be seen. We are having a meeting of the Board of Directors of the American Friends Service Committee on the whole problem next week but, of course, no private organization like ours can deal with a problem of such appalling magnitude. Nevertheless, I feel that it is incumbent upon us to do what we can.

Has it ever occurred to you to write an article on the subject for some such magazine as "The Atlantic" or "Harpers"? If you are interested in doing so I should be glad to try to place the article and should put it up to the editors that it was a public duty to use it.

We <sup>have</sup> had a good holiday here through the month of August: <sup>th</sup> kind of holiday in which I work all morning, every morning, but a real vacation in spite of that. It ends, alas, tomorrow.

With kindest regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

*Show to*  
*Institute Faculty*  
AIR MAIL

Telephone - Central 7474.

UNILEVER HOUSE,

BLACKFRIARS,

LONDON, E.C.4.

30th August 1945

*Dear Hydalotte,*

You are probably having some vacation and I am sure that you needed it. I have not been able to have a break yet myself as there is so much going on, with the various international conferences, and so much to do.

For the past week opinion here has been somewhat excited by the lend-lease issue, partly because people are tired and under a strain, with little prospect of the end of the war making life easier; partly because only a few people realised that lend-lease was bound to terminate with the end of the war, and even those who knew that it would were rather taken aback by the abruptness of the decision, especially as it affected even supplies already on the way. I and many others feel rather angry with both Attlee and Churchill for the way in which they brought up the issue in the House of Commons last week. No doubt the problem is difficult and some expression of regret was inevitable, but they both failed disgracefully to make it clear that the end of lend-lease was inevitable and that we had no cause or standing for complaint. The Liberal papers pointed this out the following day, but the failure of the leaders to put the point clearly and to mention that we have had several warnings from Washington that we must do something about this, has caused, I fear, a lot of bad blood. It is a pity also that in making the sudden announcement the President did not himself, perhaps out of excessive courtesy, mention the fact that his Administration had practically invited us to negotiate a different arrangement.

But whatever our difficulties in the coming winter, they are not the real problem of the moment. We could do with a little more food and comfort, but we can survive easily without them. The real problem is the Continent. It is not a matter of the dramatised stories which newspaper correspondents occasionally send out, but of the cold reports of official and private observers coming in now all the time. Most of us who watch these reports cannot but fear that organised social life will break down this winter over the larger part of Central and Eastern Europe. Food will be quite inadequate, fuel mostly non-existent, and the medical people are certain that widespread epidemics cannot be prevented under these conditions at the end of the autumn. Needless to say, it is naive to expect order and regular government in such conditions, and it is almost an irony to see our Foreign Office and the State Department protesting against undemocratic elections in Bulgaria while we

Dr. F. Aydelotte

- 2 -

30.8.45

are doing as near as nothing to keep life in being at all. I cannot imagine that conditions could have been worse at the end of the Thirty Years' War. And I cannot see how the economy of the industrial countries could keep on an even keel while Europe is in such a state. For the last two or three years we have been discussing the need for developing the so-called "backward" areas of the world as an indispensable outlet for western industries. Before we can even start with that we are simply allowing well nigh the whole of the European continent to become a backward area, indeed a devastated area, which unless speedily and drastically helped will drop altogether out of the normal economy of the world.

These things are so elementary and so fully proved that it is baffling how the leading governments go on talking about war criminals and democratic elections and simply cannot get together to save the life and civilisation of a whole continent. In the economic depression of the 'thirties we allowed raw materials to be destroyed and factories, machines and labour to be idle while people went short of the necessities of life, and that abdication of a sense of national unity and common responsibility begane the rot in the standing of the system of private enterprise in the West. We are showing exactly the same kind of lack of sense of unity and responsibility in ~~the~~ a wider sphere of social life, and what kind of rot that will set going I shudder to think. It is not a matter of goodwill to England but of simple commonsense humanity towards the whole of the Continent, not a matter of charity but of self-preservation for the whole of the western world. And in a few months perhaps it will all be too late.

With all good wishes for yourself and Mrs. Aydelotte and Bill,

Always yours sincerely  
*J. Mitrany*

*American observers here will report this  
but I don't know whether it has permeated  
into the press/public opinion.*

Dr. Frank Aydelotte,  
Fuld Hall,  
Princeton, N.J.

Dr. Arwellotte

Phoebe House,  
23.11.45.  
11.30 am.

Dear Agathe,

I'm afraid I've worried you  
again, through some misunderstanding.  
I rang up the Bean Hill number on  
Saturday ~~was~~ given your message that  
I might come here this morn'g. at this  
time - and I said I would. But  
perhaps you didn't get my own message.  
I am not so busy, & I much  
wanted a talk with you. Would you  
have a little time after lunch,  
on Wednesday?

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely  
David Mitrany

Please remember me kindly to  
Dr. Ben Allen.



AIR MAIL

Telephone - Central 7474.

