

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

Historical Studies - Social Science Library

ITEMS REMOVED : MITRANY, DAVID - 1940-1945

1) "The Human Needs of Europe," Rev. Henry Carter, C.B.F. with a Foreward by the Bishop of Chichester, National Peace Council, 1945.

2) "The New League : Will It Prevent Aggression?" Manchester Guardian, October 13, 1944.

3) "Bases for Peace: Practical Steps Towards A Common Life," Prgram of Lecture Series, September 22 - December 1, 1944.

4) "Universities After The War," London Times, March 4, 1944.

5) "Some Notes on the Transfer of Populations," Political Quarterly, October-December 1943, accompanying memo from D. Mitrany, January 20, 1944.

6) "American Universities in War-Time," Manchester Guardian, November 1, 1943.

7) "Universities and the Future," Manchester Guardian, October 30, 1943.

8) "political Adviser for Unilever," Economist, October 23, 1942.

Princeton, New Jersey 08540

9) "University Needs," October 1943, publication not specified.

December 21, 1944

Dear Mitrany:

This is just a line concerning your financial affairs. The Institute is regularly carrying its share of the contributions to the Teachers Insurance and Annuity Association and is paying your share at the same time. In addition, we are making payments to the Boston Five Cents Savings Bank on certain policies which you have there. The result is that your surplus with us has been exhausted and your account as of December, 1944, is overdrawn to the extent of \$614.38.

I send you this note as a matter of information and hasten to assure you that the Institute is entirely willing to go on with these expenses until such time as you return to active duty. On the other hand, it occurred to me that you might prefer to send a remittance and that it might even be something which could be deducted from British income tax. My whole point is (1) that you should know clearly how you stand and (2) that you should know that we are quite prepared to go on with these payments and charge them to your account. I shall try to send you, or have Miss Miller send you, a statement once or twice a year.

I have just finished reading Brogan's book on The American Problem. It seems to me almost miraculous that he should have so much information about the United States that could not possibly be acquired from books.

The situation on the Western Front looks a little gloomy at this moment, but I cannot help remembering the tremendous German drives of the spring of 1918 which were followed so quickly by their complete collapse. I hope that history is going to repeat itself.

Yours sincerely,

Frank Aydelotte

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

FA:KK

PROFESSOR DAVID MITRANY

RESERVE ACCOUNT

As of December 20, 1944

1944

July 1 Credit Balance \$125.96

Disbursements:

1944

July TIAA	\$93.86
Aug. "	93.86
Sept. "	93.86
Oct. "	93.86
Nov. "	93.86
Dec. "	93.84
Nov. Boston Five Cents Savings)177.20
Bank, Premiums on 10 Policies)	
due 11/1/44)

TOTAL DISBURSED 7/1/44 to	\$740.34	740.34
12/20/44		

OVERDRAWN AS OF DEC. 20, 1944 \$614.38

Submitted by Bernetta A. Miller

December 20, 1944

December 1, 1944

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

Dear Mitrany:

I have your letter of October 19th and look forward with keen interest to getting the University issue of the Political Quarterly. I am sorry, however, that you should send me your own number and hope that you may be able to get another.^{xx} I am most grateful for Grant Robertson's book and have the reprints of your article on the Balkans. These I am distributing among your friends here. I read the article myself with the greatest interest and my only criticism of it is that I wish it had been longer. You make the situation extraordinarily clear and it would, I think, be in the public interest to have a fuller account in print of these varying influences on Balkan opinion and the impression which Russia and the Western states make upon the Balkan peasant.

I am interested in this Quaker comment on the functional approach to peace. I have already sent you Wriston's comment on your pamphlet. We are having a lively discussion of the whole question here at the Institute, some account of which I shall try to send you later.

Groups representing the Poles, Czechs and other European states have been discussing educational problems vigorously in New York. I hear echoes of these discussions but, of course, do not have the equipment to enter into them effectively myself. I shall try immediately to get some orderly account of the trend of opinion to send over to you.

My wife joins me in warmest regards.

Yours sincerely,

Frank Aydelotte

FA:jsr

AIR MAIL

*xx or I'll return this
when I have read it.*

November 29, 1944

Dear Mitrany:

I have had some correspondence with the Chatham House office in New York and with the Princeton Press about a possible American edition of your pamphlet. I am sorry to say that neither the Princeton Press nor the Oxford Press in New York feel justified in getting out an American edition, but I am glad to say that a limited supply is kept on hand both at the Oxford Press and at the Chatham House address, 1, East 54th Street. I understand that the Oxford Press intends to continue to import copies to meet the American demand. I think I have done something myself to stimulate that demand, and the pamphlet is reaching thoughtful people, though I see no chance for any large public sale.

Did you ever see Wriston's reply to it made in a speech last March? I enclose a copy in case it has not reached you through other channels.

This Committee of Manley Hudson's with which I have been sitting is about to issue a commentary on Dumbarton Oaks which I shall forward to you as soon as it is completed. We shall probably make a public statement supporting the Dumbarton Oaks proposals and at the same time send to our State Department a critical commentary dealing particularly with some of the many omissions.

Yours sincerely,

Frank Aydelotte

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

FA:KK

AIR MAIL

CABLES, LEVERBRO, LONDON.

UNILEVER HOUSE,

BLACKFRIARS, E.C.4.

21st November, 1944

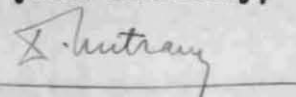
Dear Aydelotte,

It is quite a while since I have heard from you. Weblen will have told you of our meeting and I hope that one or the other of our colleagues will be over again, as it means a good deal to me to have a chance to talk with any of them. What about yourself?

I wanted to tell you privately something which will interest you, even if it may not surprise you. The small group which was brought together last spring to work on the problem of Germany under the chairmanship of Lord Sankey has come to an end, without anything being achieved. We had our last meeting a few days ago when we agreed that there was no purpose in going on. In a way it had a better chance of getting something done than many another group. It was a small group including two prominent and experienced Members of the House of Commons, a highly capable catholic bishop, and three or four other men with great experience in public affairs; it had the benefit of being guided by an exceptionally wise and learned person; and it had set out to try to produce a workable synthesis of the views on this problem of the leading British parties and groups. After eight months of work we had to conclude that no such synthesis was possible, and the subsequent attempt to work out an agreed report from our own discussions also had to be given up as impracticable. The whole thing was perfectly friendly and for ourselves, as individuals, very instructive. The main lesson of this experience is that no agreed policy seems possible on this issue within any of the Allied Nations or between them; and that, to me, is ^{the} real problem in regard to Germany. If we cannot devise in time an agreed policy towards Germany, the measures which we may take are bound to fail; and what is worse, they will only lead to mutual recriminations and division among ourselves. That is the main justification for a policy of the lowest common denominator.

When you have time please write and tell me of your activities and of what is happening at the Institute. Meanwhile my very best wishes for the holidays and the new year to you and Mrs. Aydelotte and Bill, and also for the Institute and all our colleagues.

Always yours sincerely,



D. Mitrany.

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

November 2, 1944

Dear Mitrany:

Many thanks for the copy of the Manchester Guardian of October thirteenth with your article on the Dumbarton Oaks proposals. Curiously enough, I have just been making a speech about William Penn in which I took very much the same line about both the League of Nations and the newly proposed general international organization. There is a fundamental conflict between national sovereignty and international security. It will be a good thing for the world to have such a warning as yours widely circulated.

The more I think about it the more I believe that nothing short of a super-state will be an absolute safeguard against aggression, and even then I suppose there would always be the danger of civil war. Our real hope is as you say in the cultivation of international good feeling and economic interdependence. I think the moral and spiritual elements enormously important. The British Empire is a wonderful League of Nations without any covenant, and I made bold to say to the pacifists that once a new international organization comes into being, their job is to work toward the creation of that kind of international good feeling.

I shall use your article as ammunition in my efforts to disseminate that point of view.

With kindest regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

Frank Aydelotte

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

FA:KK

October 26, 1944

Dear Mitrany:

I am very much interested in your letters of September fifteenth and twentieth and want to thank you again for all the trouble you have taken about reviews of my book. I ordered Robertson's book on the British Universities immediately and it has just come. I have had an interesting correspondence with Maxwell Garnett about postwar educational problems and have been reading his books.

Your comments on UNRRA run parallel to a good many things that are being said over here, and I sometimes wonder whether it will ever be able to do effective work. I think I wrote you that they asked my son Bill to join their staff in London, but he was turned down at the last moment on medical grounds--a missing kidney which has kept him out of any kind of war work. It may be just as well.

I fully agree with you about the difficulty we are going to have working with the Germans after the war is over. I don't know whether I ever told you the story of Brüning's visit to the Institute a year ago. Probably not, for it is almost too long for a letter, but the upshot was to leave all of us here in a pretty discouraged frame of mind.

The continuation of the Nazi resistance when the war is clearly lost will have the inevitable result of reducing Germany to chaos, and the problem of restoring any kind of order is going to be a tremendous one.

We are giving a welcome-home party for the Rieflers next week and look forward to the time when we can give a similar one for the Mitrany's.

With kindest regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

Prof. David Mitrany
Unilever House
Blackfriars, E. C. 4

Frank Aydelotte

FA:KK

Ext. 410

TELEPHONE: CENTRAL 7474

UNILEVER HOUSE,

BLACKFRIARS, E.C.4.

26th September, 1944

Dear Miss Richardson,

Professor Mitrany would like you
to draw Dr. Aydelotte's attention to two
articles on scientific and industrial
research in "Nature" of August 26th and
September 2nd, especially to the second
which contains some interesting things
on the task of the universities after the
war.

Yours truly,



T. Guth

Secretary to Professor Mitrany.

Miss Jane S. Richardson,
Secretary to Dr. Aydelotte,
Fuld Hall,
Princeton,
New Jersey.

AIR MAIL

CABLES, LEVERBRO, LONDON.

UNILEVER HOUSE,

BLACKFRIARS, E.C.4.

19th October, 1944.

Dear Aydelotte,

The Political Quarterly has just come out with a special ^{issue} ~~essay~~ on university education. I have not yet read it myself, but as it is difficult to get I am sending you my own copy by separate mail.

Enclosed I am also sending you a passage to which my attention was drawn by David Hodgkin of the Friends' International Centre. I have always insisted that there was nothing original about my functional ideas, and I am not surprised and glad to find that the wisdom of the Friends had seen the issue in the same light. The only interesting point is that they seem to have thought of it at the same time ~~when~~ ^{as} I began to realize its more theoretical importance as the result of my editorial work on the volumes of the Carnegie history of the last war.

You will be interested to know that one of the Polish ministers who is slated to take over the Ministry of Education when they return home, is anxious to modernize the teaching of the social sciences in the Polish universities, especially with a view to their providing a more adequate training for civil servants, and he has asked me to help him privately in drafting plans for these changes. Please be so kind and keep me in touch therefore with anything you may be discussing at the Institute on this matter, or with anything that may be appearing elsewhere in the States which may seem to you worth while.

With many kind regards to you and Mrs. Aydelotte,

Yours very sincerely,

D. Mitrany

D. Mitrany.

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

Balhaus
Grant R. R. R.

enc.

The Political Quarterly by sea mail.

COPY.

"You may possibly be interested in the following paragraph which I found recently in "Christian Practice" included in the section dealing with the building of the International Kingdom. "Christian Practice" is one of the three books which sum up the main thought of the Society of Friends. This quotation is taken from the report of a commission of the All Friends Conference meeting in 1920.

"It is important that our testimony against war should not be a merely negative criticism, nor even a vague spiritual aspiration. It implies a practical policy of free, friendly, harmonious co-operation. The very fact that during the last sixty years or so many organs of international co-operation have been established, suggests that the nations are beginning to recognise that partnership is better than strife. The great world's need of easy intercourse and exchange, health, knowledge and the advancement of the standard of life, is only to be met by united action. The bond of common aims and mutual interests may prove the surest foundation for a durable peace, and this international action will itself minister, not only to the material needs of life, but to the consciousness of a common spiritual life. We are called, therefore, to a willing and eager co-operation in all enterprises and experiments for the common welfare of humanity."

Extract from a letter from David K.R.Hodgkin
of the Friends International Centre, London.
3.10.1944

AIR MAIL

Telephone - Central 7474.

UNILEVER HOUSE,

BLACKFRIARS,

LONDON, E.C.4.

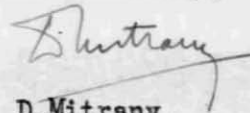
20.9.1944.

Dear Aydelotte,

Soon after writing to you last week I had an experience which shows that even the refugee Germans will not make it easy for us to work for a more detached handling of coming problems. The enclosed copy of part of a letter I wrote to my friend A.G.B. Fisher who is now in Washington will tell you the story. Schuhmacher is a protégé of Robert Brand's and that does not improve the circumstances or the implications.

It was good to see Veblen, but I wish they would not all be in such a hurry. I was really delighted to see him especially as he seemed to be in such good health again. He will no doubt have told you by now of our talk.

Yours sincerely,



D. Mitrany

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

enc.

Extract from letter to Professor A.G.B.Fisher - 19.9.1944.

'I am sitting here on a Committee under Lord Sankey which is trying to prepare a report on the treatment of Germany, and I am trying hard to keep its proposals on some kind of sensible level. But at times, I must confess, I feel that the other side should have a free hand to clean up the slate. We had a queer experience at the Oxford conference. Young Schuhmacher had been asked to speak on Bretton Woods and he dammed it without any reservations. Simple as I am, it seemed to me that his argument had a cloven hoof in it. He began cleverly by referring to Notestein's study on future population trends in Europe with its conclusion that the Russian trend will far outstrip the western trend both in absolute numbers and in the composition of the age groups. That, Schuhamacher said, will put western Europe in a bit of a hole. As an economist I should have expected him to suggest that in the circumstances it will be vital for the industrial countries of the West to keep in touch with the growing Soviet market. His own conclusion was the very opposite. He said that the Bretton Woods arrangements held no hope whatever for the limping western economy; what was absolutely essential, therefore, was that the West must bind itself together to "balance" the weight of Soviet Russia, and as he also brought in the argument that it was equally vital to protect "western culture", it was clear that what he wanted was an economic-political grouping of the West, obviously including Germany, against Soviet Russia.

As the audience was composed largely of Leftish people, Schuhmacher did not make much of an impression on them. But I should hesitate to say that this kind of game may not catch some political rabbits in our midst. One side of it may be quite legitimate, whatever one may think of its wisdom. Even the "Economist" is badly worried that international arrangements may interfere with the freedom of British economic and social planning, and Schuhmacher and his friends may as economists share that worry. But I wish I could feel confident that as Germans they are not, very cleverly I admit, exploiting that sentiment to gain admission for Germany at our table. As you know, I do not believe that we can build up a new Europe unless Germany has a decent place in it, but that is very different from trying to get that place for her by fostering anti-Russian feeling. It is stupid, of course, the kind of grouping he advocated could not possibly keep in with America and the Dominions. But the fact that it is stupid will not prevent that kind of policy from doing perhaps a good deal of mischief in the meantime. It is about the best way to make the Russians feel uneasy of our intentions. '

AIR MAIL

CABLES, LEVERBRO, LONDON.

UNILEVER HOUSE,

BLACKFRIARS, E.C.4.

15th September, 1944

Dear Aydelotte,

I have just received your letter of July 26th. I agree that Clarke's review was very nice, and as you will see from the enclosed letter he was glad to do it at my suggestion. I have sent you one copy of the review and I am sending another as you wish. I am also sending a review of the book by Robertson on British Universities and the book itself is going to you separately.

I was much distressed that Wims had to leave without my having a chance to have a talk with him. He told me over the phone that Weblan was here and I was all the more pleased because that must mean that his health is alright again. I am trying to get in touch with him and I hope very much that he and I can meet.

Things are moving pretty fast here and the uncertainties of the post-war situation are already producing a new strain on people engaged on government work. No one quite knows what the government plans are, and it is significant how much, in contrast with 1918, people do expect to get guidance and help from government plans. These plans in turn depend on international agreements, and I do not find much optimism here about that. We are especially depressed about U.N.R.R.A. The relief mechanism, itself a vast improvement on the relief arrangements of 1919, from the moment rehabilitation was taken out of its scope, had little chance left to become an instrument for international development. Like the loan system of the League of Nations, it is an international instrument for national action, not for starting the wheels for joint international action. The Western Powers had a great chance of doing something in that sense because they control the indispensable supplies; but when they hesitated to make of U.N.R.R.A. a real international instrument, the governments of small countries, I am sorry to say, were quick to rush in with the claim that direct action and authority must be left in their hands. I can understand their feelings, but it is terribly short-sighted in view of the need for international help of a generous kind and without political ties which these countries are sure to have in future.

U.N.R.R.A.'s stock is pretty low here also because there has been a good deal of juggling with personnel. There was no insistence from above that departments should release some of their best people for this international experiment, and the bag is therefore very mixed. In addition some of the people who got in first, including one person whom I had recommended to you, very foolishly brought in personal friends whose qualifications were often doubtful. What will come of it

AIR MAIL

UNIVERSITY HOUSE

CABLES, LEVERBRO, LONDON

BLACKBURN, E.C.4

17th September, 1944

all I do not know, but as the prospect is not promising it is better
not to pitch our hopes too high only to be disappointed afterwards.

Dear Madam,

Yours sincerely,

D. Mitrany
D. Mitrany.

I have just received your letter of July 20th. I agree
that a review was very nice, and as you will see from the
enclosed letter he was glad to do it at my suggestion. I have sent
a copy of the review and I am sending another as you wish.
I am also sending a review of the book by Robertson on British
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with 1918, people do expect to get guidance and help from government
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whom I had recommended to you, very foolishly thought in personnel
terms, whose qualifications were often doubtful. What will come of it

TELEPHONE: CENTRAL 7474

UNILEVER HOUSE,
BLACKFRIARS, E.C.4.

16.VIII.44

Dear Aydelotte,

I have just received the communication about Mrs. Fuld's death. Somehow I did not think she would long survive Mr. Baumberger; and perhaps for the poor lady it was a relief. But it is sad for us who knew them, and had the first benefit of their generous idea. Would you be so kind to convey my sympathy to the members of the family, and the trustees.

I am thankful that both of them had the chance to see the Institute in new charge - I am sure it must have made all the difference to their last years.

My good wishes to you.

Yours ever
David Mitrany

Waterford, Connecticut
August 28, 1944

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

Dear Mitrany:

I have your messages about Mrs. Fuld and shall be glad to pass them on to the family and the Trustees. Like Mr. Bamberger she made the Institute her residuary legatee though we do not know as yet what the size of her estate may be. I hope to have information early this fall for the Faculty and the Trustees about the exact financial status of the Institute, though it will probably be another year before any new funds are actually available.

Sisam, the Secretary of the Oxford University Press, is trying to get permission to import an English edition of my book. We have had a good deal of correspondence about the title but it now seems impossible to change it. It would mean that all the plates would have to be changed because of the running titles at the head of every other page and Sisam feels that in any case a change would probably be inadvisable because of the publicity which the book has already received in England. Instead, I think, Sisam is planning a blurb designed to explain the meaning of "lock step" to English readers. I am sorry that I did not get a better title in the first place.

We are having a six weeks' holiday here. It is the first time in three years that we have been away from Princeton in the summer. We chose a fortunate time since the heat wave this summer has broken all records. Actually the temperature here at this moment is a little too cold for comfort and closely resembles an English summer except that we have more sunshine.

Events are moving in these days with such dizzy rapidity that it seems pointless to write about them. I can only be sure that the whole situation will be changed in unpredictable ways before you receive this letter. I am sure you must be happy about Roumania.

With kindest regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

FA:jsr

Waterford, Conn.
22 August 1944

Dear Mitrany:

Many thanks for your letter of August 10th which reached me with remarkable speed. Harpers are opposed to any change in the title of my book for the English edition on the ground of expense in changing running titles at the top of every other page throughout the volume. I must confess that I did not realize that the word "lockstep" was not to be found in English dictionaries, but sure enough I find that it does not occur in the small Oxford dictionary which I have with me. I sent this paragraph from your letter to Harpers and am raising the whole question with them again. If it turns out to be feasible to make a change I am thinking of some such title as "The Revolt Against Regimentation in American Higher Education." I am not any too proud of that, but it would at least be descriptive.