UNILEVER HOUSE,

BLACKFRIARS,

LONDON, E.C.4.

11th July, 1945.

Dear Dr. Aydelotte,

Professor Mitrany has asked me to write to you at once so that you may be able to read this letter with the one he wrote you personally this morning. Mr. Geoffrey Heyworth, the Chairman, whom you met in the States would very much like to meet you while you are in London, but unfortunately is not available on Wednesday, 25th July. He could manage Tuesday the 31st, or Wednesday, Thursday or Friday the 1st, 2nd or 3rd August were you to be likely to be able to come to London that week. At present the Professor is planning to be on holiday at that time but could arrange to come up for the day.

For the moment we are planning lunch for Wednesday, July 25th, when Mr. Lawrence Heyworth, whom you have also met, will be present and also Mr. Rykens, the vice Chairman; and if you are not able to come up the first week in August we will keep to this date as suggested by the Professor in his letter this morning.

Professor Mitrany thinks you would be interested in the review of 'The University and the Modern World' by Arnold S. Nash, in Nature of June 23rd, 1945.

Yours sincerely,

*Nora S. Ford Smith*

Personal Assistant.

Dr. F. Aydelotte,  
~~Fuld Hall, Rhodes House~~  
~~Princeton,~~  
New Jersey. *Oxford*

AIR MAIL

Telephone - Central 7474.

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

NFS/SW

17th October, 1945.

Dear Dr. Aydelotte,

Professor Mitrany has suggested that I should write to tell you of the action we have taken after receiving your letter of September 5th from Waterford.

The Professor did not feel that an article such as you suggested was quite in his line at the moment as he has no first-hand information, but after discussing the matter with one or two people I asked Tom Burns and Gerald Gardiner of the Friends Ambulance Unit whether they would feel a concern to write such an article. They are hoping to do this and will send the article direct to you. I have explained, of course, that there is no certainty that you will be able to get the article placed.

... It may interest you to see the enclosed pamphlet by the Rev. Henry Carter, and the leaflet issued by the "Save Europe Now" campaign.

Yours sincerely,

*Norah J. Ford Smith*

Assistant to  
Professor Mitrany.

Dr. Frank Aydelotte,  
Fuld Hall,  
Princeton,  
N.J.

CABLE NIGHT LETTER

June 28, 1945

To:

*David* Mitrany  
Unilever House  
Blackfriars  
London

Spending July in England, headquarters Rhodes  
House, Oxford. Delighted opportunity discussions  
with you.

*Frank* Aydelotte

Institute for Advanced Study

AIR MAIL.

UNILEVER HOUSE,

Telephone - Central 7474.

BLACKFRIARS,

PERSONAL

LONDON, E.C.4.

21st June 1945

Dear Aydelotte,

I have to thank you for your two kind letters of May 10th. I am delighted that you like the book on Southeastern Europe and, like you, am sure that it would be appreciated in the States. The Oxford Press have now reported that they are so short of paper that they cannot undertake an American edition and Leonard Elmhirst has therefore asked Bruce Bliven to make enquiries about a possible publisher. Do you think the Princeton Press would be interested?

This letter, by the way, is for you personally as I am anxious to find out your own view in regard to my position.

I had been hoping to hear that you had definitely arranged to come over, as it was suggested a little while ago, but as you say nothing about this I feel that you should have my view before the meeting of the Trustees. I am quite frankly anxious to stay on here at present, both for personal reasons and because of the general state of things. The only thing I want to feel sure about is that no decision would be taken at your end without my being given some warning and some time to consider it. My other reason is still more private, namely the difficulty I have in envisaging how we could get our group at the Institute to work together in the social field. It so happens that only a few days ago I had some talk about this problem, in general, with friends from Harvard and I dearly wish I could discuss it at leisure with you. But you know that in this, as in everything else, I put myself completely in your hands. That is why it was such a blow to me to hear that you were leaving the Institute so soon. I know what you have done in putting it on a proper road in regard to its government and I hope that all the others appreciate it as deeply as I do. But there is also an academic problem, concerning my particular group, and only strong support from the Head could get that straight.

With my warmest wishes for yourself and Mrs. Aydelotte and Bill,

Always yours sincerely,

*David Mitrany*

Dr. Frank Aydelotte,  
Fuld Hall,  
Princeton, N.J.

AIR MAIL.

UNILEVER HOUSE,

Telephone - Central 7474.

BLACKFRIARS,

LONDON, E.C.4.

21st June 1945

Dear Aydelotte,

I have your kind letters of May 10, and I am glad that you like the book on Southeastern Europe. It has had a great reception here and I very much hope that we can get an American edition soon.

It will interest you to know that I am hoping to bring out in the fall two small books of essays - one on "American Interpretations" with four essays on American policy, of which only one on the New Deal has appeared so far; the other book on "Peasants and Workers", essays dealing with the perennial friction in Europe between the two great sections of the working mass, a friction which unfortunately is coming up again. They are all fairly solid stuff.

The general situation is pretty serious, much more so than even the pessimists feared a while ago. Policies are being applied now which will shape the social and economic life of Europe for quite a time, and they are being applied without unity or study. It is more a political rush than a considered practical plan. I had long ago foreseen that at the end of the war we should be faced both with internal stresses in the several European <sup>countries</sup> and also with stresses between the Allies, and had urged preparation for practical joint action which should have (a) taken the strain of both, and (b) led in time and gradually towards habits of joint action for common ends. In fact nothing at all was prepared, not even the vaguest of plans. That inaction was partly due to the fear of raising issues, yet disagreement and suspicion are profound and if anything more harmful than even the lack of a plan, because they prevent even unplanned action by all together.

The lack of cooperation between Russia and ourselves is as complete as it could possibly be. I know quite a bit about the mistakes of omission and commission on our part, but it is not easy to learn the reasons for Russia's attitude. They simply don't say nothing. Quite clearly they are still deeply suspicious of the Western world, largely in terms of Marxism. They are concerned, in the first place and for the above reason, with security on their western border, but they look upon it first and foremost in terms of liquidating the old regimes, politically and socially. That means action of a kind which ties the new regimes to Russia, first in self-defence and secondly in self-sufficiency, that is economic ties, because they cannot be attached politically to Russia if economically they were bound to the West.



If Russia can make the peoples of eastern Europe, on the ground of a better and freer life in future, accept for a few years the renunciations which had been imposed upon the Russian people during the shaping of the five-year plans, she could link up the region to her own economy in such a way as to make of it and Russia a solid economic bloc, almost independent of economic intercourse with the outside world. This almost appears to be already a policy that is being applied. The region, including half of Germany, has been completely separated from western Europe in spite of great local needs. The peasant countries are being pressed to industrialise rapidly, and do so along the line of heavy industry - steel, machines, engines, airplanes and motorcars. From the point of view of local needs and possibilities this is wholly artificial and makes no sense. But together with Russia it does make sense - (a) it adds to the Soviet supplies of machines etc., that is of those things of which they were short and had to import during the war, (b) it releases surplus local labour for work in Russia (our study having shown that the local need was for consumption industries which relatively could absorb a much greater proportion of labour), (c) it alters the balance of forces in the peasant countries, weakening the peasants and strengthening the industrial workers (which had been one important aim of the forcible agricultural collectivisation in Russia itself). She is letting the peasants take over the land now, but she did so at first also with the Russian peasants in 1917.

There is every appearance of a tendency to form a separate bloc of half a continent attached to Russia economically and socially. The counterpart of that is that the sea Powers hold all the outlets for that bloc, from the Straits to Bremen, Hamburg, and the possibility of shutting in the Baltic (hence the bitter contest for Trieste). If so these two sides together are bound to lead to friction. It may not break out as a direct conflict, but rather as reciprocal political pin-pricks. There would be plenty of opportunities at the periphery. The West could make things awkward in central Europe and the Danubian region where there are bound to be many groups of discontented. The Soviets could retaliate with great ease in the Middle East, in India and in China. Who is to foretell how that would end? What one can foretell is that these are not issues that could be either prevented or at need solved by the formal machinery of the San Francisco Charter. They could be only reduced gradually by the working of joint interests, through joint economic action, upon a wide social foundation. If we on our part think in terms of "trade" and therefore work together mainly with the people who buy and sell rather than with those who consume, Russia may remain suspicious and certainly could play the masses against us. So far we have made just about every possible mistake in that sense and have played straight into both Russian suspicion<sup>now</sup> of playing with the old regimes and into the fears of the local discontented groups that we would impose the old regimes upon them again. We have therefore been out of touch with the new popular currents in that part of Europe. I am quite sure that unless our political and economic

Dr. Frank Aydelotte

- 3 -

21.6.45

policy is based first and foremost on an understanding of the social revolution which quite inevitably is going on in that part of Europe we shall grow increasingly out of touch with it; and that is a somewhat delicate point, because while some of the people who shout about "democracy" in eastern Europe really are concerned about their own lost privileged position, there is a real issue involved on the political side. But we just can't solve the problem of democracy in that part unless we start from the social end.

This is a rather long letter, but the situation is really serious and it wants thinking out all over again.

With all good wishes,  
Yours sincerely,

*David Mitrany*

Dr. Frank Aydelotte,  
Fuld Hall,  
Princeton, N.J.



*Mitrany*

## OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

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OXFORD MEDICAL PUBLICATIONS

NEW YORK

11

ONE FOURTEEN FIFTH AVENUE

TELEPHONE: WATKINS 9-1100

May 28, 1945

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

Dear Professor Aydelotte:-

I am sorry not to have answered your letter of May 10 before this. We are not producing our own edition of ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF SOUTHEAST EUROPE, but we shall publish the English edition over here as soon as we receive stock. It has been on order since February so that we should be able to hope for copies very soon. Our price will be \$3.00.