We have had a delightful six weeks in a house here belonging to some relatives of ours. It is the first time we have been away from Princeton in the summer for three years, and we were lucky in the choice of this summer since the heat wave has broken all records.

I am delighted to see that you are giving a lecture for the Friends, and I look forward with keen interest to receiving the P.E.P. broadsheet, as well as the Liberal Party's statement about Germany. Certainly the flying bombs will inevitably make the control of Germany much more drastic. I am inclined to think that the responsibility for the measures taken ought to be largely dictated by England, France, Poland, Russia and the other countries bordering on Germany, just as I would leave the administration of the treatment of Japan largely to China.

With kindest regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

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

August 21, 1944

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

Dear Professor Mitrany:

Thank you for sending the "Report of
Committee on Post-War University Education"
which just arrived. I am forwarding it to
Dr. Aydelotte today.

Sincerely yours,

Jane S. Richardson
Secretary to Dr. Aydelotte

*I am sending this to you by
4th class mail.*

AIR MAIL

UNILEVER HOUSE,

CABLES, LEVERBRO, LONDON.

BLACKFRIARS, E.C.4.

August 10, 1944.

Dear Aydelotte,

I have had two letters from you and also the draft for an international organization. I am going to write to you separately and in more detail about the latter. Today I want to say something about your own book as I have had a talk about it with Norrington from the Oxford University Press. Needless to say, he is much impressed with the book and told me that they would probably ^{have} printed an English edition themselves if Harpers had not taken it on; in any case they mean to buy a number of copies from Harpers for distribution through their own branches.

Until I spoke to him it never struck me that the title would be awkward for the English reader. I had forgotten that 'lockstep' is not used here, and he told me that he could not find it in any dictionary either. So it would be essential for you, as you yourself suggest, to change the title for the English edition. But he and I heartily disagree with the alternative sub-title you suggest in your letter. 'Democracy and Excellence' is so unlike you and the book, that it would do you an injustice. If you like I should be delighted to try to be of some help in this, but we both feel that you want something more simple and direct - perhaps something like 'Numbers and Quality in the Universities'.

Under separate cover I am sending you two copies of a broadsheet issued by P.E.P. on south-eastern Europe. That is the first product of the little Research Group which I organized two years ago, but only a very small summary; P.E.P. have themselves offered to publish the whole book under my editorship, and it should be ready early in the fall. At the same time I am sending you a document issued by the Liberal Party on the problem of Germany. It is streets better than the Labour Party statement and is also the one that comes nearest to my own point of view. In an earlier letter you said that you were impressed how quickly any feeling of antagonism towards Italy passed away; that was true also of England because people never felt angry with the Italians nor took they Mussolini very seriously. I am sure, however, that this is no guide to what will happen in regard to Germany; the feeling there goes infinitely deeper, and also the conviction that there is something innately dangerous in the German outlook. Apart from that opinion has become very much more bitter in the last few weeks, since the attack with flying bombs. At the moment no moderate policy would have the chance of a hearing; that is not because the attack is more serious than the old raids, but because it is so patently indiscriminate and rather futile.

AIR MAIL

Telephone - Central 7474.

2nd page

UNILEVER HOUSE,

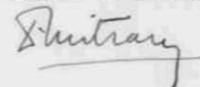
BLACKFRIARS,

LONDON, E.C.4.

August 10, 1944

As I said, I am writing to you again shortly. In the meantime I send you and Mrs. Aydelotte my very good wishes for a restful summer.

Always Yours sincerely,



D. Mitrany.

P.S.

The enclosed announcement will show you that I am keeping in touch with the Friends. The course of lectures was their own idea, but of course I am very flattered.

F R I E N D S I N T E R N A T I O N A L C E N T R E

EUSTon 5648

37 Gordon Square,
London, W.C.1.

21st July, 1944

S P E A K E R S N O T E S F O R C O U R S E O N B A S I S F O R P E A C E .

Practical steps towards a common life
Lunch hour lectures. Fridays 1.20 - 2.0 p.m.

This course of lectures deals with practical examples of international co-operation by the development of which it may be possible to build a world based on the meeting of common needs. The idea of this course came from reading Professor Mitrany's booklet published by Chatham House "A Working Peace System - An Argument for the Functional Development of International Organization". As we see it, this is not a "system" in the sense that it must be accepted or rejected; nor is it connected with a "movement" which these lectures might be taken to support. As you will know, the booklet is rather a scholar's interpretation of the steps that can be taken, in most cases, that are already being taken, towards world peace without having to wait for a general international organisation accepted by every country.

We will be glad of suggestions from the speakers as to the title and syllabus of their talks, those appearing below, being only in draft form.

The audience is usually from 30 to 50 people, representing many different countries. Some of them may wish to stay on after the formal closing of the meeting to carry on the discussion a little longer if you have time.

(See draft programme overleaf).

DRAFT PROGRAMME

- Sept. 22 1) The Development of World Organisation: Prof. Mitrany has kindly agreed to give this talk. Politics of Balance of Power; the Hague Conference; the League of Nations; future prospects; the purpose of this course.
- " 29 2) The International Labour Office: Origin; relation with League of Nations; function; wider significance in international affairs. The Philadelphia Charter.
- Oct. 6 3) International Law: Grotius and early experience. The Hague Court. Achievements and limitations.
- " 13 4) Communications: Allied Shipping Pool 1914-18. International Union of Railways. L. of N. International Transit Committee. Postal Union. Danube Commissions. Allied Shipping Board. Civil Aviation. Broadcasting.
- " 20 5) Education: International Committee for Intellectual Cooperation; International Bureau of Education; Committee for Education in World Citizenship; Education Commission of London International Assembly. Revision of text books.
- " 27 6) Health & Social Conditions: Work of L. of N. on Health; Drug Traffic, White Slave Traffic; Housing.
- Nov. 3 7) International Finance: Bank of International Settlements. London Economic Conference. Control of International investments. Bretton Woods Monetary Conference.
- 10 8) Backward Areas: Mandates Commissions; Means to raise standard of life; provision of capital; possibilities of International Cooperation. Anglo American Commission for West Indies. Middle East Supply Centre.
- 17 9) Trade & Industry: International Cartels-dangers and advantages; Peacetime development of cooperation for war purposes - Raw Materials Board.
- 24 10) Agriculture: Position of E. European areas in world competition; American/Canadian Agreements. Hot Springs Conference.
- Dec. 1 11) Cooperation for Resettlement: U.N.R.R.A. Inter-Governmental Committee on Refugees; work of military; place of voluntary organisations.

July 4, 1944

Dear Mitrany:

Warmest thanks for all your efforts in regard to my book. I look forward to seeing the Times Educational Supplement with Fred Clarke's review and greatly appreciate your calling it to the attention of the New Statesman and the Manchester Guardian. I was very much interested in Brogan's review in the Spectator and must say that I agree with his comment on the title to the effect that it is not very appetizing and may turn away some readers who would actually be interested in the book. Harpers are now considering an English edition, and if they publish one, I am thinking seriously of suggesting another and better title to them. The one that has occurred to me is "Democracy and Excellence." That says nothing about education, and democracy is a very much over-worked word, but it does describe the fundamental problem of the book, which is the reconciliation of a widely inclusive student body with the maintenance of high standards. I never have been very good at titles, but I chose the Academic Lock Step in order to have something which would not be stuffy or conventional. So far as I can make out, that title has been well received over here.

I was much interested in John Murray's article and I am always eager to have anything of that sort which you have time to send me.

Kenneth Lindsay spent a few days with us recently and we had a great deal of talk about post-war education in England.

Earle is back and brought good news of you and your activities. I can't remember whether I told

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you that Bill will not be going to England for the OWI. He had a most interesting job, all the formalities were completed, but when he took what was supposed to be merely a routine physical examination, the doctor discovered that he had had a kidney removed and that settled the whole business. It seems that the United States Government is determined that no one shall go abroad with a missing kidney, regardless of the state of his health otherwise. Bill was very much disappointed but he is staying on at Smith for another year doing very interesting work and having some time for research.

With kindest regards, in which Mrs. Aydelotte joins, I am

Yours sincerely,

Frank Aydelotte

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

FA:KK

6586/7581/82
AIR MAIL.

Unilever House,
Blackfriars,
LONDON, E.C.4

Dear Aydelotte,

I am sending you separately a copy of the "Times Educational Supplement" of May 27th in which Fred Clarke has given a good review of your book. The other two copies have gone to the "New Statesman" and the "Manchester Guardian" and I hope that they too will have something about the book. I hope it is getting in the States all the attention it deserves.

With kind regards,

D. Mitrany
D. Mitrany

Dr. Frank Aydelotte,
Fuld Hall,
Princeton/New Jersey .

done
100-1000

TELEPHONE: CENTRAL 7474

Return to Dr. Aydelotte

UNILEVER HOUSE,
BLACKFRIARS, E.C.4.

12. IV. 44

Dear Aydelotte,

I think you will be interested in this document - a more formal fruit of our activity here. They never hesitated about it when I put it to them, and was formally approved yesterday. But as it is an internal document, to be sent only to the top people in the various lands, please regard it as strictly private - though I should especially like Stewart Mr. B. to see it. Always yours with cord
withs,

Shirley

P.S. Since writing this, your letter of the 28th Feb. has come in. I will reply in more detail, but I wanted to say at once that if Bill, when I know well, comes over, please tell him that I hope he will look upon Kingston almost as his home from home. He can come and stay, as dump his things there, and feel, as we want him to, that he can make use of it without any formality. It will be good to see him

Shirley

file under Mitrany

C/o. Unilever House,
Blackfriars,
E.C.4.

The Economic Research Group have pleasure in enclosing a copy of their Memorandum V: The Problem of Marketing in Central and South Eastern Europe. Like the previous papers in the series, the Memorandum is not for circulation, but any comment or criticism will be greatly appreciated.

The Economic Research Group is an informal group of research workers from Central and South Eastern Europe. It was formed in January 1942 to study on broad lines the long-term problems of economic and social reconstruction in that area. The studies are undertaken on the following fundamental assumptions:

1. An economic policy which aims at raising the standard of living;
2. Closer economic collaboration between the countries concerned;
3. Any such collaboration to be related to the wider post-war organisation of international economic relations.

The members of the Group participate in its work as private individuals, expressing their personal views and do not commit in any way any Government, organisation or political party with which they may be connected. The Group as such has no policy of its own, nor does it intend to prescribe any particular policy. Political issues are expressly excluded from the Group's studies and discussions, and these are related to a specific area only to facilitate an examination of the various problems in concrete terms.

Confidential

Economic Research Group.

MEMORANDUM V.

THE PROBLEM OF MARKETING
IN CENTRAL AND SOUTH EASTERN EUROPE.

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SCOPE OF WORK.

1. Improved marketing is one of the conditions for a higher standard of living anywhere. For the countries considered in these studies, the problem of marketing has a number of more specific aspects. The changes in agricultural and industrial production, suggested as both desirable and practicable in our previous papers, call for parallel adjustments in the mechanism of marketing. Moreover, the provision of an adequate system of marketing services is an essential factor for linking the still largely closed rural economy of the more backward areas to the market circuit.

The present paper examines the chain of services which bring the main articles of consumption from the producer to the final consumer, with a view to ascertaining the improvements that may be required. The paper starts with a description of the structure of the market. It proceeds to consider the functions of marketing within the given setting and the machinery that was available before the war for carrying out those functions. After illustrating existing deficiencies, the paper concludes with some suggestions for remedial action.

Because of the scarcity of statistical material on the subject, the descriptive part of the paper must confine itself to giving illustrations rather than comprehensive tables. As conditions differ widely from country to country, such examples have their obvious limitations.

I. THE STRUCTURE OF THE MARKET.

2. The widely varying degree in which marketing services are developed in the different countries considered is shown by the percentage of the population engaged in these services. The respective data are given in Table I, together with some figures illustrating general development.

TABLE I.

Country	Year of Census	Percentage of active population engaged in:				Estimated national income per head of population
		Distributive Services	Trade only	Industry	Factory * industry only	
Poland	1931	9.7	5.3	16.7	12.0	U.S.\$. 87
Czechoslovakia	1930	12.2	8.6	37.9	33.9	154
Austria	1934	15.4	12.8	34.4	33.8	158
Hungary	1930	10.1	7.0	23.9	ø	95
Roumania	1930	4.9	3.2	10.0	ø	51
Yugoslavia	1931	4.1	2.7	10.7	7.9	52
Bulgaria	1926	4.5	2.9	8.5	ø	55
Greece	1928	11.7	6.2	28.2	ø	56

ø = Not available.

* On basis of insured workers.

Although the figures on national income must be treated with reserve, they may serve to indicate the order of size, and to that extent the close parallel between national income and the development of marketing services is significant. (The figures in the first column include working population engaged in transport and Trade).

3. The second improvement factor which determines both extent and type of the existing marketing services, is the distribution of the population as between town and country. Taking localities with over 20,000 inhabitants as the dividing line, we get the following picture:

TABLE II.

Year: Latest pre-war census for each country.

Country	Total Population	Population in Localities with over 20,000 inhabitants.	Population in other localities
		In Millions	
Poland	35.1	6.0	29.1
Czechoslovakia	15.2	3.2	12.0
Austria	6.8	2.5	4.3
Hungary	9.1	3.2	5.9
Roumania	19.9	2.8	17.1
Yugoslavia	15.5	1.8	13.7
Bulgaria	6.3	0.8	5.5
Greece	7.1	1.7	5.4

4. The completely different nature of the problem of distribution as between town and country may become clear when it is realized that the average population of a village, say in Bulgaria, is in the neighbourhood of one thousand and that the total cash income of the 175 households or so composing the village may vary between £2,000 and £3,000 a year. The difference in the level of cash income, together with inherently different modes of life, make for widely divergent consumption patterns between town and country. An estimate of rural and urban family expenditure, based on figures available for Bulgaria, shows the following break-up:

	Rural Family (small-holder) Total income - Levã 24,000 (including income in kind)		Urban Family Unskilled worker Total income - Levã 32,000	
	Value of goods consumed	Cash Expenditure	Value of goods consumed	Cash Expenditure
	Levã		Levã	
Food	16,500	1,500	17,900	
Shelter (incl. fuel, lighting)	1,820	1,250	6,650	
Clothing	3,450	1,850	3,360	
Other Goods and Services	2,230	2,230	4,090	

5. That is the picture on the consumption side. When attention is turned to the production side, and in particular to food production, the specific conditions of marketing are not less marked. The food output of the eight countries is produced on something like 14 million separate and independent agricultural holdings. Only part of these, namely the large and medium holdings - accounting altogether for some 35% of the total agricultural area, are engaged in commercial farming. The most widespread type of holding, the small holding of 5-10 hectares, sells only such part of its output as will cover its minimum cash requirements. The percentage of farm output sold shows wide variations according to the size of the holding, existing communications and general development. The average figure, related to total farm output, was about 30% for the less developed parts and rose up to 50% in the more advanced Western parts of the Region. (The proportion in Denmark or Holland is 75-80%) Moreover, the proportion varied according to the kind of the produce. It was highest for meat, milk, eggs, fruit and vegetables - approximately in the given order - lowest for cereals and potatoes. That conforms to the well-known phenomenon in peasant agriculture, that the higher-quality food is sold on the market while food of inferior quality is consumed at home.

The following average figures for Roumania may be taken as fairly representative of the less developed countries:

TABLE III

	% of Output Consumed in the Household	% of Output Marketed	
		(a) Internally	(b) Exported
Cereals	75	12	13
Potatoes	91	9	-
Pulses	70	16	14
Fruit and Vegetables	68	28	4
Slaughter Animals	49	44	7
Milk	55	45	-
Eggs	65	20	15

6. The marketing of manufactures was determined similarly by the basic conditions of settlement, production and communications. In the western part of the Region, where industry was fairly well developed, urbanisation more advanced and communications better, there was a regular two-way flow of goods. By providing an expanding market for agricultural products in the growing number of urban consumers the new industries found also ready outlets for their own products. In the less developed parts, however, the interchange was still limited, with the result that agriculture lacked markets, while industry catered predominantly for the town population. As a counterpart of an agriculture which sent only about 30% of its output to the market, we find an industry selling its products, with the exception of a few mass articles, only to urban consumers and to the state. Although no detailed figures are available on the distribution of industrial markets as between town and country, it may be estimated that in countries like Roumania, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria less than 20 p.c. of the total industrial output reached the rural population.

7. Apart from some mass consumption articles such as: sugar, matches, tobacco, salt etc. - which, as will be shown later were handled by State monopolies or subjected to large excise duties - the greater part of "manufactures" in these countries was still produced in the village. A fairly large, though rapidly decreasing part of clothing articles was made in the peasant household, either from home-grown raw materials (wool, flax, hemp, etc.) or from cotton yarn or piece goods bought in the market. A substantial part of rural, and indeed of town consumption in the less developed areas was covered by handicrafts. Some idea of their relative importance may be had from the fact that in Bulgaria the number of persons engaged in handicrafts in 1936 was 135,000 or nearly half the total number of persons recorded as engaged in "industry and mining" in the 1934 census. It should be added, however, that Bulgaria was the least industrialised of all the countries considered. In countries like Czechoslovakia and Austria handicrafts - other than those catering for the building trades and for luxury trades - were comparatively insignificant. Some additional figures on the distribution of handicrafts are given in the Appendix.

8. To round off the picture, something should be said about the place of exports and imports in the market structure. In the agricultural countries of

the Region, where the internal market - as has been seen - is small, exports formed quite a substantial part of the marketed agricultural output. Consequently the question of export marketing - as distinct from the general economic problem of finding 'markets', with which we are not concerned here - is an essential one calling for special organisation. As to the imports, these showed a great diversity, with a marked shift from finished goods to machinery and raw materials as a result of spreading industrialisation. Accordingly, a declining portion of imports entered the internal marketing chain without further processing, and, as a result the distribution of imports merged at an early stage with general distribution.

II. FUNCTIONS AND MECHANISM OF MARKETING.

Assembly Trade.

9. Let us start with the first stage in marketing, the disposal of the product by the producer. In view of the peculiar structure and undeveloped state of the market described above, it is hardly surprising to find that a large amount of direct selling took place, by the producer to the final consumer, without the intervention of any distributive agency. The part played by handicrafts whose wares were sold locally and direct to the consumer, has already been referred to. Even more widespread was the sale of agricultural produce by the small producer direct to town consumers. The greater part of vegetables, fruit and other perishable foods were marketed in this way, and mostly the producer acted not only as retailer but provided also his own transport. The wastefulness of this method of marketing will be realised if it be considered that the sale of, say, a cartload of vegetables or fruit which might yield at best ten shillings (or in terms of purchasing power, the equivalent of a pair of boots) involved two journeys of anything between 10 and 30 miles by cart (mostly undertaken by night); the payment of a toll; standing in the market place from early morning until late afternoon; the risk that the produce might remain unsold, which meant a total loss; and, in view of that risk, a market with violent hour-to-hour fluctuations.

10. More advanced types of marketing were found in the neighbourhood of large cities, for purposes of export, and in areas where facilities existed for canning or other processing. Here one found the beginnings of an organised assembly trade, with local buyers, acting either as agents or as wholesalers for their own account. This method was used in particular for fruit, often picked by the buyer who purchased the whole crop. A rudimentary assembly trade existed also for eggs and poultry, at least in districts specialising in these products. Larger livestock was sold either to a wholesaler at special markets or direct to butchers. Draught animals and breeding stock were sold direct to users, mostly at cattle markets.

11. Milk was marketed in a variety of ways. In the less developed areas, the small producer himself sold and delivered, bringing the milk daily to the nearest town in cans. In the western parts, co-operative marketing of milk and dairy products was fairly widespread and gaining in importance. Special milk marketing schemes were also in operation in connection with the supply of many large towns. (See also Appendix).