Sincerely yours,

VBC:ME

(Mrs.) Virginia B. Carrick  
Publicity Director

May 17, 1945

Professor David Mitrany  
Unilever House  
Blackfriars  
London, E.C.4, England

Dear Mitrany:

I acknowledge with thanks your remittance of \$1,000 to be applied to your TIAA premiums and the payments on policies of the Boston Five Cents Savings Bank. I enclose a statement of your account herewith which will show you that this remittance practically covers your overdraft as of April 30, 1945, leaving a balance due of \$81.72. We shall, of course, continue payments as before.

With kindest regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

Frank Aydelotte

FA:jsr  
Enc. 1

Copy to Miss Miller

# LEVER BROTHERS COMPANY

50 MEMORIAL DRIVE

- CAMBRIDGE 39, MASSACHUSETTS -

EXECUTIVE OFFICES

May 11, 1945

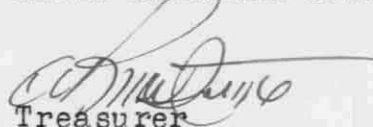
Treasurer, Institute for Advanced Training  
Princeton University  
Princeton, New Jersey

Dear Sir:

In accordance with instructions received from  
Mr. Geoffrey Heyworth, Chairman of the Board  
of Lever Brothers & Unilever Limited, London,  
England, we are pleased to enclose our check  
for \$1,000. This payment is being made on  
behalf of the services of Professor Mitrany.

Cordially yours

LEVER BROTHERS COMPANY

  
Treasurer

A.P. MacIntyre





May 10, 1945

Dear Mitrany:

Warmest thanks for the copy of your little book on the Economic Development of Southeast Europe. I read it with the greatest interest and consider it out of the class of anything I have seen on the subject. I send you my heartiest congratulations and my hope that it will have the wide influence which it deserves. I am writing to the Oxford University Press in New York to express the hope that they will issue an American edition at the earliest possible moment.

I very much enjoyed your comments on Wriston. His argument is unimportant but his attitude is, as you say, distressing. I feel myself a very strong desire to see these functional arrangements included in the framework of an overall international organization such as is now being planned at San Francisco, for various fundamental reasons which I need not go into since you understand them better than I do.

I thoroughly agree with what I think to be your point that international stability will depend in the long run on adequate administration of the various international interests for which your functional organization is planned to provide.

With kindest regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

Frank Aydelotte

Professor David Mitrany  
Unilever House  
Blackfriars, E. C. 4  
London  
England

FA:KK

May 10, 1945

Professor David Mitrany  
Unilever House  
Blackfriars  
London E.C.4, England

Dear Mitrany:

I appreciate very warmly your letter of April 25th concerning my retirement. On the whole I think it best to let the arrangement stand by which I retire in October 1947. There is a good deal of ill-feeling in various American universities where the president or administrative officer in charge fails to apply to himself the same retirement rule that applies to the faculty. Knowing well this feeling, I suggested to the Trustees that the 65 year rule should apply to me. I was deeply touched to have the Faculty make a strong objection to my retirement at 65. The Trustees were inclined to think the 65 year rule should apply to me as well as to the Faculty but as a concession to the Faculty they prolonged my term of service up to October 1947. I think it best to leave it at that.

As you can surmise, a good deal of my time and thought has been devoted to unravelling certain very tangled knots in the administration of the Institute and in instituting a more democratic procedure. In addition of course, I had a severe financial problem. This last with the help of the foundations I managed to solve and I have made good progress with the first and more important matter of establishing agreements and routines by which the Institute will be governed more democratically and more intelligently than has ever been the case in the past. I hope during the next two years to solidify these gains and to leave them as my contribution to the Institute. I must confess that I look forward with great enthusiasm to a somewhat freer life for myself.

On the basis of a kind invitation from the Trustees, I expect to keep my offices in Fuld Hall and I shall, of course, continue as a Trustee.

I take a second sheet to comment on various other matters about which you have written me.

With kindest regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

Frank Aydelotte

FA:jar

THE LOWER FARM,  
KINGSTON BLOUNT,  
OXFORD.

4. V. 45

Dear Arvidotte,

Since writing you a few days ago, I have heard from the publishers that the Government have bought 900 copies of the South-Eastern Europe book, for use in departments and officers study groups. It's a real compliment, but with an uncomfortable side to it - for this large purchase will exhaust the first edition, and with the shortage of paper & labour, I don't know when we can print again. So it almost works as if they had suppressed the remainder of the book for the public. But I'm really pleased, & I thought it would please you to know. The joke is that this was the kind of inquiry which I wanted them to do when I was working for them, but they say they academic colleagues were interested only in diplomatic schemes.

Today we are almost flattened out by the news - even the war in Europe - we can hardly take it in. Now there's work to do.

My good wishes to you

David Mitrany

AIR MAIL

CABLES, LEVERBRO, LONDON.

UNILEVER HOUSE,

BLACKFRIARS, E.C.4.

DM/SW

1st May, 1945.

Dear Aydelotte,

I hope that you have received by now the copies of the book on Economic Development in S.E. Europe, as I am very anxious that you should see it. It has had a generous reception here and it may go out of print ~~any~~ ~~a~~ moment. The Manchester Guardian spoke of it in an editorial as "~~t~~his remarkable book"; and I am sending you also the beginning of a review by G.D.H. Cole in last week's New Statesman. The Oxford Press in New York has the matter in hand, but I do not know whether they will handle it any better than they did my pamphlet; and yet I am sure that it is just the kind of detached enquiry which would be appreciated in the States.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

*D. Mitrany*

Dr. Frank Aydelotte,  
Fuld Hall,  
Princeton, N.J.

From the New Statesman and Nation, 28th April, 1945.

A Review by G.D.H. Cole on Economic Development in  
S.E. Europe.

'This book, the outcome of the work of a private study-group made up of experts drawn mainly from the countries with which it deals, is the best thing so far published about the economic needs and possibilities of the predominantly peasant areas of Eastern and Southern Europe. It is short, and makes no attempt to present detailed plans, being, indeed, a study of guiding principles rather than of their precise application to particular areas; but within its compass it is eminently sensible and realistic. The political issues, though they are evidently destined to play a large part in settling the actual future of this group of countries, are set aside. Unless they had been, it is unlikely that men of varying political views drawn from countries with traditions of keen anatagonism could have worked harmoniously together in producing this remarkably objective study. What is actually done is bound to depend largely on politics: what needs doing, from a purely economic standpoint, is pretty much the same everywhere, and whatever political motives may be behind it....'



# AIR MAIL

CABLES, LEVERBRO, LONDON.

UNILEVER HOUSE,

BLACKFRIARS, E.C.4.

DM/SW

25th April, 1945.

Dear Aydelotte,

I have just received your two letters of March 20th, and I want to say first something about that referring to yourself.

I was quite taken aback by your reference to your retirement. I had never thought of it, but on the contrary somehow assumed that you would be in charge for quite a few years to come. I do not know whether there are any rules applying to the Director, and in the present situation I should feel it most unfortunate if you were to insist on applying it yourself, though that is a kind of thing one might expect you to do. But you will have to face the fact that we are in an exceptional situation. First, there were the unfortunate difficulties on the eve of the war, and these were immediately followed by the <sup>dis</sup>organisation of the Institute's work by the war itself. The Institute therefore has not had a chance to find itself yet, and it clearly must have a few years to do so. It would be most unfortunate if there should be a change of direction in the midst of that period, and no matter what the future position is, I do hope, and earnestly beg you to reconsider your attitude, and give us at least another four or five years of your help. I am well aware that it will mean a sacrifice on your part, but I cannot see how we can hope to make the progress we expect from the Institute without your guidance in the years ahead.

I am sending you enclosed, a note on Wriston's pamphlet. Frankly I am not at all impressed by it; it is not very sound and so patently ~~int~~tempered. I do not know him, but from what he says about me I am pretty clear as to where he stands in politics. Please send him a copy of Niebuhr with my compliments. The situation is not very pleasant at the moment. I do very much hope that you will be coming over this summer, and may I say that

# AIR MAIL

UNILEVER HOUSE,

CABLES, LEVERBRO, LONDON.

BLACKFRIARS, E.C.4.

- 2 -

somehow or other you will have to reserve a week-end for me. Quite a number of things are going wrong. Especially, in the first place, we have failed to foresee the problems which would face us on the opening up of the continent, and you cannot run orderly democracy with people who are starving and sickening among ruins. The situation is pretty desperate and we may easily lose control of it all together. I am sending you a copy of a memorandum which I wrote nearly four years ago on the problems of peace. Needless to say, no action was taken, but you will see that it did not require much wisdom to foresee the real needs of peace.

But I am going to write to you again privately about the political situation. Here I only want to add that a remittance will be made to you to cover the payments made so far, and any balance could stay in your accounts. In the meantime, I have found out that the books sent to Princeton have been paid for by you, against what was merely a customs invoice, so that I do not think there is anything outstanding on that account.

With all my good wishes to you and Mrs. Aydelotte, and to our friends at the Institute,

Always yours sincerely,

*D. Mitrany*

P.S. I am sending under separate cover also two pamphlets, "The Future of University and Higher Education" and "Some Comparisons Between Universities" thinking that they might interest you.

Dr. Frank Aydelotte,  
Fuld Hall,  
Princeton, N.J.

Note on Dr. H.M. Wriston's address "The Functional Approach to Peace"

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I have read again Dr. Wriston's pamphlet attacking my own pamphlet, and I must confess that I do not like it any better, though perhaps I am a little clearer as to the springs of his point of view. There have been various points of criticism directed against my approach and I propose to deal with them in a new pamphlet. But Dr. Wriston's attack can hardly be dealt with in that way. He does not tackle practical points but is evidently angered by the whole conception.