12. A fully organised assembly trade existed only for cereals and some other non-perishable agricultural products, such as feeding stuffs, oilseeds, sugar-beet, tobacco etc. For some of these, special marketing organisations were in existence. Sugar-beet, for instance was mostly grown and sold under contract to the sugar factories grouped in cartels. Tobacco was sold on a similar basis in countries where there was a State monopoly. In Greece and Bulgaria a considerable part of the tobacco crop was marketed through co-operative organisations. Oilseeds were also often marketed under contract to manufacturers or export organisations. Cereals were sold by the small producer mostly to a local dealer who resold to a wholesaler. The medium and large holdings sold directly to wholesalers or millers. In the case of exports, cereals - and most other agricultural produce - passed through the hands of one or more further export merchants.

13. In more recent years, official buying and export organisations were set up for cereals in practically every country of the Region. The Czechoslovakian Grain Company, established in 1934 in the form of a semi-public corporation, with the participation of the producers' and consumers' co-operatives, of the flour mills and private trade, provided an interesting example of combined marketing under public control.

14. Co-operative societies played also an increasing part in assembly trade. In some cases they acted as buying agents for the State or were vested with monopoly powers (e.g. compulsory co-operatives of citrus and wine-growers in Greece, rye-marketing in Austria). In other cases they handled a fixed quota of exports under special licence. Some indication of the relative share of co-operative societies in the collection of agricultural products may be obtained from the following estimates: Poland 90 p.c. of butter exports, 20 p.c. of grain exports, 10 p.c. of marketed milk; Czechoslovakia 60 p.c. of marketed grain, 15 p.c. of marketed milk; Hungary 10 p.c. of marketed milk, 40-60 p.c. of exported cattle and dairy produce; Bulgaria 20 p.c. of egg exports, 20 p.c. of the tobacco crop; Yugoslavia 40 p.c. of cattle exports.

15. As regards the marketing of other than agricultural products, the method of disposal by the producer differed, in the first place, as between handicrafts and manufacturing industries proper. In the case of handicrafts, ordinarily no separate marketing activity takes place, although some attempts were made in recent years to set up joint marketing organisations, in particular for purposes of export. Manufacturers sold either to wholesalers or to retailers, maintaining an own sales organisations. There were also instances of retailing to the consumer, especially in the shoe and clothing industries. Joint sales organisations operated by industrial cartels were not uncommon (e.g. sugar, paper). The sale of monopoly articles (matches, salt, in most countries tobacco etc.) was also directed through special channels. More will be said about these when dealing with the retail end of distribution.

Storage.

16. Storage is not only an essential part of marketing if stocks are to be carried, but one that affects the whole system of distribution. The marked difference in the type and degree of organisation for the marketing of non-perishable and perishable foodstuffs seen above had its counterpart in the unequal storage facilities as between the two groups.

Although information on grain warehousing capacity is scanty, total space seems to have been fairly adequate for Czechoslovakia and Austria, and to some extent, Hungary, but less so in the other countries. The following data indicate the pre-war situation:

Poland: Capacity in 1938 about 150,000 tons. A new ten-year plan adopted in 1938 provided for the construction of large regional silos (70,000 tons) and of smaller silos (50,000 tons).

Hungary: 69 public warehouses with a total capacity of 400,000 tons, of which 100,000 tons in Budapest. Only 120,000 tons capacity were modern installations.

Roumania: Total capacity in 1938: 125,000 tons, of which 39,000 tons modern silos. A construction plan for an additional capacity of 250,000 tons was launched in 1938.

Bulgaria: Except for a few small silos of 500 tons, owned by co-operative societies, there were no modern silos. The capacity of warehouses (owned privately) is not known.

Apart from the absolute shortage indicated by these figures, a further shortcoming was the uneven distribution of storage space, which was usually concentrated in a few centres of consumption and export. It will also be seen from the figures given that the proportion of silos - having proper installations for drying, ventilation, cleaning and grading - was small.

17. The situation with regard to cold storage was even more unsatisfactory. With the exception of the western parts of Czechoslovakia and of Austria, public cold storage facilities were negligible before the war. Only the capitals and, in some cases, the main ports were equipped with mechanical cold storage installations. For example, Poland had in 1938 two cold storage plants totalling 19,000 tons at Gdynia and two of 2,500 tons each in Warsaw and Lodz; Roumania had one plant at Constantza and one in Bucarest (totalling 10,000 tons) in addition, a number of small plants, attached to slaughter-houses and processing industries existed in every country. It is interesting to note that cold storage facilities have been considerably expanded since the war, presumably under German direction. In Bulgaria, for example, where cold storage space was negligible before the war, at the end of 1941 the cold storage under public

control was 15,500 square metres, that in private hands 17,000 square metres; the total capacity was about 45,000 tons. Even this figure is, however, considerably below requirements which are estimated at 100,000 tons.

Processing.

18. As an alternative and partly complementary means for the preservation of foodstuffs, processing, though strictly speaking it enters into the field of industry, has an important bearing on marketing. Some of the industrial aspects and possibilities of processing in the Region have already been mentioned in our paper on industrial development. It may be added that wherever food processing factories were set up in the past, both the marketing organisation and indeed the production structure of whole areas has been radically transformed. One limiting factor, both for the radius of operation of such plants and in many cases even for their setting up, is the lack of communications, refrigerated transport and cold storage.

A detailed description of the existing food-preserving and processing industries would require a study in itself. For the purposes of the present paper it may suffice to give an indication of their relative part in the marketing of the specific agricultural or animal products involved. From that viewpoint, the Polish meat-curing and canning industry, with a yearly output of some 60,000 tons of bacon and 20,000 tons of ham and tinned ham, played an outstanding part. The pulping of tomatoes accounted for a considerable portion of the crop in Hungary and Bulgaria; in the former the proportion was nearly 50 per cent of the crop. Other typical figures for Hungary (where the industrial processing of vegetables was comparatively well developed) were 6.7 p.c. for peas, 7.5 p.c. for white cabbage. For fruit, however, the percentage was only 1.2 per cent* in Hungary and probably not much higher for any of the other countries. A considerable expansion has taken place, however, since the war.

Financing.

19. Financing is another essential part of the marketing process. Owing to the stringency of money throughout the Region, it had to be carried out mostly on borrowed funds and at high cost. The average rate charged for bank advances against warehoused goods varied, in the years before the war between 9 and 15 p.c. The rate depended, among other things, on the condition of the warehouse where the goods were stored. If storage was not of a class suitable for the issue of negotiable warrants, the difference in bank charges amounted to 3-4 %.

Although agricultural credit, granted to the farmer for financing production belongs to a different category, the absence of such credit facilities has a close bearing on marketing. It often forces the small producer to throw his crop on the market as soon as it is harvested, or to borrow from moneylenders before the harvest is gathered. Either method is bound to impair orderly marketing. It should be added, however, that both declined in recent years, thanks to the organisation of credit co-operatives and of State-supported institutes for agricultural credit.

20. A further function of marketing at the stock-carrying stage is risk-bearing. Being less tangible than the other functions - with which it is also overlaps to some extent - there is a tendency to ignore it as an economic function and, alternatively, to confuse it with speculation in commodities. This is not the place to discuss the limits of legitimate risk-taking. One might mention, however, at least two risks the commercial character of which can hardly be gainsaid, and which are considerably enhanced by conditions specific to the Region's existing organisation. One is the risk of physical deterioration through lack of adequate storage facilities; the other is the risk of excessive price fluctuations brought about by a variety of circumstances, considered below. These extra risks, whether they are assumed by the wholesale trade - which is the case in the more advanced type of marketing organisation - or by the retailer, or indeed by the producer-retailer, are likewise bound to add to the costs of marketing.

21. An important marketing function between assembly and retailing is the preparation of the goods for sale, i.e. sorting and packing. In view of the specialised skill and equipment required for this comparatively novel type of service, it is perhaps not surprising that it is not far advanced in the greater part of the Region. Both the implications and the deeper causes of this state

* All figures for 1936.

of things deserve, however, close attention. Its consequences are most acutely felt in export trade, as foreign markets, especially those in the West, demand special standards of grading and packing. The price paid for ungraded produce, e.g. pulses, clover, seeds etc. is 30-40% lower than for graded varieties. Even in the case of wheat, a staple commodity, the absence of uniform grades accounted for price differences of 20% or more. Fresh fruit was entirely unsaleable in the more distant foreign markets for lack of adequate sorting and packing.

Admittedly, these difficulties are largely due to the prevailing conditions of production. The large number of small producers, the different varieties and unequal quality of output and the relatively small quantities marketed individually are so many handicaps to uniform standards. That much could be done despite these difficulties is shown, however, by recent experience in the Region itself. During the last few years before the present war considerable progress was achieved in the sorting and packing of fruit in Hungary, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Greece. Hungary had 46 fruit-packing stations, Yugoslavia 41. The egg-exporting countries (Poland, Hungary, Roumania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria) introduced compulsory standardisation and supervision of quality and packing. Co-operative societies played an important part in many of these activities. The figures given above, while showing a promising beginning, show also the need for much greater effort in future.

22. Although strictly speaking not forming part of marketing proper, transport is closely tied up with assembly and distribution at all stages. Our paper on communications has already shown that lack of adequate communications, especially roads, makes marketing difficult and costly. One visible result is a substantial difference in local prices, according to the position of the locality from the viewpoint of communications. Another deficiency to which reference has already been made is the lack of motor transport, refrigerated transport and containers for the carriage of perishable goods. A third important effect of transport on marketing is by uneconomic and unnecessary transportation. Bearing in mind that railway freights form a high proportion of distribution costs for all bulky commodities - in the case of some, like potatoes or coal, they exceed in fact the cost of production - the effects of this factor should not be minimised.

Retail Trade.

23. The organisation of retailing in the Region took various forms. It was conditioned both by the structure of the market, and by the cumulative deficiencies as regards storage, transport etc. As already mentioned, in many instances and especially in the less advanced parts, retailing was undertaken by the producer himself. Diversified retailing in specialised shops, as known in Western Europe, was practised as a general rule only in the Western areas, the capital cities and a few of the larger towns. In the remaining parts, groceries, foodstuffs in general and smaller manufactures of everyday use were sold in general stores; in the villages, these would also sell liquor and buy grains and other produce. Ready-made clothing and footwear were retailed to the rural population mainly in the market towns, the commonest practice being to run special stores for articles of peasant consumption, in or near the market place.

24. Incomplete as the available figures on retail trade are, they bring out some salient features. The disproportion between urban and rural density of retail shops has already been referred to. Detailed figures on Bulgaria (given in the Appendix) show a density of 17.4 per 1,000 inhabitants in towns and 3.8 per 1,000 in villages. The average density for countries as a whole varied with the state of general development and urbanisation. It was 11.2 per 1,000 inhabitants in Czechoslovakia, 10.7 in Poland, 9.3 in Roumania, 6.7 in Bulgaria. Specialisation according to branches, so far as ascertainable - followed fairly closely the consumption patterns of the environment. (See also Appendix). One-man enterprises were prevalent: in Poland, out of 374,000 retail shops 344,000 belonged to that category. The average personnel per shop (including the owner) was throughout the Region in the neighbourhood of two.

25. Integrated types of retail shops were rare. A small number of department stores existed in the large towns; chain-stores were virtually unknown. On the other hand, Co-operative retail distribution was making steady progress before the war. There was a well-established organisation of consumers' co-operatives in Czechoslovakia and Austria, catering for the industrial working population of the towns. In other countries, such as Poland, Hungary and Bulgaria, mixed co-operative societies supplied villagers with manufactures of everyday use (tobacco, salt, matches, sugar) and with agricultural implements, fertilisers, copper sulphate etc. In Roumania, Yugoslavia and Greece credit co-operatives

took on increasingly like functions. With the exception of Czechoslovakia and Austria, in recent years the co-operative movements were largely financed by the State, which gained thereby a growing influence in their management.

As already mentioned elsewhere, most mass consumption articles were sold at prices and margins fixed by a State monopoly or by industrial cartels. Matches, salt and, in most cases, tobacco were monopoly articles; alcohol, lighting oil, sugar had to pay an excise duty and their sale was supervised by State organs.

26. It may be added that the organisation of the retail trade has undergone considerable changes since the beginning of the war. A large number of small shopkeepers has been forced out of business partly on racial grounds, partly through labour mobilisation. In some countries, co-operative distributive organisations have been strengthened (e.g. Hungary, Roumania, Bulgaria), in others (e.g. Austria) they have been dissolved. State intervention has, of course, increased considerably through the fixing of prices and profit margins, and similar measures. In accordance with German practice, the influence of industrial cartels has also greatly increased.

27. It is difficult to point to specific shortcomings in the organisation of retail distribution, if only because most deficiencies were bound up with one or several of the defects in the chain of the distribution process from the producer to the retailer. Nevertheless, there were clear signs of overcrowding in the retail trade of the towns, accompanied by a large number of bankruptcies and a growing practice of price agreements and other restrictive devices. Even such symptoms can hardly be isolated from the general setting, but taken together they indicated a considerable wastage of capital which the countries of the Region could ill afford.

TRADE MARGINS AND THE COSTS OF MARKETING.

28. The whole question of costs and possible savings in marketing has to be approached from the broader angle of the best utilisation of productive resources. It would be patently wrong to consider costs of distribution in themselves a waste, for in the process of moving the goods from the producer to the consumer various services are performed and these involve the use of manpower, fuel and equipment. A good example is the method described earlier in this paper, under which the peasant producer takes his cartload of vegetables to the town for direct retailing. There is no 'middleman' involved in the operation and the visible cost of marketing is nil. Yet, there can be no doubt about the utter wastefulness of this method.

Before turning therefore to the question of distributive margins and their components - which may contain, singly, important elements of waste - let us consider those effects of defective marketing which involve an absolute loss to the national economy. An obvious instance is waste through physical deterioration. Although a certain amount of such waste is unavoidable even under the most efficient marketing, the deficiency of suitable storage space is bound to increase that proportion. Even for cereals, where the risk of physical deterioration is smaller, and storage accommodation relatively more abundant, the annual loss through lack of storage was estimated at something like 5% of the total output in Poland and in Roumania. In Poland, the total annual loss resulting from inadequate storage and transportation of foodstuffs was estimated at one billion zloty, or about 7 per cent. of the total national income.

Another important source of loss to the national economy was the lower price obtained for exports on account of inadequate grading and packing. Here again, in the nature of things, only broad estimates can be made. The yearly loss on this account in the period 1934-7 may be put on a minimum estimate at £7.5 million for all countries combined.

29. Little information is available on distributive margins. Compared with Western standards, transport costs and wholesale margins were considerably higher; in the retail trade the difference lay rather in the quality of service (packing, delivery etc.) The retail price of bread in Warsaw showed the following break-up (1935):

Bread grain (farmer's price	43%
Wholesale trade	7%
Miller's margin and transport	13%
Baker's margin	37%

In the U.S., wheat wholesale cost was 1.2%, miller's margin and transport together 10.8%; on the other hand, the baker's margin was 55.4% and there was an additional cost of 19.3% for retail trade. (This service was absent in the Polish example, the bread being retailed by the baker). The wholesale margin for grains varied in the different countries between 5 and 10 per cent., that for cattle and pigs between 12 and 18 per cent. In retail trade, the average gross margin varied between 20 and 23 per cent.; costs - i.e. rent, salaries, and direct taxes - between 14 and 18 per cent. An investigation carried out by the Czechoslovak Statistical Office into retail trade in 35 cities (1935) established that prices at the consumers' co-operative societies were, on the average, 5.1 per cent. below those in other retail stores.

30. Distributive margins were especially high for perishable foodstuffs. The gross retailing cost for fruit and vegetables was 35-40 per cent. The following break-up for milk retail prices, with comparative figures for other countries, is illuminating:

Composition of the Retail Price of Milk
 (In Percentages)

	Warsaw (Poland)	Belgrade (Yugoslavia)	Zurich (Switzerland)	Copenhagen (Denmark)
Producer	30	37.5	63	65
Transport	20	15) 20	24
Wholesale Trade	34	22.5		
Retail Trade	16	25	17	11
	100	100	100	100

It may be added that even in the United States, where milk is usually delivered over greater distances and the standard of service is exceptionally high, the farmer obtained 46.8% of the price paid by the consumer.

Price Fluctuations.

31. Among the indirect effects of defective marketing, mention must be made of excessive price fluctuations. The inadequate organisation of marketing is, of course, not the only, or even the main cause of price fluctuations. There is, however, an interaction between the two in that fluctuations tend to increase distribution costs through the greater commercial risk involved, while fluctuations are in themselves often due to deficiencies in the distribution system, as distinct from general economic factors. To this category belong, for instance, local fluctuations due to inadequate transport and other installations, to which reference has already been made elsewhere. Local differences up to 25% for cereals were quite common in the agricultural countries of the Region. For perishable goods, the differences were much greater; the retail price of milk in different towns of Yugoslavia varied between 2 and 4 dinars, in Roumania between 4 and 10 lei. For fruit and vegetables, price differences were even higher, with markets isolated from one another and responding violently to every change in local supply or demand.

32. Excessive seasonal fluctuations were also largely due to inadequate marketing machinery. Lack of storage capacity and of easy financing of stocks provoked a recurring slump in cereal prices immediately after the harvest, usually followed by a steep rise in the late spring. In Yugoslavia, for instance, the price of wheat on the Belgrade Exchange fluctuated in the agricultural year 1936-7 between 126 and 180 dinars, the price of maize between 60 and 118 dinars. (The American wheat price in the same period ranged from 124.87 to 154.68 cents). The main sufferers were, inevitably, the weak sellers and those agriculturists whose cereal crop does not usually last from one harvest to the other.

Again, in the case of perishable foodstuffs seasonal fluctuations were even wider. The range in egg prices in winter months was about 180-200 per cent. above prices in summer. While in season fruit was virtually given away, during the rest of the year it was a luxury inaccessible to the average consumer even in canned form. In Roumania, the pre-war consumption of all canned food per head of population was slightly over $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. yearly; rural consumption was practically nil. Only a sum-total of all these effects, ranging from waste of food to mal-nutrition could convey an adequate idea as to the real cost of inefficient marketing.

IV. POSSIBILITIES OF IMPROVEMENT.

33. The facts presented so far must have made it abundantly clear that most, if not all, deficiencies in the existing system of marketing are bound up with deeper economic causes. That being so, such deficiencies cannot be effectively remedied without parallel action in other fields. Assuming, however, such concerted action - which is the underlying assumption in this series of papers - some lines are clearly indicated for a broad estimate of requirements.

34. Improvements in marketing equipment should provide the first line of attack. Marketing equipment in this sense includes slaughter-houses, weighing-bridges, public market places and even processing plant. But the most important single requirement are adequate storage facilities, and, above all, cold storage.

The minimum requirement in cold storage for all the countries together, may be put at something like 500,000 tons, with a proper balance between cold storage proper and freezing plants. Plants for freezing and chilling should be situated near the centres of production, those for cold storage near the centres of consumption. The main types required would be: milk and dairy refrigerating plants (for milk, butter and cheese), meat refrigerating plants (for chilled meat), meat freezing plants, combined with low-temperature storage, cold storage for eggs and poultry, combined with freezing plant, and fruit and vegetable cold storage plants. As a rough indication, the total outlay, including power installations, can be put at £15 million at pre-war prices.

An important long-term requirement would be the provision of up-to-date grain silos, equipped for mechanical ventilation, drying, grading and cleaning of cereals, pulses, seeds etc. These silos would be required in varying sizes so as to form a network planned in relation to the system of communications. The aggregate requirement of all the countries considered can be put at something like one million tons (in addition to the capacity existing in 1937); three-quarters of this would be needed in Poland, Roumania, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria. The estimated total cost, at pre-war prices, would be about £5 million.