In some cases it may be a matter of misunderstanding, as when he says that I regard "war economy" and "peace economy" as being identical. I do not see how anyone could find such a reading in anything I have said. What I have said is that similar types of government have been found necessary for dealing with similar tasks; when it is a matter of making the best possible use of existing resources for common international needs, it is all too likely that joint functional organisation would be found more suitable both in war as in peace. In at least two cases Dr. Wriston, to my surprise, as coming from an academic man, has been definitely unfair. On page 7 he puts side by side two quotations from different parts of the pamphlet - one a simple historical statement that radical reformers show a disregard "for forms and formalities", the other a personal view on the constitutional side of international action, where I suggested that international organisation in its formative stage is likely to be embarrassed by an excess of constitutional rules. Again on page 13 he appeals to the well-known popular antipathies to monopolies and cartels by implying that this is a type which I advocate for functional organisation, and I do not think any search could possibly find in my pamphlet the slightest justification for such a travesty. Is the TVA a monopoly or a cartel?

I really wanted to find the track of Dr. Wriston's argument so as to derive for myself the benefit which I might have expected

from his discussion, but I cannot say that I have been successful. In certain places he complains of lack of planning and even of "improvisation" (page 6), a rather strange suggestion indeed, and in other places he is afraid of excessive action and "encroachment" on national life (page 5). I have a feeling that he was not really arguing with me at all but with certain internal policies and attitudes. Perhaps the real theme of his discussion is the sentence on page 8 that "a functional international structure based upon the experience of the United States in the last decade is not a promising programme - at least for peace." To him the last decade in the States was lacking in "orderly processes" (he sees the excrescences but not the substance of that period, and overlooks the fact that the excrescences were not infrequently due to the outstanding lack of foresight and preparation before that period, and on the other side to the perverse obstruction of the "constitutional" purists during that period.) On the bottom of page 9 he is anxious about the "safeguards built by experience"; on page 10 he is anxious for the "historic American ideal" and on the same page pleads for the "complete recovery of liberties".

The impression I derive that he was really fighting an internal issue is strengthened by a reference on page 16 to an earlier essay of mine on the New Deal, where he again sets up the constitutional approach in opposition to the active approach. That is of course an issue which goes deep, but it will not be clarified by the suggestion (page 12) that functionalism "is predicated upon the relative unimportance of political rights, that is, the rights of man against the state." That is a sad confusion of the issue. There can be no dispute as to the substance of the wish to maintain the rights of man; the problem is, can they be maintained in the forms imbedded in our traditions and constitutions? The re-definition of the relations of individuals and groups to the state, and of states to each other, is beyond doubt the crucial democratic problem of our time. I did not need Dr. Wriston's complaint to be

made aware of that - you will find it clearly stated in my article on "The Political Consequences of Economic Planning", Yale Review 1933, which was the reduced text of a lecture given the previous year at Harvard. I could write a lot about this, and about the danger for democrats and democracy in trying to uphold outworn formulae in the face of utterly changed conditions and needs. Fortunately this task has in the meanwhile been done brilliantly by Reinhold Niebuhr in his little book on "The Children of Light and Children of Darkness", which I have just reviewed for Chatham House. If you have read that, you will see why I regard Dr. Wriston's criticism of myself as relatively unimportant, but his attitude to the general problem of our time, internally and externally, as greatly distressing.

D.M.  
25.4.45



April 17, 1945

Dear Mitrany:

I am delighted to receive the Italian translation of your pamphlet on "The Functional Approach to Peace." I hope it will be translated into other languages as well. International discussion of these problems is what we need and is extremely hard to get.

I am glad to say that all the indications are that the death of Roosevelt is not going to make any difference in the participation of this country in whatever organization proceeds from the Dumbarton Oaks proposals. I feel very strongly myself the force of some criticisms which have been made of these proposals, particularly from the point of view of the small nations. The line I have taken, however, is that our own citizens are not all agreed, that we are only one of many nations concerned, and that our only possible line is to support whatever can be agreed upon and make the best of it.

From my point of view, a feasible method of amendment which would make improvements possible in the future would be one of the most valuable characteristics which the new organization could possess.

With kindest regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

Frank Aydelotte

Prof. David Mitrany  
Unilever House  
Blackfriars E. C. 4  
London  
England

FA:KK

TELEPHONE CENTRAL 7474

UNILEVER HOUSE,

BLACKFRIARS, E.C.4.

1st March 1945

Dr. Frank Aydelotte,  
Fuld Hall,  
Princeton, N.J.