The requirements in processing plant cannot even be enumerated, owing to their wide variety. They belong, moreover, primarily into the realm of industry and their importance from the viewpoint of marketing can serve only to reinforce the high place already given to them in the suggested industrialisation projects. Canning factories, meat-packing stations, fruit-packing centres are mentioned only as outstanding examples.

Credit.

35. The easier financing of commodity stocks would not only cheapen considerably the carrying of stocks, but would also help to smooth out excessive price fluctuations. The provision of adequate storage facilities would in itself remove one of the main obstacles in the way of commodity financing. It would facilitate the generalisation of the warrant system, thereby simplifying credit formalities and lowering also bank charges. As long as the volume of such credits is kept within reasonable limits, the banking system, with the help of the central banks, should be able to meet the demand for such short-term accommodation. The same would not apply, however, to stocks carried over longer periods, in particular to any buffer stocks. The financing of these would constitute a separate problem calling for international action. Special action would also be called for to provide seasonal agricultural credits for financing production and staggered marketing by the producer. Although the question belongs more properly to the supply of working capital for agriculture, its close bearing on the problem of marketing deserves emphasis.

36. Improvements on the organisational side of distribution are largely dependent on the provision of adequate technical installations and easier finance. For the greater part, they could only be undertaken as and when these basic requirements are secured. The meagre data available on comparative costs of distribution do not warrant any concrete recommendation as to types of distribution best suited for the various classes of goods and for different market conditions. Indeed, a factual examination of these problems on the spot appears to be the first step to improvement.

It would seem for instance, that for milk and milk products, co-operative distribution offers important advantages. Similarly, the type of semi-public corporation introduced in Czechoslovakia for the assembly and distribution of cereals, offers an interesting line of investigation with a view to

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possible extension to other countries and other staple products. A measure of public control over the distribution of the main foodstuffs is not only a desirable goal, but will be inevitable for several years after the war on account of probable shortage. Other general measures that may contribute to the improvement of marketing include the standardisation of agricultural and industrial products. The curbing of unfair trade practices would also form an important contribution. Just as restrictive measures should be discouraged in the trade sphere, so the whole question of rationalisation should be approached primarily with a view to the most productive utilisation of manpower and productive resources.

Improvements in export marketing have a twofold part to play. Improvements in the quality and presentation of goods by standardisation, better grading and packing lead, other things being equal, to better export prices and consequently to a nett addition to foreign receipts. Experience has also shown that such improvements lead invariably to a gradual extension of the higher standards to the internal market. Specific requirements differ, of course, from product to product and are outside our scope here. There is, however, a strong case for a special co-ordinating authority, which might work on a joint regional basis, for the investigation of market requirements, advice and assistance to producers, the qualitative supervision of exports, and similar tasks.

CONCLUSION: IMPLICATIONS OF IMPROVED MARKETING

37. The improvements of marketing in its various phases here considered touches upon several aspects of the standard of living. More balanced nutrition through improved food preservation, more food through the reduction of waste, better terms of trade through improved export marketing, a more intensive exchange between agriculture and industry through improved channels of inter-communication, all these make their contribution in different forms, so that it would hardly be possible to size up the total effect in concrete terms. If nevertheless one aspect is singled out below to illustrate the implications of possible improvements, that is done because of its close bearing on the findings

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of our previous papers. Milk, as has been shown, is a prime requirement of an improved standard of nutrition in all countries of the Region. Dairy farming has also been found to be eminently suitable as a line of future agricultural development. Improved roads and motor transport have been shown to be a pre-condition for increased dairy farming. The present paper has given figures to show that before the war the costs of distribution for milk made up 60 to 70 per cent. of the retail price, as compared with 35 to 40 per cent. in certain Western European countries. Assuming that the total cost of milk distribution could be reduced, by a series of technical and organisational improvements from 65% to 45% of the retail price and that these savings in cost were to be shared in equal parts by the producer and the consumer, the result would be as follows. The producer would receive for his milk 30% more than before and could buy for the increment in income manufactures and other foodstuffs; at the same time, the town consumer could buy 11% more milk for the same outlay. This one example may help to place the problem into its proper perspective. The prospects of intensification in agriculture and large-scale industrial development hinge just as much on improved marketing as on better communications.

7/12/43.

APPENDIX TO MEMORANDUM V.

CONTENTS:

- I. *Family Budgets at Various Levels of Income.*
- II. *Handicrafts.*
- III. *Retail Trade According to Branches.*
- IV. *Comparative Costs of Distribution at Various Stages*
- V. *Co-operative Membership Figures.*
- VI. *Measures of State Intervention in Distribution.*
- VII. *Sources Used.*

I. FAMILY BUDGETS AT VARYING LEVELS OF INCOME.

(From I.L.O. Year Book 1942)

		Total consumption expenditure p.a.		Expenditure on Food.	Expenditure on housing.	Expenditure on clothing.	Miscellaneous Expenditure
Poland	1929	Zl.	3,410	57.2%	12.5%	17.3%	13.0%
Czechoslovakia	1931/2	Kc.	14,611	54.7%	16.2%	13.4%	15.7%
Austria	1934	Sch.	3,044	50.3%	16.0%	9.8%	23.9%
Hungary	1929	Pengo	2,726	52.9%	18.0%	10.2%	18.9%
Bulgaria	1927/8	Leva	41,611	50.2%	22.9%	12.8%	14.1%

SUBDIVISION OF EXPENDITURE ON FOOD

	Bread and Cereals	Meat and Fish	Fats and Oils	Milk and Milk Products	Vegetables and Fruit	Miscellaneous
Poland	27.0	24.7	8.4	15.9	10.3	13.7
Czechoslovakia	17.7	21.5	8.3	19.7	8.7	24.1
Austria	19.0	22.6	9.8*	17.7 *	11.2	19.7
Bulgaria	36.4	17.4	7.2	11.4	13.6	14.0

* Butter included with Fats and Oils.

Changing consumption patterns with rising level of income.

	Yearly Consumption Expenditure	Expenditure on Food	Expenditure on Housing	Expenditure on Clothing	Miscellaneous Expenditure
<u>Poland, 1929</u> Families grouped according to income per consumption unit	below Zl. 600	65.9	11.8	14.9	7.4
	600 - 900 Zl.	61.8	12.3	15.5	10.4
	900-1,200 Zl.	55.5	12.2	17.7	14.6
	over 1,200 Zl.	48.5	13.7	20.9	16.9
<u>Czechoslovakia,</u> 1931/2 - Families grouped according to family income.	below Kc. 10,000	63.2	15.6	11.0	10.3
	10 - 13,000	59.5	15.6	11.4	13.5
	13 - 16,000	56.4	16.4	13.0	14.2
	16 - 20,000	55.1	16.4	13.1	15.4
	20 - 25,000	51.8	16.8	13.8	17.6
	25 - 30,000	50.9	14.4	16.1	18.6
<u>Austria, 1934</u> Families grouped according to family income.	below Sch. 2,000	60.5	21.3	4.5	13.7
	2 - 3,000	55.0	17.4	7.9	19.8
	3-- 4,000	51.1	17.4	8.4	23.1
	4 - 5,000	46.3	13.0	12.8	27.8
	5 - 6,000	42.0	12.9	17.0	28.1
	over Sch. 6,000	43.5	12.6	12.7	31.3
<u>Bulgaria 1927/8</u> Families grouped according to family income.	below Leva 36,000	56.0	20.8	10.5	12.7
	36 - 48,000	50.1	22.7	12.0	15.2
	48 - 60,000	48.8	21.6	14.2	15.4
	60 - 72,000	43.3	30.2	15.9	10.5
	72 - 84,000	42.6	28.4	19.6	9.3
	84 - 96,000	39.5	28.1	18.5	13.8
	over 96,000	35.6	25.0	9.0	30.3

II. HANDICRAFTS IN POLAND.

(Year: 1937)

Total of artisan licences: 373,529

Of which:

Tailors....	57,359	Bakers.....	18,904	Upper-makers...	8,160
Bootmakers..	57,194	Hairdressers	15,502	Wheelwrights...	7,892
Butchers...	47,548	Bricklayers. Masons.	13,325	House painters.	7,104
Blacksmiths	32,360	Locksmiths	10,901	Tinsmiths	6,474
Joiners....	18,904	Carpenters	9,339	Others	82,044

IIA. HANDICRAFTS IN BULGARIA.

In 1936, there existed 69,232 handicraft firms with 71,385 skilled craftsmen and 63,547 other personnel. 42,513 firms were one-man firms; 4,076 employed more than five men. The gross value of handicrafts production was 7.5 billion Leva in 1929 and 4.5 billion Leva in 1935.

The distribution of the skilled craftsmen according to trades was as follows:

Weaving	20 per cent.	Building & Allied Trades	12.3 p.c.
Woodworking	17.5 "	Tanning	10.4 "
Food and Beverages..	16.5 "	Miscellaneous	8.2 "
Metal-working	15.1 "		

47.6 per cent. of the total number were working in towns, 52.4 per cent. in villages.

III. RETAIL TRADE ACCORDING TO BRANCHES.

(Poland, Roumania and Bulgaria)

In Poland, the number of retail shops in 1938 was 374,155. Of these 344,346 were one-man enterprises, 12,751 Co-operative Societies, the rest other forms of enterprise.

The distribution of the retail shops according to branches was as follows:

Foodstuffs	57.3 per cent.
Clothing	20.4 "
Building materials and Fuel ...	4.5 "
Iron and Metal goods	3.6 "
Chemical Products	3.3 "
Furniture, Household goods etc...	2.6 "
Paper, Books and Periodicals	2.2 "
Miscellaneous	6.1 "

In Roumania, two districts, the first comprising the capital, the second a backward rural area, showed the following distribution:

	Bucarest and the County of Ilfov.	Oltenia
	Percentages.	
Food products	57.2	64.7
Drugs and Chemical Products	2.3	1.5
Books and Stationery	2.4	0.8
Textiles	7.7	12.7
Leather goods ..	2.6	2.6
Timber, wood and Building Materials ..	3.0	2.1
Ironware, Household Goods, Implements etc.	5.1	2.6
Miscellaneous	19.7	13.0

Retail Trade in Bulgaria showed the following Distribution:

	Total number of Firms	Per 10,000 inhabitants	Firms in Towns	Per 10,000 inhabitants	Firms in Villages	Per 10,000 inhabitants
All Trades	40,888	67	22,655	114	18,233	37.9
Agricultural Products	5,241	8.6	2,957	23	2,284	4.8
Fuel	1,475	2.4	1,121	8.6	354	6.7
Ironware	1,039	1.7	977	7.5	62	0.1
Glassware and China	453	0.7	398	3.1	55	0.1
Woodware	145	0.2	141	1.1	4	0.01
Textiles	2,085	3.4	1,512	11.5	573	1.2
Leather Goods	320	0.5	310	2.4	10	0.02
Foodstuffs	4,087	6.7	2,480	19.1	1,607	3.4
Dressmaking	2,042	3.3	1,917	14.8	125	0.3
Chemists	701	1.1	583	4.5	118	0.2
Paper	1,634	2.7	1,475	11.3	159	0.4

IV. COMPARATIVE COSTS OF DISTRIBUTION FOR CEREALS AND BREAD AT DIFFERENT STAGES.

(Year: 1938)

	Bread Grain 100 kg.	Flour 100 kg.	Margin in % of grain	Flour 100 kg.	Margin in % of flour	Bread 100 kg.	Margin in % of grain
	Wholesale Price	Wholesale Price	Wholesale Price	Retail Price	Wholesale Price	Retail Price*	Wholesale Price
Poland, Rye (Zloty)	14.80	26.-	76%	40.-	69%	30.-	103%
Czechoslovakia, Wheat (Kl.)	177.50	252.50	42%	285.-	13%	-b	-b
Austria, Wheat (RM.)	20.50	32.-	56%	45.-	41%	42.-	105%
Hungary, Wheat (Pengo)	20.70	33.-	60%	39.-	18%	42.-	103%
For comparison: Germany, Rye (RM.)	18.50	23.-	24%	30.-	30%	33.-	78%

b A mixed bread consisting of wheat and rye, was retailed at Kc.260.- per 100 kilos.

* Converted into U.S. cents, the retail prices were as follows:

Wheat - Poland 5.5, Austria 20.2, Hungary 5.7, Germany 12.9.
Rye - " 5.2 " 15.3 " 10.0 " 12.2.

V. CO-OPERATIVE MEMBERSHIP FIGURES.

(Year: 1936)

	Co-operative Societies for Credit		Co-operative Societies for Supply			Co-operative Dairy Societies		
	Number of Societies	Members	Number of Societies	Members	Turnover	Number of Societies	Members	Value Marketed
Poland	4,961	777,000	3,413	367,257	180 mill. Zl.	1,385	485,000	79 mill. Zl.
Czechoslovakia	5,334	887,018	326		1,500 " Kl.	441	93,531	430 " Kc
Hungary	1,008	421,507	1,480	568,535	32 " Pengo	794	99,340	10 " Pengo
Roumania	4,269	806,633	1,258	123,153	*	*	*	*
Yugoslavia	4,567	416,667	1,900	250,000	491 " Dinar	168	19,000	*
Bulgaria	1,703	167,820	1,300	160,000	169 " Leva	*	*	*
Greece	4,414	*	*	*	*	62	*	*

* Not available.

Source: "Co-operative Action in Rural Life" (1939).

No figures for Austria, at the time of publication part of Germany.
According to other sources, Austria had in 1936, 216 Consumers' Societies
with a total membership of 326,000 and 3,617 Agricultural Societies with
408,000 members

VI. MEASURES OF STATE INTERVENTION IN MARKETING.SITUATION AS OF 1937.

The immediate cause for government intervention in the sphere of
distribution was the world agricultural crisis and most measures were taken
with the primary object of protecting the producer from the disastrous effects
of the price slump. The present Note lists only those measures affecting
marketing proper, as distinct from price-fixing at the production end,
subsidies and output restrictions.

Poland.

Wholesale and retail prices were fixed for cereals, meat, milk,
lard and butcher's pork.

To promote orderly marketing, loans were granted at special terms
against corn, hops, flax fibres, etc.

The National Industrial & Cereals Co. (an official organisation)

held the sole right of exporting the wheat surplus and had also a certain part in regulating the distribution of grain on the internal market.

Czechoslovakia.

The Czechoslovakia Grain Company held a monopoly for buying and selling home-grown grains and for importing and exporting wheat, rye, barley, oats, maize and most kinds of fodder. The C.G.C. was a semi-public corporation. It was registered as a joint stock company, the share capital of which was subscribed as follows: 40 p.c. by the agricultural co-operatives, 20 p.c. by the consumers' co-operatives, 20 p.c. by the Association of Flour Millers and 20 p.c. by representatives of private trade interests. The Chairman of the Company was appointed by the Government.

A milk marketing scheme was introduced in 1934 when a Government decree fixed prices for the producer, wholesaler, distributor and retailer. In 1937, a price equalisation fund was established for eggs.

In 1932 a monopoly was granted to a syndicate of importers for the import of dairy produce, eggs, cattle, meat, lard, animal fats, bacon and ham.

Hungary.

State monopolies, operated through the Co-operative organisation, were in existence for the export of grains, the internal marketing and export of home-grown wool, the export of butter, lard and other produce. The storage and marketing of wine was under State control.

Milk and cattle marketing for the consumption of the Hungarian capital was regulated by a special scheme.

Yugoslavia.

The Prizad Company, founded in 1930, exercised supervision over the marketing of wheat, maize and opium, for which it fixed prices and allocated export quotas. From time to time, the Company made intervention purchases on behalf of the Government and marketed surplus stocks abroad. The majority of the share capital in the Company was held by the State, the balance being distributed among Co-operative Societies and private traders.

An organisation for the control of livestock exports was run on similar lines.

Roumania.

The marketing of wheat was under the control of a government organisation, which had authority to fix prices, to buy surplus stocks and to effect sales abroad.

Special marketing schemes were in operation for the export of certain animal products.

Bulgaria.

The office of Grain Export was organised by the Government about 1926 for the purchase of the marketable output of wheat at fixed prices, the marketing of the export surplus and sales for domestic consumption.

The Export Institute had, among other things, the function of supervising the grading of exported produce and providing information on foreign markets.

Greece.

The Government controlled the assembly and import of wheat, which was re-sold to millers for processing.

A semi-official organisation undertook the warehousing and orderly marketing of wine crops.

Control was exercised over the marketing of citrus fruit and figs, through the medium of compulsory growers' associations.

Distributive margins were fixed for certain articles of prime necessity.

VII. SOURCES USED.

National Statistics.

League of Nations Statistical Publications

Argus, Bucarest (daily paper)

German Institute for Business Research Bulletins

International Institute for Inter-Cooperative Relations, Reports

International Review of Agriculture

Nene Zuercher Zeitung

Sud-Ost Economist, Budapest

Twentieth Century Fund, 'Does Distribution Cost too Much?'

June 5, 1944

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

Dear Mitrany:

Many thanks for your letter of May twelfth which reached me this morning. I am sending on to Mrs. McIlwain your note about him which will give her great pleasure. We all hope that we can arrange with Harvard to allow McIlwain to spend some time here during the next year or two, but nothing definite can be settled until McIlwain returns. Harvard has been so generous about him that I feel a little ungrateful to have further designs on his time. However, I know that he himself is very much interested in our Institute plans.

Riefler is in Washington at the moment. I had a talk with him on the telephone and expect to see him sometime this week.

I am very much interested in the report of your activities and the circulation of your pamphlet. I should be interested to know what you think of the "design" which I sent you last week. There is as yet no definite information as to the size of Mr. Bamberger's estate.

With kindest regards in which my wife joins, I am

Yours sincerely,

Frank Aydelotte

FA:KK

C R O S S R E F E R E N C E

FILE: Mitrany, David

SEE ALSO: FA F

SUBJECT: Letter to Dr. Aydelotte from Allan G. B. Fisher, New Zealand
Legation, Washington 8, D. C., June 4, 1944.

May 25, 1944

Dear Mitrany:

I am immensely interested to know that you have become a member of this Chatham House Committee on what to do with Germany. This war is going to leave a good many insoluble problems, and in my opinion this ^{is} one of them. I agree with all that you say about its dangers, and regret the Prime Minister's statement published in this morning's papers which hinted at a possible dismemberment of Germany. It has always seemed to me that Germany was likely to come out of this war a very much weaker power than when she went into it, and that there was comparatively little danger or fear from Germany unless we had some kind of disagreement between the British American group on one hand, or Russia on the other, which would enable Germany to hold the balance of power and, so to speak, cast the deciding vote.

It would also seem to me that Germany's good behavior would depend pretty largely on our skill in providing good conditions for the middle class in Germany and giving them, in that way, a stake in the maintenance of peace. I should think this could be done by breaking up large estates and large concentrations of industrial power, and by eradicating, by whatever means are necessary, the professional officer class.

I have been amazed by the way in which our hatred of Italy has evaporated since the overthrow of Mussolini, and I should expect something similar to happen with regard to our feeling toward Germany, once the Nazis are deposed and punished. For this reason the present moment seems to me rather ill-advised for any kind of public discussion of the problem, but it is all to the good to have committees like yours working on it.

I am a member of a little group called together by Manley Hudson, Raymond Fosdick and Arthur Sweetser to discuss a possible form of international organization to replace the League of Nations. We have evolved some proposals which are now being printed for confidential distribution. I expect to have copies within a few days and shall forward four or five to you, leaving you free to show them to individuals who might be interested but asking everyone to respect their confidential character so far as any newspaper publicity is concerned. I am particularly eager to get your comments and those of individuals with whom you are in touch on these proposals.

With kindest regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

Frank Aydelotte

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

May 20, 1944

Dear Mitrany:

I am glad to know that you saw Earle. I sent you by mail information about Mr. Bamberger's death at the time it occurred. There did not seem to be any real necessity for sending a cablegram. I have since written you all the news we have up to date about his will. We see Mrs. Fuld every two or three weeks. She is very frail, but keenly interested in all the news of the Institute, and her mind is perfectly clear although she tires easily.

The Faculty passed resolutions concerning Mr. Bamberger, a copy of which I enclose, and the Board of Trustees has appointed a committee to prepare similar resolutions, though these have not yet been written. I knew that you and Riefler would want to be associated with the Faculty resolutions and I consequently sent them in the name of our entire group.

I have in mind another tribute to Mr. Bamberger's memory, in the form of a historical collection of such records and documents as can be obtained concerning his remarkable career in business, and his philanthropies in Newark. I spoke to him often about this during his lifetime, but he would never take the matter seriously. He has, however, told me a good deal in our weekly conversations, and I think this is by all odds the suitable place to preserve this material about his life.

With kindest regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

Frank Aydelotte

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

AIR MAIL.

Unilever House,
Blackfriars,
London, E.C.4

12th May, 1944

Dear Aydelotte,

Your good letters of April 4th and 11th have just come and I am much obliged to you for telling me about things at the Institute. I hope that Mr. Hamberger's generosity will mean above all that from now on you will be spared all the worry which has been so unfairly weighing on you since you came to the Institute. All my good wishes to you.

I have been in touch with McIlwain since his arrival. I have a great affection for him and had a letter waiting for him at Balliol offering whatever we can at our house. I went over for his inaugural lecture, which to me was all the more attractive as we seemed to have much in common in our theoretical position. I then had a good gossip and lunch with him and I hope to see him many times while he is in England. Earle also told me that you had a scheme for bringing McIlwain to Princeton, and it is my impression that McIlwain would much like it if it could be arranged with Harvard. It may interest you that when we first started and I was urging upon Abe the use of research seminars, with temporary professors, McIlwain's was the first name I put to him.

Since cabling you two more copies of your book have arrived and I am trying to make good use of them. I am tempted to write something about it myself, but at the same time I think it is fairer to you to try and get Tawney who can speak with authority on educational problems. I will continue to watch ~~out~~ and send on to you anything appearing here on education.

I have not yet seen Riefler since his return but I have seen Earle and have done the little things in which he wanted help from me. He seems to stand the visit extremely well, and fortunately we are having very pleasant weather.

I have to write you some other time about my own activities. I might just mention that the Authorities are now preparing also Danish and Norwegian editions of my pamphlet; and you may have seen that in the debate in the House of Commons on imperial policy about a fortnight ago, functionalism was accepted as the best line of development for the Empire by the P.M.

My good wishes to you and to Mrs. Aydelotte and my kind regards to all our friends at the Institute.

Yours sincerely,

D. Mitrany
D. Mitrany.

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

*and people
like him*

May 12, 1944

Dear Mitrany:

I am delighted to have your letter of April 4 with its very interesting charter describing your activities. I am showing it to Stewart and Warren. Earle is in England and you have doubtless told him the story directly.

I think I have written to you already that Bill will not be coming over. Arrangements were all completed and he took what was supposed to be merely a routine physical examination. However, when the doctor discovered that he had had a kidney removed, he said flatly that it would be impossible for him to approve Bill physically for overseas service. It seems that the Army medical authorities have an inflexible rule about missing kidneys, and nothing can be done about it.

There is, as yet, no more news about Mr. Ramberger's estate. Things at the Institute are going as usual, and my wife and I hope to make one change this year by getting away for a little summer holiday, which we have not been able to do since 1941.

With kindest regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

Frank Aydelotte

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

FA:MGH

Letter of Mitrany to Aydelotte, May 12, 1944
Copy letter to Stewart & Warren

AIR MAIL.

Unilever House,
Blackfriars, E.C.4.

4th May 1944

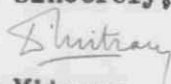
Dear Aydelotte,

You will be interested to see the enclosed document as evidence of the fact that people are getting worried about the problem of Germany. Quite apart from any personal views, I have always felt that this is one of the most dangerous subjects: it is likely to split each allied country and the allied countries, especially if the policy adopted is too drastic and requires prolonged enforcement. In that case any division among the Allies would have the non-sensical effect that the policy would become inapplicable, and Germany would again be freer than under a more moderate policy.

I will let you have anything that may seem worth sending.

With kind regards

Yours sincerely,


D. Mitrany

Dr. Frank Aydelotte,
Fuld Hall,
Princeton,
New Jersey

enc.

Memorandum "A"

THE SANKEY COMMITTEE ON POLICY TOWARDS GERMANY

(Chatham House Private Members' Group)

A non-party Committee formed to discover and set forth the basis of an agreed peace-settlement policy towards Germany, required in the public interest.

OBJECT AND CONSTITUTION OF THE COMMITTEE

1. IMPORTANCE OF THE UNDERTAKING: Change of policy with change of Government is an inherent feature of the working of Parliamentary Democracy in internal affairs, e.g., social reform, incidence of taxation. The experience of two wars has shown that, in foreign affairs, where matters of major importance are concerned, it is possible, as indeed, it is essential, to frame a set of policies on which all political parties, conscious of the over-riding national interest involved, are able to agree.

Even so, peace aims cannot be made the subject of national policy to the extent possible with war aims, but the national interest requires that the area of agreement be made as wide as is practicable, and in particular that it should include policy towards Germany.

Moreover, even in the narrow sense of their own self-interest, political parties must gain by reaching agreement with each other as regards policy towards Germany, since otherwise each faces the prospect of seeing the policy it has applied when in office either abandoned, or seriously modified when it is turned out of office.

It is, however, on the ground of serving the national interest, not sectional interests, that the Committee seeks to carry out its purpose and it is on this ground that it asks for the full co-operation of those invited to assist it.

2. CHARACTER OF THE COMMITTEE: The Committee is entirely non-party, its aims being attainable only if it approaches its task from a neutral standpoint. Membership will be confined to persons who regard the reconciliation of conflicting views in order to achieve a national policy as being a matter of importance over-riding that of particular solutions.
3. POLITICAL CONTACTS: It is, however, of the essence of the scheme that the national policy to be sought should become that of all three political parties - after due consideration and modification where necessary by those parties. It follows, therefore, that the views examined must be those associated with political parties, hence the need to have these represented.

2.

But here a difficulty arises, from the fact that the lines dividing policies advocated towards Germany do not correspond with political divisions. Each particular policy will probably have supporters in all three camps. Nevertheless, it would seem that the Right tend to attach prior importance to the need for making security measures water-tight, relegating to second place the hope of re-educating Germany; whereas the Left tend to reverse this order of importance, holding that measures which the Right regard as essential on security grounds partake of repression and will defeat the common object, namely, to bring about the ultimate re-entry of Germany, re-educated, into the comity of nations.

4. REPRESENTATION OF DIVERGENT VIEWS: Sir John Wardlaw-Milne, Chairman of both the Post-War Policy Group and of the Conservative Party Foreign Affairs Committee, has consented to provide for the representation of the 'Security First' standpoint at the deliberations of the Committee, Mr. H.N. Brailsford that of 'Co-operation First'.

It is clearly to be understood, however, that all such representation will be entirely unofficial and no organization will be committed by any opinion expressed. This must be regarded as axiomatic, otherwise the required representation could not possibly be obtained.

5. EXPERTS: It is proposed to invite to the discussion of each main subject acknowledged experts in that subject.
6. THE USES TO BE MADE OF THE RESULTS: It is proposed to submit to the headquarters of the three political parties a Report embodying the results of the enquiry. It will be accompanied by a letter calling attention to the public interest to be served by the adoption of a national policy towards Germany, referred to in paragraph 1. The suggestion will be made that the Report be used as the starting point for reaching, by way of compromise consented to in the public interest, agreement on such policy.

The Report will be prepared with a view to publication.

7. ACCOMMODATION: The Council of Chatham House have admitted the Committee as a "Chatham House Private Members' Group". It is proposed to meet on Mondays after a sandwich lunch which the Institute provides.
8. COMPOSITION AND SIZE OF THE COMMITTEE: In order to secure serious consideration for the proposals of the Committee, they require to be influentially backed. Accordingly the Committee will be organized as follows:

Active Members who attend meetings of the Committee (not necessarily regularly) and participate actively in its work.

Associate Members, leading figures in national life who, being in agreement with the aim of the Committee, associate themselves with its efforts and sign the Report, subject to approving it.

3.

9. ACTIVE MEMBERS: The following have agreed to become active members of the Committee:

Viscount Sankey (Chairman)
Gerald Barry
Vernon Bartlett, M.P.
Rt. Hon. Leslie Hore-Belisha, M.P.
Professor C. H. Desch
Lord Hankey
Viscount Hinchinbrooke, M.P.
Edward Hulton
Rt. Rev. Bishop David Mathew
Lt. Col T. H. Minshall
Professor David Mitrany
Rt. Hon. Sir Eric Phipps
Julian Piggott
Lt.-Col. Clive Garsia (Hon. Secretary)

10. EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE: An Executive Committee has been formed for the transaction of routine business, consisting of:

Viscount Sankey (Chairman)
Edward Hulton (Vice Chairman)
Sir Eric Phipps
Viscount Hinchinbrooke
Lt.-Col. Clive Garsia (Hon. Secretary)

11. FINANCE: Mr. Edward Hulton has undertaken to be responsible for the costs of typing, duplicating and postage. There will be no personal liability on other members.

AIR MAIL.

Unilever House,
Blackfriars,
London, E.C.4

28th April, 1944

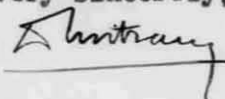
Dear Aydelotte,

I had an evening with Ed. Farle two days ago, which was a pleasant surprise. But I was greatly distressed to hear from him that Mr. Bamberger has died. From such contacts as I had with him I had come to love and respect the old gentleman, quite apart from the gratitude which we owed him for his endowment of the Institute. Last fall when I was thinking of coming back to Princeton I had it clearly in my mind that I wanted to go as soon as possible after my return to see Mr. Bamberger at Orange, and I was really looking forward to tell him of the things which I knew he would be interested to hear, about the problems of Europe. I really feel, even at this distance and under the present strenuous conditions, that I have lost an understanding friend.

As I gather that Mrs. Fuld is still rather ill I am not going to write to her as I would otherwise have done. But if you should see her, please tell her how I understand and sympathize with her loss. And I also hope that you will be kind enough to associate me with any arrangement which you and the faculty may decide upon for paying tribute to Mr. Bamberger's memory.

I will write to you about other things soon.

Yours very sincerely,



D. Mitrany

Dr. Frank Aydelotte,
Fuld Hall,
Princeton,
New Jersey.

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

WLC = 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

P. NYA36 (SEVEN) INTL = PZNY LONDON VIA COMMERCIAL 20 21 1144A

: LC DOCTOR FRANK AYDELOTTE =

FULD HALL (PRINCETON NJ) =

ONE COPY ONLY YOUR BOOK RECEIVED FULL STOP PLEASE SEND FEW
MORE =

DAVID MITRANY.

TELEPHONE

TELEPHONE

1201

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WFO
o d s m
m u l

April 24, 1944

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

Dear Mitrany:

I am delighted to have your cable and to send you two additional copies of the book. Two more are on the way to you at this moment, and you may in consequence have more than you want. If, on the other hand, you need additional ones, please do not hesitate to let me know.

Under separate cover I am sending you the record of a conference on postwar problems of the Netherlands held at the World Peace Foundation last year. You may have seen it already, but even if you have, it occurs to me that you might be able to use an extra copy.

With kindest regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

Frank Aydelotte

FA:KK

April 11, 1944

Dear Mitrany:

Warmest thanks for your letter of March twenty-third and the interesting cuttings. All the material you can send me on developments in English education I am able to put to good use. I look forward with the keenest interest to receiving the twenty-four copies of the Chatham House pamphlet for distribution over here. Congratulations on the success which it has evidently made.

I shall certainly see to it that all our regular faculty notices go to you. So much of our Institute business is transacted at lunch and at tea that we are fortunately able to get on with less than the usual number of letters and memoranda.

The most recent news of the Institute is that Bertrand Russell is giving two seminars this week in the School of Economics for discussion of the views of that science which he, Russell, expresses in his book on "Power." Next week the Trustees hold their annual meeting here. For the last two years they have been meeting in Newark in order to make it possible for Mr. Bamberger to attend. From now on I hope they will usually meet here. They come down by the 11:00 train from New York, reaching Fuld Hall at about 12:15, and while the Finance Committee is meeting, the rest of the Trustees will lunch informally in small groups with members of the faculty. We shall then have our Trustees' meeting at 2:15, finishing in time for tea in Common Room at 4:00 or 4:30. If I can get the Trustees to spend an afternoon at the Institute in this way at each meeting, they will know the faculty and understand what we are doing better than ever before.

Under separate cover I am sending you a recent number of the FRIENDS INTELLIGENCER containing some articles on the bombing of Germany which I think will interest you. I imagine you have seen Riefler since his return, and Earle may be looking you up in London before very long.

With kindest regards in which my wife joins I am

Yours sincerely,

Frank Aydelotte

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

FA:KK

AIR MAIL

UNILEVER HOUSE,

CABLES, LEVERBRO, LONDON.

BLACKFRIARS, E.C.4.

23rd March 1944.

Dear Aydelotte,

I have received your two letters of January 26th and February 18th in quick succession and I want to thank you, first of all, for the very generous way in which you have looked after my interests. I could not have made the experiment unless I knew that you really approved of it, but I confess that I was greatly heartened by your encouragement. I can say that so far I have found it more than worth while - quite apart from the way it helped me with my personal problems. I am learning a great deal and am helped by what I learn to see the social problems, as I have always tried to see them, from all sides. I could not ask for more friendly or understanding relations than I have with my colleagues here, and they seem to think that I am not altogether useless to them. But it has made all the difference to them and to me that you should have taken such a personal interest in the experiment, and I am deeply grateful to you for your attitude.

Will you please thank the Executive Committee and the Board of Trustees for the readiness with which they endorsed your recommendation. Please assure them that I am, if anything, more interested than before in the life and work of the Institute, and that I shall appreciate being kept informed of what is happening there. Even the notice of last December calling a Faculty Meeting which you had thoughtfully sent to me, gave me pleasure, and I would beg you to ask the Office to let me have anything that is circulated to the Faculty. I have in the meantime made enquiries and I am assured that I shall be readily given permission to transfer the necessary amounts for the payment of my part of the superannuation, and also for my insurance which, so far, has been looked after by the Institute's Secretary, and if you would instruct the Secretary to give me notice whenever any money is due, I will see that the necessary amounts are made available without delay.

I have in the meantime received also the proofs of your book and I am delighted to have them. You may be sure that I will make good use of them, and also of the copies of the book which you have kindly promised me. There is a great interest in educational problems here, as you know, but the University side has received, so far, less attention than the more popular side of the extension of Secondary Education. I have sent you, from time to time, clippings on the subject and I am adding two to this letter, and also some books and documents which have appeared recently, like the Report of the Association of University Teachers. I will watch out for anything else on the subject and see that it is sent to you at once.

I have also sent you 24 copies of the new edition of my Chatham House pamphlet which has a short appendix relating specially to U.S. policy. The pamphlet and its ideas have had a success which has quite taken me by surprise and has produced the flattering inconveniences of finding oneself suddenly a minor passing star. I have to do more speaking than I would usually choose to do and also quite a bit of broadcasting. I gave this week my first broadcast in French on the new General European Service. I think you know that the

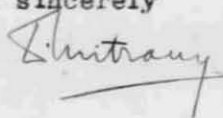
Government are preparing an Italian edition. More recently the Office of the High Commissioner for Palestine has asked for permission to issue mimeographed extensive summaries in Hebrew and Arabic; that especially pleases me because I have thought that my ideas were particularly suitable for mixed regions where the political approach, as in India, only tends to harden the lines of division.

I was especially interested in the last paragraph of your letter of February 18th, as I had recently spoken to the Friends and got on, as I always do, very well with them; and last week I had to open a discussion on U.N.R.R.A. at the private conference organised by the National Peace Council. Roger Wilson who is in charge of this work here, is an old friend of mine, and I should be glad to see any of your American colleagues on the Service Committee who may be coming over. In this connection, may I say that a young man who has been invited over to advise U.N.R.R.A. on the welfare work, is an unfortunate choice, and though he may go to Princeton, I did not give him a letter for you. On the other hand, I should be very glad if you could arrange a visit for Miss Marjory Perham, the anthropologist at Nuffield College, in Oxford. She is now in the West Indies with the Commission of Enquiry and will be spending about three weeks in the States some time in May. She is very anxious to visit you at the Institute, but you would have to get in touch with Harold Butler at the Embassy in Washington who is making all the arrangements for her trip.

There are so many more things I want to write you about that I must leave some for another letter. I am deeply worried by the trend of policy towards post-war problems, and especially by the ideas for dealing with the German problem which seem to be holding the day. I am sending you separately two documents prepared by a Dutch Committee, and I have arranged for them to be sent also to your University Committee. I had a long evening with the writer of the Dutch report, and by a good fortune I had received only a day or two before the pamphlet of the University Committee on the treatment of Germany, which I was able to use and to circulate among my Dutch friends. But for the time being the national resentment of the peoples of the Continent has swamped all attempts to deal with this problem in a practical way.

My warmest wishes to you and Mrs. Aydelotte and Bill, and to all our friends at the Institute. In the hope that whenever you can you will send me a few lines, always

Yours sincerely



P.S.

There was an article in "The Times" on February 16th on "Transfers of Population".

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

enc.

March 6, 1944

Dear Mitrany:

Under separate cover I am sending you a copy of a pamphlet on The International Law of the Future, printed for confidential circulation. Please do not on any account let any reviews be made of it in the public prints, but please feel free to show it to your friends and talk about it with them. It is the outgrowth of a long series of discussions and it will give you some notion of how opinion has moving in this country.

This pamphlet was produced under the leadership of Manley Hudson and is, of course, very much influenced by the Covenant of the League. I am sitting with a committee which is making a rather careful survey of all the proposals that have been made for international organization after the war, and this document is one among many which are being discussed. I should be glad to have any comments on it which may occur to you if you find it of sufficient interest to go through it.

With kindest regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

FRANK AYDELOTTE

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

FA/MCE

February 28, 1944

Dear Mitrany:

I am delighted to receive the copy of your broadcast on the transfer of ~~populations~~ for use with the proof of your article. I sent you recently two copies of my book and, looking over your recent letter, I am moved to send you two more. I shall be very eager to know what you think of it and whether it proves interesting to your English friends.

Win is still home, but I imagine will shortly be returning to England, and you may see him and learn all our news before this letter arrives.

Miss Craig McGeachy came to Princeton recently and I had a most interesting talk with her. She is an extraordinarily interesting person and I have undertaken to help her find assistants for her new job in UNNRA whenever she is ready to make appointments.

I earnestly hope that the new "Blitz" is not unduly complicating your life in London. From this distance it looks like a somewhat feeble reply to the increased bombing of Germany, but I imagine it is pretty serious for the people who have to live through it.

You will be interested to know that David Riefler has now been called up and has gone to camp. Did you know Chapman of the League of Nations group? His son Don, who is in our Army, has been studying languages at Berkeley. Mr. and Mrs. Chapman left yesterday to take their holiday on the Pacific Coast and be with Don during a period of leave which he is to have soon.

It is just possible that my son Bill may take a job with the O.W.I. this Spring which will send him to London. If that happens I shall give him your address and shall very greatly appreciate any attention you may be able to show him. I cannot remember whether you have met him or not, but in any case he must have matured a good deal since you saw him last.

With kindest regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

FRANK AYDELOTTE

February 18, 1944

Dear Mitrany:

I have just received the proofs of your population article and am delighted to have them. Thank you very much.

I am asking Harpers to forward to you immediately two copies of my book on Honors work, which is due to be published March 8th. I hope an advance copy will go to you sometime before that date and reach you not too long after this letter. If you want more copies let me know and I shall be glad to supply you with as many as you wish.

The whole body of our Trustees heard first at the meeting on January 25th about your present activities when they received the report of the Executive Committee recommending your leave of absence, which I think I wrote you was approved on exactly the terms outlined in my letter. They were greatly interested and I hope you will keep me supplied with any publications or other information which I could properly summarize for them.