Dear Aydelotte,

Thank you so much for your kind letter about my account with the Institute. I know that you are willing, as you have been in the past, to look after these payments till I can make the necessary arrangements, but I do not think that it is necessary to add to the work of your secretariat. I think I can make arrangements for a regular payment to the Institute of a sufficient amount to cover both superannuation and my private insurance, as the authorities here have told me that such payments would be permissible. I will let you have something more definite very soon; and also if possible a statement of the amount spent on books here on Ed. Earle's behalf.

I am also going to write you separately about Wriston's blast. I was the more surprised as I had just been reviewing his book for Chatham House and in it he pleads for full functional participation by America. It is a good book, but its main weakness perhaps explains his difference from my point of view, as I think that he gravely underestimates the difficulties and dangers lurking in the economic problem. To redress the balance a little in your eyes I am venturing to enclose a Canadian view which I have only seen in the extracts sent me by Chatham House.

By separate mail I have sent you two copies of the study on economic cooperation in South Eastern Europe which has been prepared by a small group I got together privately some two years ago. As I could not get our authorities interested in this approach I did it on my own, and I feel rather proud of the result, not only for its intrinsic value as a study, but also because it has been done by a group of experts, many of them officials, in which all the enemy countries of the region were represented. I kept the group strictly detached and independent and as a consequence had literally to beg help with rooms and typing and such things from day to day, as I did not want the work to become dependent on any government or private institution. I hope that you and the Trustees will accept the result of this experiment as part of the war work which I came to do here, or still better as part of the peace work which we all have to encourage.

With all good wishes for you and Mrs. Aydelotte and the  
Institute,

Always yours,

*D. Mitrany*

P.S. Dr. Allen tells me that there is a prospect of your coming  
over again. I do hope this is so and that I may see rather  
more of you this time. Please let me know as soon as any plans  
are made.

*I have seen about her apartment to expect - this is  
splendid and I hope I shall see quite a bit of her.  
What is he carrying?*

Extract from CANADIAN FORUM, December 1944

WORKING PEACE SYSTEM: Review by Frank H. Underhill (Professor of History, University of Toronto).

The best contribution to the discussion of peace aims since the war began.

The argument is even more convincing now (December 1944) than when composed: clearly we are not going to have international federation after the war but sovereign states each maintaining control of their own armed forces and military resources. That is to say, a balance of power world in which power politics may overshadow everything else.

As Dr. Mitrany says, the best thing - if we want to start the people of the world thinking about welfare rather than power - is to start as many international functions without worrying too much about the general over-all form of international organisation.

A most persuasive pamphlet. Genuine constructive thinking.

Mr. King has already committed himself to this kind of approach to international reconstruction and it is an obvious natural development which might come out of the United Nations set-up, as the latter becomes more of a working reality and less of a rhetorical slogan.

---



March 20, 1945

Dear Mitrany:

The Faculty and Trustees of the Institute have been much exercised during the last few months over the question of my retirement. When I faced the whole problem of pensions two years ago, it seemed necessary to enforce rigidly the retirement rule of 65 on all the members of the Faculty.

You will remember my writing to you about your own pension at that time. The first members to retire were Herzfeld and Einstein, and Veblen and Lowe have become 65 this year. Special research funds supplementing their pensions have been arranged for all four men so that they can remain active for from three to five years after they have technically retired.

I felt myself that having enforced this rule on everybody else, it should also apply to me. Greatly to my surprise the Faculty raised strong objections and made the argument that the same considerations which apply to the scholar should not necessarily apply to an administrative officer. The Trustees were very strongly of the opinion that the 65 rule should apply to everybody, but out of deference to the opinion of the Faculty, they have asked me to continue until October, 1947. This I shall probably do, though I had firmly resolved that I would not. I have been so deeply touched, however, by the expression of confidence I have received from the Faculty that I hardly feel free to retire earlier, attractive as that prospect would be to me in many ways.

Meanwhile, it is proposed that the Trustees and Faculty should begin next year an active search for a suitable person to succeed me. As soon as there is any news on this subject, you may be sure I shall send it on to you.

With kindest regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

Frank Aydelotte

Professor David Mitrany  
Unilever House  
Blackfriars, E. C. 4  
London, England

FA:KK



March 20, 1945

Dear Mitrany:

Warmest thanks for your letter of March first. We can attend to the payments until such time as it is convenient for you to send remittances. Please let me know also your account in the matter of books that might be balanced off against your remittances and save the transfer of just that much money.

I should be greatly interested in your comments on Wriston.

The study of your economic proposals in South Eastern Europe has not yet reached me. I look forward to receiving it with the greatest interest. I have received and am circulating your admirable address, "The Road to Security." I was particularly pleased to read it because I had just been making a speech about Dumbarton Oaks in which I emphasized the point that you make, that the only real basis of security is positive and constructive action in the economic and social fields and that the real problem of the postwar world is not to keep nations peacefully apart but to bring them actively together.

I am uneasy myself about all these negative proposals. We must prevent aggression rather than resist aggression if we are ever to get anywhere. It makes one sick at heart to think how easy it would have been to stop the present war in 1936.