Riefler is home for a short stay and brings a good report of you. He looks tired and I wish that he could get a holiday before he goes back, but he seems to think that this will be very difficult.

I have just returned from a special meeting of the American Friends Service Committee, at which we agreed in principle to undertake some very considerable relief projects both in India and, in cooperation with UNNRA, in the Balkans when the time comes that relief there is possible. I foresee that demands of this sort are going to absorb all the energy of the Society of Friends during the next few years. The Quakers know how to conduct relief in a decent and human way, but their numbers are limited and whether they can find the personnel for the vast jobs they are going to be asked to do is a question.

With kindest regards, I am

Yours sincerely.

FRANK AYDELOTTE

January 26, 1944

Dear Mitrany:

This is a purely formal note to inform you that the Board of Trustees of the Institute at its meeting on January 25th confirmed the action of the Executive Committee taken December 14, 1943, granting you leave of absence without salary for the current academic year, with the understanding that the Institute will pay its regular contribution on your behalf to the T.I.A.A. While the Executive Committee has full authority to take this action under the By-Laws, these By-Laws are not fully understood by all members of the Board and I consequently thought it prudent to have the report of the Executive Committee fully ratified.

Riefler is home and brings pleasant news of you.

I am sending off to you a set of page proofs of my book, which are a little inconvenient to read but will give you an idea of its contents. The book is scheduled to appear on March 8th and finished copies will go to you as soon as they are available. The book has involved an amount of detail wholly out of proportion to its size, as you will see when you look through it. It is a great relief to me to have it out of the way and I only hope that I have not made too many mistakes in describing in condensed form the work of so many colleges and universities.

With kindest regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

FRANK AYDELOTTE

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

TELEPHONE: CENTRAL 7474

UNILEVER HOUSE,

BLACKFRIARS, E.C.4.

20.1.44

With Mr.Mitrany's

Compliments.

COPY

5th January, 1944.

Professor D. Mitrany,
Lower Farm,
Kingston Blount,
Oxford.

Dear Professor Mitrany,

I am sending you the formal letter confirming the terms on which you have entered the service of this Company. *W. L. M.*

for Mitrany
This gives me an opportunity to put on record that it was your own wish that your remuneration should be no higher than that you received in America, though inevitably the change must mean a fairly considerable difference in the conditions of your life and work.

I also realise that while for us it meant something new to give an assured engagement for five years, you have on your part met us by giving up the security of a second five-year period which your university appointment would have assured you. This is a point which we shall not overlook should either side, for whatever reason, not wish to continue the present arrangement at the end of the stipulated five years.

Yours sincerely,

(signed) GEOFFREY HEYWORTH.

TELEPHONE: CENTRAL 7474

UNILEVER HOUSE,

BLACKFRIARS, E.C.4.

1. 2. 44

Dear Sir,

With reference to your enquiry about the transfer of populations, Mr. Mitrany recently happened to give a broadcast interview touching on this matter and thought you might care to see the script.

Yours faithfully,



Mr. Mitrany's Secretary.

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

PROFESSOR D. MITRANY AND J. E. MCGEACHY ON EUROPEAN PROBLEMS.

McGEACHY: Reorganising Europe after the war is going to be a complicated business. A few broad principles are agreed on: political liberty for all peoples; fair trading opportunities; a system of security based on consent and co-operation, not on exclusive alliances.

Such general ideas are common currency now -- but at best they are only rough guides, chapter headings for a book yet to be written. There is still a lot of hard thinking to be done about details, about questions like these:

How are frontiers to be drawn and how much importance have they anyway? Should federations of neighbouring states be encouraged? Is there anything in the idea of transferring populations to get rid of minority problems? How are we to give vitality to the new internationalism -- the kind of vitality that the League of Nations lacked? What forms of economic collaboration will be the most fruitful?

These are problems on which people disagree. Different answers are given ^{by different authorities} ~~even by the greatest scholars~~. The ideas you'll hear expressed in a moment or two -- by one of the most learned European experts in Britain -- are presented not as the last word, but strictly as opinions. They're a contribution to a discussion in which, you'll agree, it's supremely important to find the right answers if we can.

Well, if I've made that quite plain -- that this is a London opinion I'm bringing you -- let me introduce Professor David Mitrany. He was born in Rumania in 1888. He studied at the London school of economics. Then he was for three years on the editorial staff of the Manchester Guardian. Later he was European editor of the Carnegie Endowment's history of world war One, and lecturer in politics at the University of London. He has had two academic assignments in the United States. From 1931 to 32 he was visiting professor of government at Harvard, ^{Since 1933 he has held} ~~and more recently he taught~~ ^{professorships} at the Institute of Advanced Studies in Princeton. He's the author of many books and essays on European affairs, particularly on social conditions in south-eastern Europe. He now holds ^{also} a new kind of appointment -- he is ^{industrial} adviser on social and political problems to ~~Shellaver Ltd.~~ a British firm ~~with a large output~~. It's a post which gives him a free hand for historical and economical research.

Let's start, Prof. Mitrany, from what I suppose will be one of the basic facts of the European situation after the war -- the great strength of nationalist feeling. In many countries, men and women have resisted the Germans at the risk of torture and death. What they've been fighting and dying for is national independence. The first thing I'd like to ask you is -- supposing you agree with what I've just said -- how do you see these nationalist, patriotic feelings and movements fitting into new plans for international action?

MITRANY: The answer is that I don't quite agree with you. The people who are resisting the Germans are not fighting only for political freedom. The new nationalism in Europe is socialistic. That is, it aims at satisfying social needs -- raising standards of living and providing social security. It's a movement carried by the masses of the people -- sometimes against the middle class -- whereas the nationalism of the 19th century was bourgeois.

McGEACHY: And you think we must take account of that difference in trying to organise peace?

MITRANY: Certainly. The new internationalism will have a chance only if it is linked with social demands and purposes. It will be more important after the war to get people to work together in economic matters than to prevent them from working separately in military matters. The new social movements I'm speaking of are themselves international. They are bursting the dams of national frontiers.

McGEACHY: Should I infer from what you say that you don't attach cardinal importance to the drawing of boundaries?

MITRANY: No, I do not. Let us make the frontiers once and for all, but let us avoid, if we can, making them the focus of national pride. If we encourage the European peoples to believe that their honour and their interests are vitally involved in the drawing of these lines, we merely invite a continuance of the old quarrels and we play into the hands of chauvinist politicians.

McGEACHY: What about minority problems? When frontiers are redrawn, I suppose the aim in view (ideally) is to settle the grievances of minorities.

MITRANY: That may be, but in my view, shuffling frontiers backwards and forwards can never settle anything. It merely shifts the poison of social discontent from one limb to another. But, in any event, minorities within a state are not necessarily a cause of trouble. In some parts of my own country, Rumania, you find peoples of four or five nationalities living together peacefully in single villages.

McGEACHY: As in some parts of America?

MITRANY: Quite so; the real source of trouble in such European communities is the ~~unscrupulous~~ politician willing to play on national prejudices.

McGEACHY: I am sure it must be true in many places that minority groups can work together. It seems to be true in Yugoslavia, for example, where people of many origins -- Croats, Serbs, Macedonians and others have come together under Tito. But some people would say that there was less mutual trust and tolerance in other parts of Europe -- the Franco-German border region, for instance. Do you think anything of the idea of transferring populations to solve minority problems?

MITRANY: No, nothing whatever. There are about 12,000,000 people in Europe who will have to be moved anyway after the war, including prisoners of war, and non-German labour forces working in Germany. That, in itself, will be a tremendous job of transplanting. If, in addition, we try to move populations from their permanent pre-war habitats, reconstruction will be postponed indefinitely.

McGEACHY: Wasn't there an exchange of population in Thrace between Greece and Turkey which worked out successfully?

MITRANY: Yes, because there was mutual consent to the arrangement, and people were moved in both directions. I suppose that at the Russo-Polish border the same kind of exchange might be arranged, moving Russians to the East and Poles to the West, but this is not a typical European situation. In general, what is meant by a proposed transfer in population is a one way movement. It would be a long process in time, it would involve great hardships, and it would probably condemn millions of transplanted people to quite futile lives.

McGEACHY: And also, I suppose, from your point of view, the idea of population transfer is wrong because it is linked with the idea of political nationalism, with the erroneous belief that you can solve these problems by drawing frontiers?

MITRANY:
~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ Exactly, and here's still another point. Having moved the people you propose to move, would you prohibit them free migration in Europe afterwards? If not, how would you prevent the creation of new minority problems?

McGEACHY: I can't think of the answer to that. It does look as if the problem goes on for ever, if you tackle it from that end.

MITRANY: Let me give you just one or two examples of the positive harm that can be done by constantly redrawing boundaries and by frontier thinking. The whole of the river Tisza, a tributary of the Danube, was formerly in Hungarian territory.

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MITRANY (cont'd.) The peasants living along the banks of the river had a system of signalling to one another when the river was rising, and this flood-prevention plan worked well. But the peace treaty after the last war drew the Hungarian-Rumanian border through the Tisza river. As a result, the signalling system broke down. People on one side of the line wouldn't signal to the people on the other side and the whole region has been repeatedly flooded.

McGEACHY: That's a perfect example of how so-called self-determination could produce a dead loss on the economic side.

MITRANY: Railway travel in Europe before this war provided another illustration. The only way to make an uninterrupted journey across the continent was to use the international sleeping car service. If you travelled in any other way, you had to wait for hours or even days at frontiers because neighbouring peoples refused to organize their train systems on a co-operative basis.

McGEACHY: Well that brings us to the point you made at the beginning of our conversation -- economic co-operation as the key to the whole problem we are discussing. Would you expand the idea and give me some examples of what you mean?

MITRANY: Shall I take my examples from the region I'm especially interested in -- southeastern Europe?

McGEACHY: Certainly, but before you do, will you answer this question: By American or British standards, the people of southeastern Europe have in the past lived at a rather low level. But that isn't because of the natural poverty of their lands, is it?

MITRANY: Certainly not. Rumania, for example, is a very rich country. It is frontier thinking and frontier politicians that have bedevilled these Balkan countries and hampered their economic progress.

McGEACHY: Are you for federation of these states?

MITRANY: I see no prospect of an agreed political union coming into being within the visible future -- and an imposed union would be worse than political separation. No, I think the fruitful way to approach the problems of that part of Europe is to encourage economic co-operation. There are many obvious opportunities on a fairly simple level -- for instance, ^{Russia} Rumania and Bulgaria acting together in wheat marketing, Bulgaria and Greece in marketing tobacco. But I'm thinking also of large-scale new enterprises which would raise production and consumption in the whole region. And the western democracies have an important part to play here.

McGEACHY: Just how do you mean?

MITRANY: The western world can refuse to support reconstruction activities unless they are developed as a regional service. The Balkan countries will be in urgent need of help after the war -- they'll need financial aid, materials, technical guidance. That help can come only from the west -- from America and Britain; and America and Britain can make conditions for giving it, *not for their own profit, but for the advantage of the peoples of those parts*

McGEACHY: Would that be a new departure in international policy?

MITRANY: It certainly would. In the past money has gone into south-eastern Europe from the west -- whether in public loans or private investments -- without any regard to social needs. Western money armed each country against its neighbours, and bolstered up each ruling group against the peasantries.

McGEACHY: And what sort of project do you think we should support after this war?

MITRANY: Semi-public corporations giving regional services. Traffic on the river Danube could be developed for the first time as a common service for all the countries through which the river flows. Hydro-electric power could be developed in the same way. Health and agricultural services -- common to all the countries concerned -- could be set up. And the western powers could -- and I think should -- refuse the necessary financial aid unless these utilities were made regional; that is, they should be projects in which every country in the group has a share.

McGEACHY: That sounds like a most valuable idea. Besides raising economic standards, of course, these co-operative schemes would give the Balkan peoples a new focus for their loyalty and enthusiasm. As a Canadian, I think of the *Alaska Highway and the* St. Lawrence waterway project as a bond between Canada and the United States. I don't see why a plan to use the Danube properly shouldn't bring the Danubian countries closer together.

MITRANY: Exactly. The habit of co-operation among the Balkan peoples certainly ought to mitigate the habits of political antagonism -- in time at any rate. These regional services I'm suggesting couldn't be exploited by the old ruling groups for their own profit or by Chauvinist politicians to stir up quarrels.

McGEACHY: The whole idea is one we could explore at length, and I hope we may do so on another night. But our time is nearly up and there's just one more question I want to put to you -- a question suggested by what you said

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MCGHEACHY (Contd) about natural wealth in Europe. We're talking to North America now. I am sure that many people there, when they think about Europe, ask themselves if there will be a pressure of people wishing to emigrate to America after the war. Do you think Europe is over-populated?

MITRANY: No, I do not. There is no reason why there should be any such pressure of would-be emigrants. With a decent Government and peaceful life, every European could enjoy a reasonable standard of living. But then we must devote our peace-making not to drawing frontiers, but to building up life across them.

AIR MAIL

CABLES, LEVERBRO, LONDON.

UNILEVER HOUSE,

BLACKFRIARS, E.C.4.

22nd December, 1943.

Dear Aydelotte,

Two recent items might be of some interest to you. First, an article in "Nature" of 4th December on Research and the Universities, and secondly a review by Tawney in the Manchester Guardian of 15th December of "A Student's View of the Universities" by Brian Simon. I am getting a copy of the book sent to you and hope it will reach you safely.

On my part I have to thank you for Durant's study, which has just arrived; ~~it~~ it is quite beyond anything I can ever hope to understand, but I am going to look through it and show it to my friends here who will know more about the subject. It makes me envious to see how beautifully it is got up.

I hope to find time to write you at more length during the holidays.

Yours

David Mitrany

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

December 16, 1943

Dear Mitrany:

The Executive Committee at its meeting on December 14th heard with interest my account of our discussions and of the very interesting work on which you are engaged. The Committee voted, subject to the approval of the Board, that your leave of absence should be continued for the academic year 1943-44 without salary, but with the understanding that the Institute will pay its share of the contribution made in your name to the T.I.A.A. We shall, of course, make the full payment, leaving you to remit at your leisure. There is a reserve fund here in your name which will take care of this for about a year, so that it will not be necessary for you to make any remittance until then.

I explained to the Trustees that it is possible you might want a leave of absence for several years, but that it was, on the whole, better to grant only one year at a time in view of the many uncertainties of the future.

While the Executive Committee, according to our by-laws, has all the powers of the Board between Board Meetings, it has not in the past been accustomed to exercise them, and I shall accordingly be so formal as to send you a line of confirmation when this report is ratified by the Board on January 25th.

With kindest regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

FRANK AYDELOTTE

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

AIR MAIL

UNILEVER HOUSE,

CABLES, LEVERBRO, LONDON.

BLACKFRIARS, E.C.4.

14th December, 1943.

Dear Aydelotte,

I saw Win yesterday and he is likely to be leaving for home in a few days so that he will be able to give you details as to what is happening here.

In the meantime, I have also spoken to two or three people about your idea on university education and I am afraid I have promised more copies of your book than you are likely to send me. Please do send me two or three copies as soon as possible and I will see that they go round. To-day I am writing again on a special matter so that I shall leave details for a subsequent letter.

In the last few days I have had some talks with Miss Craig McGeachy, of the British Embassy, who sailed last night for Washington and she has certain views on post-war problems which have appealed greatly to me, and which I think would interest you. I have therefore urged Miss McGeachy to send you a copy of a note which she kindly drafted at my request in a great hurry and I hope that after you have seen the note it may be possible for you to meet Miss McGeachy, either at Princeton or Washington.

Briefly her point is that measures of reconstruction, whether political or economic, will be neither immediately effective nor lasting unless they are informed with the social point of view which is likely to dominate European life after the war. That is a point which, as you know, I have urged from the beginning of the war in a somewhat speculative way. Now we have more definite evidence to work on and it is Miss McGeachy's idea that a group of students should be put to work, both here and in the States, to work out the social implications of at least one or two of the current problems and of the means suggested for dealing with them. It is not possible at this time to cover much of the ground but I think she is right in feeling that if one could show what a rounded approach, so to speak, looks like in one or two typical cases, those concerned with policy would see more readily how the point of view applies to other problems they might have to deal with.

I am deeply in sympathy with Miss McGeachy's proposals and would be glad to join in any arrangement you may find it possible to make on these lines.

The matter is all the more urgent because of the trend taken by the preliminary decisions at the Atlantic City Conference

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If UNRRA is going to leave the use of international supplies to be decided upon by local governments, then I fear that the whole idea of international action for raising the standard of living will be badly mutilated in the process. Supplies in the hands of national authorities will be used inevitably first as an instrument in the internal political struggle, and secondly as a weapon in the competition of individual countries.

Anyhow, if, as I am sure you feel that something ought to be done on these lines, I shall be glad to hear that you have been able to meet Miss McGeachy, who will give you plenty of evidence of what is involved.

This gives me a chance to send you our very good wishes for yourself, Mrs. Aydelotte and Bill, as well as to all at the Institute for the New Year, and to thank you again for all your kind help to me.

Always yours sincerely,

Sturtevant

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

December 9, 1943

Dear Mitrany:

I reached home safely and pretty well on schedule and have been trying ever since my return to find a moment to write you to say what a pleasure and satisfaction it was to have the opportunity to discuss with you Institute matters and your own situation. The Executive Committee meets next week and at that time I shall make a formal recommendation for the continuation of your leave and report the conclusions of the Committee to you. I can say to the Trustees with sincerity and enthusiasm what a fine opportunity I think has opened before you.

In this connection I want very much to get hold of another copy of your article on the futility of mass migration as a solution of the minority question. Is it possible to get hold of a copy of the journal and send it to me? I stupidly forgot to make a note of the reference or I should send for it myself. The matter occasionally comes up for discussion here, and there are certain people to whom I want to show your argument in full in the place of my somewhat lame summary.

It was a great satisfaction to me to meet some of your Trustees and I hope when you have occasion that you will give them my thanks for their hospitality and say what a pleasure it was to me to make their acquaintance.

Things are going on here in the busiest possible way. We are having a League of Nations conference over the week-end and on Monday a similar conference of economists called by Loveday, which will discuss, among other things, Beveridge's most recent ideas about how to secure full employment. Stewart and Warren, who have looked over the Beveridge papers that I brought with me feel, I think, that there still remains something to be said on the subject.

I have asked the Treasurer for an exact statement of your financial situation and shall send that to you as soon as I get it.

With kindest regards and best wishes, I am

Yours sincerely,

FRANK AYDELOTTE

TELEPHONE: CENTRAL 7474.

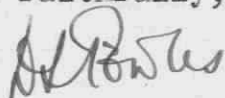
UNILEVER HOUSE,
BLACKFRIARS, E.C.4.

26th November, 1943.

Dear Sir,

Mr. Mitrany, who will be writing to you shortly, wishes me to draw your attention to the article on page 548 of the 13th November issue of "Nature" entitled "The University in Modern Life".

Yours faithfully,



Secretary.

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

TELEPHONE: CENTRAL 7474

UNILEVER HOUSE,

BLACKFRIARS, E.C.4.

77 x.43.

Dear Axelste,

I can't tell you how much pleasure I get from seeing you after my miserable first year in Princeton. I had been so looking forward to working with you there, and helping you to do something with our sections of the Institute, and then came the war - and now these latest complications. The whole thing must have been ~~been~~ appeared somewhat strange at that distance, and I am all the more grateful for your sympathy and understanding. There is lots I want to talk with you on Monday.

I should like you to glance at my article in the P. O. It was the last paper I wrote for the group in Oxford (it is my paper I only asked

like to put in some of the same arguments); but because the F.O. had been bitten into the idea of transfer, I. did all he could to prevent the paper going up, and that has now given me a chance to publish it.

Till Friday - all my thanks
 again with,
 Yours sincerely
Shirley

if you don't want to keep this
 P.S., perhaps I might have it
 back

P.S. I am also sending you a
 copy of the announcement about the
 Campaign sent to the Press last
 week - there was an interesting comment
 in last week's 'Economist'!

PROFESSOR DAVID MITRANY

RESERVE ACCOUNT

<u>1940</u>	Debit a/c Teachers Annuity Insurance and Advances	Credit a/c Salary	Net	Credit Balance
Nov. 27	\$41.66	\$833.33	\$791.67	
Dec. 20	41.68	833.33	791.65	
<u>1941</u>				
Jan. 22	41.66	833.33	791.67	
Feb. 20	41.66	833.33	791.67	
Mar. 24	41.68	833.33	791.65	
Apr. 21	41.66	833.33	791.67	
May 20 (Salary paid by check #4142)				
June 24	<u>41.68</u>	<u>833.34</u>	<u>791.66</u>	
	291.68	5,833.32	5,541.64	
	Deduct			
<u>1941</u>				
June 30 a/c salary received by Professor Mitrany from British Government - £1,000 at \$4.04, per instructions from Dr. Aydelotte			<u>4,040.00</u>	
Balance, June 30, 1941				\$1,501.64

Fiscal Year 1941/1942

July 1, 1941 to June 30, 1942	\$500.00	\$10,000.00	\$9,500.00	
	Deduct			
July 1, 1941 to June 30, 1942 a/c salary received from British Government-£1,000 at \$4.04, per instructions from Dr. Aydelotte			<u>4,040.00</u>	<u>5,460.00</u>
Balance, June 30, 1942				6,961.64

Fiscal Year 1942-1943

	Deduct			
July 1, 1942 to June 30, 1943 advances for annuity payments	\$500.00			
<u>1942</u> Other Cash Advances:				
Dec. 21	(100.00)			
	(450.00)			
<u>1943</u>				
Jan. 23	450.00			
Feb. 18	450.00			
Mar. 27	450.00			
Apr. 20	450.00			
May 24	450.00			
June 21	<u>450.00</u>			<u>3,750.00</u>
Balance, June 30, 1943				3,211.64

(Continued)

PROFESSOR DAVID MITRANY

RESERVE ACCOUNT

<u>1943</u>	Debit a/c Teachers Annuity Insurance and Advances	Credit a/c Salary	Net	Credit Balance
Balance, June 30, 1943 - (Forward)				\$3,211.64
Deduct				
Additional Cash Advances				
July 23 a/c annuity	\$93.86			
23 cash	739.47			
Aug. 24 a/c annuity	93.86			
24 cash	739.47			
Sept. 20 a/c annuity	93.86			
Oct. 22 a/c annuity	93.86			
Nov. 23 a/c annuity	<u>93.86</u>			<u>1,948.24</u>
Balance, December 1, 1943				<u>\$1,263.40</u>

Kingston Blount
Oxford

7. XI. 43

Dear Aydelotte,

I did not call you up this weekend, as I had intended, as I came home from London with a sore throat, after the miserable weather, and as I have to give two addresses this coming week, I thought it better to stay home and nurse my throat. But I shall see you on Tuesday, and I am much looking forward to hearing your views; if you should have time, we might have a talk after your lecture. On Sunday you are lunching with me and 2-3 of my present colleagues; and my wife and I would like to come into Oxford on Sunday next, for tea, if it should prove convenient for you. She is most anxious to make your acquaintance.

I am sending you a clipping from the 'Manchester Guardian' on American colleges; and also a short memorandum by a brilliant Czech Doctor on the need for making available after the war the results of chemical research etc. Would you kindly look at it and see whether the idea is practicable? It would be an invaluable contribution to the rehabilitation of Europe. I hope that all is going well with you - till Tuesday then.

Yours ever
David Mitrany

Lever Brothers & Unilever Limited announce the appointment
of Professor David Mitrany as adviser to the Board on social and
political questions.

The Board of Lever Brothers & Unilever Limited in continuance of their policy of giving serious attention to social and political problems both national and international, have decided to invite Professor David Mitrany to act as adviser on these subjects, on which he is an acknowledged expert. They have always been of the opinion that the most desirable policy for a business organisation is one which helps to improve local conditions in the community in which it operates, and now, more than ever before, questions of this kind deserve intensive and scientific study. The best use of all available resources cannot be met without some measure of co-operation between private enterprise and public authority in the guidance of the economic process. There is general agreement as to ends; there are many views as to means. But as the ends are eminently practical, the devising of the means also should be a practical issue, to be served best by the free and serious collaboration of scientific experts with public servants and men of affairs. It is for this reason that the Board of Lever Brothers & Unilever Limited have decided to make this appointment - which as far as they know is the first of its kind.

Professor Mitrany is as well-known in this field on the Continent and in America as he is in England. Born in south-eastern Europe, he received his academic training in England, and is the holder of a research chair in America. He has worked in journalism on the editorial staff of "The Manchester Guardian" and as a servant of government departments both in the last war and in the present war; and besides writing and teaching, he has taken an active part through various agencies here and in America in the work of international organisation. Throughout these varied activities Professor Mitrany has built up for himself a reputation for detachment and independence of mind. It is the wish of the Board of Lever Brothers & Unilever Limited that his scientific and public work should continue unimpaired. He will have no responsibilities towards the business side of the company; and while the directors will have the benefit of his advice on general public matters, they want on their part to give Professor Mitrany every facility for continuing his work in undiminished freedom. In that way they hope that, with him, they can make whatever contribution may be in their power towards the solving of the complex social and political problems which will crowd the years of transition.

TELEPHONE CENTRAL 7474

UNILEVER HOUSE,
BLACKFRIARS, E.C.4.

2 XI. 43

Dear Hydelber,

(1) I am sending you the various things which I promised you:

(a) the clippings from the M. & the N.S. on University education; (b) the interesting comment from the 'Economist' on my appointment (it made a great impression here because the E. is rather aloof usually and chary of words of praise); and (c) a copy of the Note I just wrote on the Company's intended claim to its property in Germany. This is the kind of thing I intend to do here, outside my own personal researches, and if they take any notice of it the experiment will be worth while. But it must in any case add to my experience. I am sending you this Note, so that you may see how I look upon my present comment; but please regard it as a personal document.

(2) I am using this opportunity to send you ^{also} a preliminary statement on my war work: I shall be glad to add to it any details you may wish when you come to putting together the Institute's war archives. Some of the points are confidential - that about C's scheme highly so.

(3) This morning I had a letter from the Ministry of Information asking permission to translate my pamphlet into Italian, for distribution in Italy. Also an invitation to meet Stathis Crisp, who in spite of my castigating him in a footnote, now uses my arguments in his speeches, and wants to discuss the matter. I forgot to tell you, that one of the most flattering results of my pamphlet is that I am being continuously pressed to address 'federal union' groups, and to attend a small private conference at Beveridge's house in Oxford, early in December. I am flattered not because I am

Also, an invitation from the Political Study Group of the Royal Liverpool Society, asking me to speak to them on the problems of the Service in functional terms, and practically saying that they feel that they have wasted their time so far on all sorts of political schemes.

asked to speak, which is rather an interference, but because it suggests, as I hope, that I have put my case without being offensive to those whose position I strongly criticized

(4) I forgot to ask you - and probably will forget again, is the rush in London, whether by any chance you know how my account at the Institute stands. You have all been very kind to me, in taking over the burden of making payments, etc. I know that the Institute has been paying the premiums on my insurance with the Massachusetts Savings Bonds Life Insurance, but as a private payment, I guess, but I don't know how much they did pay, and whether there is any thing left over in my account or whether I am in debt to it. I should like to straighten it out sometime.

(5) I was delighted with our talk yesterday, to find how closely alike we look upon the problems of the Institute and of the future of the Social Sciences. Please believe me, that in spite of my present abundance, I am deeply and affectionately interested in your work, and would be glad to know at any time what is going on and what your plans are; and that I would enjoy any opportunity to be helpful to these plans by sending you material or information or doing anything else over here.

I meant to write to Mr Baumbarger, but perhaps you could explain the matter better verbally. I had given really first of the old gentlemen, and I think, and hope, that he will be rather pleased with my present work - especially if you would tell him that the Company from the first day laid it down that I should have the right to attend all the meetings of the Board of Directors, and have access to any and all information available in their offices. I am rather astonished myself at such a word of confidence, but I think a large share of it goes to

to the Institute. Is the very 'Scandinavian' - and good, and I assume you can keep the clipping if by any chance you wish to take it in with you. I show it to the Trustees when recommending me for leave.

I shall be glad to see you again next week, but I shall probably postpone you in Oxford over the weekend with all my good wishes, yours, D. Mitrany

1. Progress in science is being hindered in many respects by the war, not least by the fact that the international basis for the exchange of new developments in medicine (congresses, monthly journals, personal contacts, etc.) has become impossible.

It is only natural that, in spite of war and concentration on clinical work, there should be made in many fields valuable contributions which are in no way connected with war, but are the fruits of strenuous scientific work under war conditions.

2. Especially in the Allied world, in spite of war and technical concentration, much time and money has been spent on scientific work. It would be our duty after the war to put at the disposal of all countries, whether enemy or enemy occupied countries, the results of all progress made in the special branches of medicine, without taking into account purely theoretical development, which now finds no means of direct practical expression. This could not be given in either short or more elaborate articles of reference.

It would be necessary instead to concentrate the knowledge about the progress made every year in Allied countries, combining all the important papers, and thus obtaining a yearly picture of the advance made.

3. To do that it would be necessary to summarise in a yearbook all the medical papers which have diagnostic, therapeutic, or didactic value; leading eventually to a yearly digest for every branch of medicine (e.g. anaesthetics, blood, endocrinology, vitaminology, hormonology, gynaecology, dermatology, neurology, infectious diseases, etc.).
4. It is evident that these yearbooks could not be complete; nevertheless they would mean help of great value to specialists and general practitioners in the post-war period. It would facilitate the making of that record of medical progress in the Allied countries if all medical journals and monographs were placed at the disposal of a central board.

It would also be important that the yearbooks should be made available in several of the main languages.

5. Such digests of medical advances should be also of special value to the medical profession in Allied countries, who because of war conditions are unable to study the progress made in the different branches of medicine. The yearbooks would obviously be of invaluable help for post-graduate study after the war.

- 2 -

6. To summarise:

A yearly digest of the progress made in the several branches of medicine, as recorded in the scientific work of the Allied nations at war, would do valuable service in more than one respect:

- (i) It would help to disseminate that knowledge in the Allied countries, whose medical people work under too great pressure to keep in touch with all that is produced.
- (ii) It would salvage the progress now made for all the nations now at war.
- (iii) It would help especially all those in enemy occupied countries, now without universities and without connection with scientific work, to get immediately after the war the best information on progress in medical science in the Allied countries during the war.
- (iv) It would in these ways help the post-graduate studies of the medical profession after the war.
- (v) Last, but not least, it would contribute in this way to the revival of international medical collaboration after the war.

London, 15.VIII.42.

Confidential

THE RESTORATION OF COMPANY PROPERTY IN GERMANY
AFTER THE WAR.

1. Two points appear at first sight to be involved in this question:-
 - (i) The restoration of title of ownership;
 - (ii) The restoration of operating control.
 2. The restoration of title of ownership will no doubt be decided on accepted principles of law and, in so far as the title is clear, British and Dutch claims are unlikely to meet with opposition.
 3. The restoration of operating control where the units are in working order is likely to be complicated by a number of factors:-
 - (i) Military needs may in some particular cases hold up the transfer.
 - (ii) It is likely to be held up until the formal establishment of title.
 - (iii) It may be held up or affected by claims from other Allied countries for reparations in kind (to replace machinery, etc. destroyed or removed by the Germans.)
 4. These three factors had a part in the restoration of property at the end of the last war. A fourth factor may play an even greater part at the end of this war. In 1919 every government was anxious to resume freedom of action, and the joint war-time organs (like the Inter-Allied Shipping Control) were disbanded at once. Now there is a probability that an international authority (U.N.R.R.A. or something like it) will assume at once wide responsibility for getting social and economic life going again in Europe. Such an international authority, faced with a pressing task and endowed with great powers, is likely to want control of all available resources of production and transport capable of immediate use during the difficult first period of relief, and to do so and use those resources on the basis not of 'rights' but of 'needs'.
 5. The restoration of private property is likely therefore to be held up by this fourth factor - that of the needs of relief or rehabilitation under international control. That means, in addition to the two points mentioned in the first paragraph, that a third point is involved in the matter - a political point :-
 - (iii) The initiation of economic and social activities under international control.
- There is inevitably a certain inherent conflict of interest between the first two points and the third, between the claims of the original individual owner and those of the incipient international community. The question that needs to be weighed is that in claiming our rights, in perfect justice, under the first two points we do not give offence to the now widespread sentiment for the third; that we do not appear to be a hindrance or even indifferent to it.
6. Quite apart from our interest, both human and practical, in the quickest possible restoration of general well-being, that would be unhelpful for a number of reasons :-

(1) There is at present a tendency in Allied Councils to ignore the small States. If that tendency is to be redressed, it can only be through some more genuine international organisation, which by its nature would have to act on the basis not of individual legal rights but of common international needs; while, if we fail to bring about such a development, reconstruction will be controlled by the Big Powers more or less as they wish.

(11) In the post-war period international reorganisation will co-incide with the widespread demand for social reorganisation in every country, and in that trend 'big business' will, for the moment, be on the defensive. It is widely taken for granted that 'big business' is, by its nature, aggressively competitive in international relations; any action appearing to disregard the needs of the new international idea would provide so much concrete argument for those who are pressing generally for State control.

7. It is indeed to be expected that individuals and groups who are concerning themselves with the problems of international organisation will urge this very kind of action - the use of all available resources by the prospective joint agencies - as a means of getting an active international system started. Most of these groups have no particular political bias; they are interested less in a theory than in effective action. For that reason they would resent claims which, for the sake of private advantage, would appear to obstruct progress by demanding their pound of flesh from the emaciated body of Europe. Political views and sentiment will be especially sensitive in the immediate post-war years, as in all periods of intensive social transition; it would be easy to lose goodwill simply by putting forward a good claim in an unpopular way.

8. It would be worth while, therefore, to look into the matter from this angle and see whether some formula or arrangement were not possible under which the restoration of title, and even of operating control, could be combined with the immediate use of those resources for giving service to those in greatest need. The arrangement under which some of the Company's units are now working for Government account suggests that some such combination is not impossible, but for political reasons any such formula or arrangement should be thought out in advance and offered as part of the claim for the restoration of property not conceded afterwards as a bargain under pressure.

9. The devising of such a formula might be helped by examining the matter in the light of two kinds of material:-

(1) Besides examining the legal side, it would be worth while looking at the arrangements which under similar conditions were made at the end of the last war. (Some indication of the way in which the use of Danube shipping was dealt with immediately at the end of the last war will be found in the Note appended to this memorandum.)

(11) In addition, it would be useful, in so far as practicable to prepare a kind of tableau which would give, on the one side, those Company units which, like the whaling unit, are likely to be available for immediate use, and on the other side might indicate those countries or sections which are likely to need most and therefore put in a claim for the service of those units (e.g. Norway in the case of whaling.) In that way it might

-3-

be possible to anticipate, in a more concrete way, demands which are likely to be presented to or through the international authority; while the office of the U.N.R.R.A., harassed and uncertain as it will be in its initial stages, may welcome for its very concreteness a proposal which, besides an acceptable general formula, would give some definite idea of detailed application.

D. Mitrany.
1.11.43

MR. MITRANY'S WAR-WORK IN ENGLAND FROM SEPTEMBER 1939.

1. At the time of the Munich crisis the British authorities considered the need for getting together a small group of experts on international affairs, who would assist the Government in case of war. For both political and practical reasons the authorities used the Royal Institute of International Affairs (Chatham House) as an intermediary, and through Chatham House the persons selected were approached individually with an invitation to work with the contemplated group. This invitation was repeated in April 1939, after the occupation of Prague, and finally in the summer of that year. As all these steps were taken under the seal of secrecy it was unfortunately not possible for Mr. Mitrany to inform the authorities of the Institut~~ion~~, and by the time the final invitation came he was already in England.

The organisation of the group took shape during the summer of 1939 and the individuals concerned were instructed to be ready to go to a place to be designated later immediately on the outbreak of war. This place turned out to be Balliol College, Oxford, where the group was brought together on the very first day of the war, but so secret had this point been kept that one of the members, who happened to belong to the Oxford faculty, had actually packed his things and let his house in the expectation that he would be sent somewhere further afield.

2. The idea on which the organisation of the group was based was simple and interesting. The group ~~was~~ to work exclusively for the Government, but they were to remain private individuals, formally in the employ of Chatham House. In that way presumably it was expected that the contribution of the group would remain more detached, that its members could maintain essential private contacts, and that the group would work for all departments interested and not be reserved for any particular one. The senior experts of the group were to be on a footing of absolute equality; the director of the group, chosen simply because he happened to be Director of Studies at Chatham House, was to have merely an administrative control. That was the original understanding and that was the basis described by the director himself on the very first day of meeting at Balliol.
3. It was in the nature of the work that the various experts should have autonomous authority, as each of them, or each section, was assumed to have expert knowledge greater than that of their colleagues on the particular country or region with which they were concerned. The work was organised geographically and linked together in a number of Committees, most of them regional, where the senior members discussed and dealt with the papers prepared in the sections. Apart from the regional Committees there were two General Committees - one on Economic and Social problems, and a Committee on International Organisation, the latter being, in a way, the top committee of the whole group. Mr. Mitrany was a member of both these special committees and of five others, besides himself being Chairman of the Western Hemisphere Committee.

4. Two difficulties arose to interfere with the working of the interesting and intelligent original idea:-

(i) The first was an internal one which made its appearance from the first week of the group beginning work. The bulk of its members were academic people who were pleased and anxious to retain the independence which the authorities themselves had thought best for ~~the~~ ~~a~~ successful working of the group. A small but influential minority, which included the director, showed, on the other hand, from the outset, an inclination to be more official than the permanent officials, to regard even trivial things as secret, and in these and other ways to hamper the personal contacts which the senior members of the group had with the outside world, and which were, in fact, essential if they were going to do their best in advising the Government. This minority gradually went further and tried to prevent, and in the end actually

suppressed points of view which differed from those of the Foreign Office going up to the Department. Whenever this point came up for discussion there was never any doubt that the great majority of members were deeply anxious to retain their independence, just because that was the best service they could give to the Government, (especially because of the situation mentioned below under (ii)), but those who had administrative control were materially in a position to thwart the general wish and ended by getting the whole organisation absorbed into the F.O., without the knowledge of the group, and without the knowledge and consent of Chatham House. This is mentioned because it is highly relevant to future relations between academic people and public authorities for whom they may be working temporarily.

(ii) The second difficulty sprang from the inadequate machinery for devising foreign policy, and is more fundamental. Put very simply, the fact is that foreign affairs are now an intimate combination of political, economic and social factors, acting and re-acting upon each other, whereas both in England and in the United States the departments concerned are by tradition, habit and personnel organised for dealing with foreign affairs essentially on a diplomatic plane. The situation is rather worse in London than in Washington, because the State Department had at least the embryo of an economic section. The result was that views and ideas which were based on a broader conception of foreign relations made little impression on the F.O. and had often a better reception at the Board of Trade and Treasury, etc. Evidently when the group was taken over by the F.O. this drawback acted even more than before as a drag on its working. That is the problem which will have to be dealt with, both here and in America, very soon if foreign policy is to acquire that comprehensive content which alone can make it effective, and if action and relations are not to be hampered by inter-departmental quarrels as to competence.

5. It might perhaps be mentioned here that two attempts were made in England during the time when Mr. Mitrany was working for the Government, to remedy this state of things. Early in 1941 one of Mr. Eden's close associates put forward a minute suggesting, or rather advocating the setting up of a co-ordinating committee for ~~foreign~~ ^{American} affairs, which was to act as a liaison and clearing house on all American matters between the War Cabinet and the departments concerned. The scheme was killed by the permanent officials of the F.O. Much more important was a proposal which, in the summer of 1942, was put forward by Sir Stafford Cripps; it was a suggestion for setting up nothing less than a new organ for the conduct of foreign affairs. It was to be a committee on which all departments which had any share, political or economic, in foreign affairs, were to be represented on an equal footing, with the Foreign Secretary as Chairman but with the F.O. participating merely as one of six or seven equals. This committee was to have a small expert secretariat of its own and was to work for and be responsible directly to the War Cabinet. This scheme also was killed by the permanent officials at the F.O.