The world is full of people at the present moment who want to take steps to make it forever impossible for Germany or Japan to go on the warpath again. Of course the only steps we could take now to insure that would be the total extermination of the German and Japanese people. It is very difficult and uncomfortable to make these zealots realize that the only useful thing we can do is to exercise constant vigilance and take constant measures to improve the welfare, material and spiritual, of all peoples everywhere.

There is some talk of my going over this summer. Whether it will be feasible or not it is too soon to say. I should like very much to do it for many reasons, and I shall certainly make the journey if it can be arranged.

I take a separate sheet to give you some news of the Institute.

Yours sincerely,

Prof. David Mitrany

Frank Aydelotte

January 18, 1945

Dear Mitrany:

I was delighted to get your cablegram about the Heyworths and have just sent you the enclosed reply. I look forward with eagerness to hearing the news of you and I am perfectly delighted that the Heyworths will be here for a conference which we began to plan only this morning.

Copland, the Economic Adviser to the Prime Minister of Australia, has just spent a week with us and we have been so much interested in his ideas about the impact of the American economy on the postwar world that we have arranged to have Copland come back to meet our Institute group, Loveday, and a few Washington officials in a small private conference on the whole question. It is most fortunate that the Heyworths plan to be here at that time.

The only unfortunate thing is that February tenth comes just at the time when we had planned to be away on a short holiday which Marie and I both need very much. I am going to try to manage to fly back for the two days of the conference and then fly off to Florida again, but I cannot be sure that this will be feasible. I have written to the Heyworths to say that if it is not, I hope very much that they will attend the conference just the same and will then return to Princeton as our personal guests later in the month.

What you wrote to me in November about the problem of Germany is discouraging, and what you say about the inability of the Allies to agree is born out by everything that I have heard since, and I feel quite certain that the problems of the war, difficult as they are, will seem in retrospect simple as compared with the problems of the peace.

We often speak of you here, and all your colleagues, if they knew I was writing, would want to send you warmest regards as do Marie and I.

Yours very sincerely,

Frank Aydelotte

Professor David Mitrany  
Unilever House  
Blackfriars

CABLE NIGHT LETTER

January 18, 1945

DAVID MITRANY  
UNILEVER HOUSE  
BLACKFRIARS  
LONDON ~~E.C.4~~ [England]

DELIGHTED WITH NEWS ABOUT HEYWORTHS. HOPE THEY WILL  
ATTEND IMPORTANT ECONOMICS CONFERENCE INSTITUTE FEBRUARY  
TENTH.

Frank Aydelotte

FA:KK

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

# WESTERN UNION

A. N. WILLIAMS  
PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter

NL = Night Letter

LC = Deferred Cable

NLT = Cable Night Letter

Ship Radiogram

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

NZ19 INTL=CD LN VIA COMMERCIAL 59 JAN 17

1915 JAN 18 AM 8 01

NLT FRANK AYDELOTTE =

FULD HALL PRINCETON NEWJERSEY=

DEOFFREY HEYWORTH CHAIRMAN UNILEVER AND HIS BROTHER  
LAWRENCE LEAVING FOR VISIT UNITED STATES AND WOULD LIKE  
SEE YOU AGAIN FULLSTOP PERHAPS RIEFLER AND LOVEDAY ALSO  
INTERESTED FULLSTOP THEY ARE RESERVING WEEKEND

FEBRUARY NINTH AND I HOPE POSSIBLE FOR YOU INVITE THEM  
PRINCETON FULLSTOP THEIR ADDRESS CARE LIPTONS LTD HOBOKEN  
NEWJERSEY=

DAVID MITRANY.

UNILEVER RPT UNILEVER RIEFLER LTD.

TELEPHONE NO. *Am.*  
TELEPHONED TO *Am.*  
TIME *8:51*  
TO BE *mark*  
PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE



CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED	
DOMESTIC	CABLE
TELEGRAM	ORDINARY <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DAY LETTER	URGENT RATE
SERIAL	DEFERRED
NIGHT LETTER	NIGHT LETTER

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

# WESTERN UNION

1207-

A. N. WILLIAMS  
PRESIDENT

\$	CHECK
S	ACCOUNTING INFORMATION
F	TIME FILED

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

To Frank Aydelotte Received January 18, 1945 19

Care of or Apt. No. \_\_\_\_\_

Street and No. \_\_\_\_\_

• Place \_\_\_\_\_

Geoffrey Heyworth, Chairman Unilever and his brother  
Lawrence leaving for visit United States and would like  
see you again. Perhaps Riefler and Loveday also interested.  
They are reserving weekend February 9th and I hope possible  
for you invite them Princeton. Their address, Care Liptons  
Ltd., Hoboken, New Jersey

David Mitrany

Sender's name and address  
(For reference only)

Sender's telephone  
number

FOR VICTORY  
BUY  
WAR BONDS  
TODAY