The personal side which may be of interest to the Institute is that Mr. Mitrany was one of the first to be suggested in connection with the first scheme by its originator, and that he was shown the paper suggesting the second scheme before it was sent to the Cabinet and was given to understand that it was the wish of its sponsors that he should join the small secretariat if and when the scheme was accepted.

It might also be mentioned that it had been repeatedly suggested that Mr. Mitrany should return to the U.S.A. as he could be useful to the British cause there, and some time in 1941 Col. Ponsonby, M.P., Mr. Eden's Private Parliamentary Secretary, actually asked Mr. Leonard Elmhirst - who was on the point of leaving for the States - to try and secure an invitation for Mr. Mitrany from some American organisation, so as to meet his view that if he returned to the States during the war he wanted to do so as a private individual. Mr. Elmhirst did secure a cabled invitation from Professor Shotwell, that Mr. Mitrany should come and work with his organisation, but Mr. Mitrany felt all along that as holder of a Chair at an American academic institution

he might be placed in an invidious position if he went over on behalf of the British cause, and that in fairness to the Institute he should not risk a possible conflict of allegiance.

6. Because of the difficulties mentioned under 4., Mr. Mitrany felt increasingly out of sympathy with the work and conduct of the Balliol group, and finally he felt that he could not carry on when a note of his, warning that any suggestions for a federation in Eastern Europe would create difficulties with Russia, was prevented from going to the F.O. (The Soviet Government actually vetoed any idea of federation within two or three months of that incident.) By that time the work of the group had practically nothing to do with operational work but was almost wholly concerned with post-war problems. In the circumstances, Mr. Mitrany felt that he was doing nothing improper by resuming his individual freedom and that indeed he might do more useful work in regard to post-war problems as a private individual. His resignation took effect on the 1st December, 1942. The step proved in fact to have been rather fortunately timed as, very soon afterwards, the affairs of the Balliol group came in for attacks in the Press, with many unpleasant personal aspects brought out in the discussions, both because of its subservience to the official standpoint and of the suppression of more independent and liberal views.

Whilst the circumstances of his resignation inevitably and unfortunately involved a break with the director of the group, Mr. Mitrany's relations both with Chatham House and with the F.O. remained as friendly as before. Chatham House was sympathetic and at once offered him a room and secretarial facilities at their London quarters so that he might be able to pursue his work independently while he remained in England, and the F.O. not only offered him facilities on the two occasions when he was about to return to the U.S. but have actually made more use of him and of his views since his resignation than they did while he was working for them.

7. In the meantime, while Mr. Mitrany was still working with the Balliol group, he organised privately a small group to study the economic and social problems of Central and Eastern Europe (excluding Russia), as he had failed to get the Balliol group to undertake that essential work. The study group had among its members expert officials of the Polish, Czechoslovak and Yugoslav Governments, besides the able and independent ex-Bulgarian Minister to London, etc. It had the goodwill of the Governments mentioned but it worked independently producing a series of factual papers which not only have acquired a high standing but which, in fact, have often proved, as at the Hot Springs Conference, to be the only serviceable material on the post-war problems of the region.

8. Since resigning from the Foreign Office group it has, in fact, proved easier to maintain contact with the many official and unofficial groups active in London, which has been very helpful in adding to Mr. Mitrany's knowledge and experience. Apart from occasional contributions to periodicals and a number of lectures, he has published, through Chatham House, a pamphlet advocating a functional approach to international organisation. The pamphlet has received widespread notice in the Press, but what is interesting is the fact that the F.O. has now instructed its research sections to study this approach, though they took no notice of the idea when Mr. Mitrany first put it forward in a paper written for them three years earlier. He has been told that the Dutch Reconstruction Committee is revising its plans for regional co-operation in the Southern Pacific in the light of his suggestions; Sir Stafford Cripps has now adopted this line and is using it in his speeches; and at the time of writing this the Ministry of Information has just asked for permission to prepare an Italian Edition for distribution in Italy.

In keeping with his usual position, Mr. Mitrany has throughout this time refrained from joining any party, movement or organisation.

The Econ. aspect
10.23.43
Mitrany, D.

Political Adviser for Unilever

By inviting Professor Mitrany to act as their adviser, Lever Brothers and Unilever declare their wish to study the wide social and political problems in which their vast organisation is necessarily involved. The company's interests stretch all over the world, and their raw material subsidiaries bring them in touch with native affairs in Nigeria, the Congo and the Pacific; this means that they are a powerful force to be reckoned with in British colonial administration. In many respects they hold the position of a state within a state in these areas, since the impact of such a body upon the lives of natives is more thoroughgoing than is usually realised. This being so, Professor Mitrany's expert knowledge of the international sphere will stand him in good stead. He is to be free of business responsibilities, but will pay special attention to ways of improving local conditions, which are of course closely related to business factors. Nobody who knows the Professor's distinguished career can doubt that, given the facilities, he will achieve much important research. The value of his appointment, however, will depend upon how far the company make use of his suggestions, even when they conflict with maximising profits, as most reforms inevitably will on anything but a very long-term view. It is quite true, as the company remarks, that "the most desirable policy for a business organisation is one which helps to improve local conditions in the country in which it operates," and in the very long run this aim may be worth initial financial sacrifices. Possibly the group can afford to ignore purely financial considerations in view of its quasi-monopoly powers. However, the improvement of conditions is also the function of the state, and the hope seems to be entertained that Professor Mitrany will act as liaison officer between the company and the authorities in this field and point out, perhaps, where the latter can help. The appointment is at least designed to increase co-operation between private enterprise and public authority "in the guidance of the economic process," and this co-operation to be an effective partnership must require a real disinterestedness on the part of the company as well as a willingness to be guided on the part of the state. Granted that any concern should have the power greatly to affect the lives of so many people, that they should have an adviser of this calibre is certainly a good thing, and it is to be hoped that Lever Brothers and Unilever will make full use of a type of service which they rightly regard themselves as being unique in possessing.

* , * *

Oct. 23, 1943

October 7, 1943

Dear Mitrany:

I have your cables and this morning received your letter of September 17th. Meanwhile my own plans have somewhat cleared up and it looks as if I should be flying over sometime just after the middle of this month, so that I may actually see you before this letter arrives.

There has been nothing untoward about my schedule. It was originally planned that I should leave September 12th and be back October 5th, which is the day of the Fall meeting of the Board of Trustees. I had actually planned to postpone the meeting, knowing how uncertain these schedules are. Then it turned out that everything was jammed in September both with the military people and with the large number of officials who had come over for the Quebec conference and who were slowly being returned to England. Suddenly the State Department found that they could send me over about the 1st of October on two or three days' notice. I had by this time made all my arrangements for the October Board Meeting as usual and did not feel free to break them. The State Department thought then it would probably be impossible to find anything until December or even later. I have, however, suddenly been offered a chance, as I say, for the middle of October, and if that goes through I shall take it, though I know by experience that postponements and delays are only too likely at the last moment.

Meanwhile, let me say that I understand thoroughly your reasons for delay, both as regards your wife's health and your work. I can understand perfectly how anxious Mrs. Mitrany must be at the thought of having the ocean between you in wartime, and the possibilities of your getting back in case of any sudden emergency would be so small. I understand also how you may easily have opportunities of a semi-official nature to influence policy in England, since you are a British subject, which might not be open to you here on account of the parochialism of all our official bodies.

- 2 -

If for all these reasons you decide to remain in England this year I feel confident the Trustees will approve my recommendation to extend your leave of absence. When the Board met on October 5th I had not received your letter and I thought it best to make no recommendation on the basis of the fragmentary information contained in your cables.

I ordered a supply of your pamphlet and have been distributing it among various groups working on the post-war problem, where I am sure it will have its effect. I read it carefully myself and consider it far and away the best statement in existence of the functional plan of international cooperation. I know that Riefler considers that such a plan is sufficient and that we need not worry about an overall organization. I must confess that I myself feel a desire to see all these functional arrangements plus a supporting framework in the shape of some kind of a league or association of nations. In regard to the whole problem, however, I feel that the confusion is so great and the difficulties, especially in this country, so serious that it is pretty likely to be a question of taking and supporting not what we want but what we can get.

With kindest regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

FRANK AYDELOTTE

Professor David Mitrany
Chatham House
St. James's Square
London, England

FA/MCE

Kingston Blount
Oxford

26.IX.1943

Dear Aydelotte,

Yesterday I had to cable you that I had finally decided not to leave, and I am only sorry that a cabled message has^{to} be so abrupt. I waited till I had the full report on my examination, as of late I had to admit that I was feeling very low indeed. They made every possible test, and it turns out fortunately that there is nothing wrong organically, only low blood pressure and vitamins, and a ~~dilated~~ dilated aorta, due to overstrain - all conditions which could be remedied with a little care. But my condition will explain partly why, when it came to it, I just could not face leaving my wife behind under present conditions. It is just impossible to make any reliable arrangements for her. The doctor who has helped her round in the past fifteen months was suddenly ordered to Glasgow at 48 hours' notice, and now the companion who has looked after her~~x~~ has had to register under an order issued last week. I have been a nuisance to everybody, and not least to yourself, as I had made all the arrangements for leaving; and it is my fault for not realising that having been somewhat battered about for these past years, I was not really fit to make such a decision at present. And just now things are really getting exciting, though they are not always promising.

One of the points which I have pressed from the very beginning was the need to have some agreement, however partial, and some plans for action ready in advance. Europe will be in such a state, that the governments will have to take immediate and comprehensive action, and could not possibly wait for conferences to~~x~~ meet and make plans; this is becoming now evident wherever we go, but unfortunately there is precious little prepared or even thought out. There will be a struggle over policy both within each country and in a measure between countries, and I am rather afraid that the will for joint action, which is ample and genuine, will be simply swamped by the conditions of the moment. You cannot plan and hold conferences under a flood. I cannot of course look at it quite in a detached way, but as a student it will be a real experience. As I have indicated in my previous letter, I had the opportunity to make a somewhat novel arrangement through Unilever which leaves me free to do research and any public work I may think proper, but which at the same time will free you of any financial responsibility whatever. In the circumstances the whole thing has had to be somewhat improvised, but I still hope that you will come soon, when I shall be able to put the whole story before you, and I hope get your forgiveness for all the trouble I have caused you. The blame is on me for not having foreseen the conditions in which I might find myself, but it is also bad luck that every arrangement I made since last fall has gone awry through war conditions. *In the hope of seeing you soon, always yours sincerely D. Mitrany*

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

(15)

1201

SYMBOLS

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All communications should be addressed to the Secretary.

CHATHAM HOUSE,

ST. JAMES'S SQUARE,

LONDON, S.W.1.

17 September 1943

Dear Aydelotte,

Your second cable has just arrived - let me say, first, that I hope above all that the delay is not due to anything untoward. You will know that my good wishes are always with you and your family. Perhaps I shall hear more from Win, whom I have not seen for some time.

To me the message has been also a blow, as I am in considerable personal difficulties and sorely puzzled, and ~~the~~ the prospect of your visit had relieved me as a chance to seek with your ever kindly help a way out. All my visas are ready, and the promise of priority from the F.O., as my intention was to start about this time. But lately I have inexplicably felt very low, and I am undergoing a series of comprehensive tests, to see whether I can get to the bottom of it. That, however, is a secondary matter. My main problem is the health of my wife. I have always disliked intruding this matter in my discussions with the Institute, but we have had some heavy going till some fifteen months ago. Since then she has been better and active again; about a year ago she suddenly took up painting as a hobby, and this summer she had a picture 'accepted but not hung' at the Academy, and now she has one hung in the fall show of the Royal British Artists - a remarkable achievement for someone untrained. She is characteristically brave, and we have discussed my going freely, as a practical matter. But her passing inquiries as to when I might return, as to the chances of coming quickly in case of need, have made me realise the deep anxiety under the surface. I have to remember how her illness came on first - how she helped me all summer in 1932 to prepare my lectures for Harvard, saw me off with a promise to join me soon, and then went to pieces utterly on the evening of the day I sailed. That memory, and the risk that after such a long struggle the shock of my going may set her back again, just

when we begin to see light, has haunted me all along. All the more as it is impossible to make proper arrangements in wartime, or to hope that one might come quickly in case of need.

You will understand how this has weighed on my mind, no matter how much my wife and I felt and said that work must come first, But there is indeed also a point about work, which I could not foresee. Since working on my own I have had greater opportunities than before, and now the change in the war situation has increased and quickened those opportunities. My pamphlet has made some impression, and I have evidence that it is influencing policy. Just lately I have been asked from high up to prepare some special things on its basis. This has brought home to me the conditions under which I would find myself on the other side, ~~and~~ of which you had warned me; I would not mind them a bit personally, but they might be stultifying from the point of view of any active work. There is another point about work, but that I could discuss only verbally.

Among all these perplexities and hesitations you may imagine how I was cheered by the prospect that I might talk it all over with you. Now I must decide on my own, inevitably in an arbitrary way in the present circumstances, and to see how I might carry on without imposing on the Institute. One of the things which my freedom brought me has been a close and useful contact with members of the Dutch Reconstruction Committee, who recently told me that some of their plans are being revised in the light of my pamphlet. The chairman, Paul Rykens, is also vice-chairman of Unilever, and Beyen (formerly of the B.I.S.) is also a director there; they have an inner group which is working on post-war problems, both national and international, on the lines in which I am interested, and they had suggested that I might join with them in this work. I must say that I have found them very satisfying - they are progressive and practical, they have both vision and courage. Some such arrangement would finance me, while enabling me to carry on with my work. Both the chance of continuing with it, now that the times are becoming crucial, and the pressure, or rather the oppression of my personal problems, seem to make this the right decision. But it would have been a great help and comfort to me to have been able to work all this out with you first.

I am writing this at once, and will cable you as soon as I have ascertained what the possibilities are. I know that I can count on your understanding and goodwill, and I only want to say again how deeply I hope that the delay in your coming has been caused only by material reasons.

Always yours sincerely

D. Mitrany

Institute for Advanced Study

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COPY OF WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

Just

September 15, 1943

David Mitrany
Chatham House
London (England)

Best not wait for me May be delayed until Christmas or April

Frank Aydelotte

#2.20

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1943 SEP 15 AM 8 18

NLT FRANK AYDELOTTE=

FULD HALL PRINCETON NJ=

DELIGHTED YOUR COMING AT LAST MAY WAIT ARRIVAL FOR
EARLIEST POSSIBLE DISCUSSION PLANS KINDEST WISHES=

DAVID MITRANY.

FULD.

Institute for Advanced Study

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COPY OF WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

Just

September 13, 1943

David Mitrany
Chatham House
London (England)

My trip delayed Suggest you return as arranged

Frank Aydelotte

#2.20

London

Thanks for cable + yr kind
efforts. Will look into things here
+ communicate shortly

David Mitrany

September 14, 1943

Dear Dr. Goodrich:

Under separate cover I am sending you a recent pamphlet by Mitrany of the Institute which might be included in one of your bibliographies. The plan suggested by Mitrany is very much the system advocated by Riefler at some of our conferences last summer.

Yours sincerely,

FRANK AYDELOTTE

Dr. Leland W. Goodrich
World Peace Foundation
40 Mount Vernon Street
Boston, Massachusetts

September 4, 1943

Professor Ralph Barton Perry
Widener Library
Harvard University
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Dear Perry:

Under separate cover I am sending you a recent pamphlet by Mitrany of the Institute which might be included in one of your bibliographies. The plan suggested by Mitrany is very much the system advocated by Biefler at some of our conferences last summer.

Yours sincerely,

Frank Aydelotte

September 4, 1943

Professor J. B. Whitton
Princeton University
Princeton, New Jersey

Dear Professor Whitton:

Under separate cover I am sending you a recent pamphlet
by Mitrany of the Institute which might be included in one
of your bibliographies. The plan suggested by Mitrany is
very much the system advocated by Riefler.

Yours sincerely,

FRANK AYDELOTTE

*Pamphlet sent to
Prof. Whitton*

Telephone: WHITEHALL 2233.

Inland Telegrams: "AREOPAGUS, PICCY, LONDON."

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All communications should be addressed to the Secretary

CHATHAM HOUSE,

ST. JAMES'S SQUARE,
LONDON, S.W.1

28.VIII.1943

Dear Aydelotte,

Your letter telling me that you had seen my pamphlet, and that it has met with your approval, was very welcome. It expressed views which I had put forward in my work three years ago, but which at that time were not popular. Now the reception of the pamphlet in both official and private circles has been somewhat overwhelming - simply because conditions have forced those concerned with policy to find some such way out of stalemate.

This is only a brief letter, because I have heard from Riefler, whom I met by chance in the street, that you are coming over. I am truly delighted, for there is a lot to see and hear, and you have a lot to contribute. In the circumstances, though my formalities are all made, I rather wonder whether I should not wait for you, and discuss things together on the spot, in the light of what you may find here. However, I will look into the position, and also discuss it with Riefler, and eventually cable you within a few days.

Meanwhile, my good wishes to you and your family and all at the Institute, till the great pleasure of seeing you again. Always yours sincerely,

Th. Mitrany

Mitrany

Telephone: WHITEHALL 2233.

Inland Telegrams: "AREOPAGUS, PICCY, LONDON."

Foreign Telegrams: "AREOPAGUS, LONDON."

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All communications should be addressed to the Secretary.

CHATHAM HOUSE,

ST. JAMES'S SQUARE,

LONDON, S.W.1.

15.III.1943

Dear Aydelotte,

You will have got my cable, with my thanks for all the trouble you have taken on my behalf. I never realized it would be such an imposition on your time and labours. Now I must resume formalities at this end, as all of them, exit visa etc., have expired. I do not anticipate any difficulty, except in the matter of transport, but I will see my friends soon.

Because of the long delay, and the uncertainty of the visa, I have engaged here in various war work, of which there is more than enough to do. I will give you for your information a brief account of what I am and have been doing.

1. As there is no leisure now to write a book, which I am very anxious to do, I use whatever opportunity arises to write papers. I have of course a large number from my previous activity, but now that I can publish I have had one paper printed on the New Deal, a copy of which has been sent to you, and C.H. have undertaken to issue a pamphlet on post-war organization.

2. This pamphlet will more or less begin a series which, at my suggestion, C.H. want to undertake, each presenting in general but concrete terms some specific problem of post-war organization (much on the lines of the N.D.A. pamphlets.) This idea is made possible by the fact that the economist of the F.R.P.S., Professor Fisher, who is both clever and sound (Loveday can tell you all about him), has also resigned and is returning to take charge of economic studies at C.H. He and I worked closely together at Balliol, and were hoping to get this series going before I leave; he will of course be in charge of it.

3. About fifteen months ago I took the initiative in organizing a small group to study the regional problems of s.e. Europe, on broad and concrete lines, so that their papers might be available for immediate use. (I enclose a Note on the group.) Their agricultural papers have been highly appreciated by both British and American authorities (the group has kept in touch with the experts concerned at the

American Embassy); the paper on industrialization is just finished and three or four others are in the making. Since coming to London I have been able to work more with the group, and if we can see the whole set of papers through, I am sure that they will be of real value to all concerned with devising a post-war policy for that region.

4. In addition, I have since coming to London learnt a lot through my personal contacts. I have friends in all the Allied governments of central and s.e. Europe. Recently I have come into contact and have done some work with the heads of the Dutch Reconstruction Committee; they are an able and progressive lot, and while I am learning myself a great deal from all this, I hope that I have been of some use to them also.

As I do not know what is going on at the Institute (and if you and our colleagues take this as a friendly reproach, perhaps you may be right), and as, in the best circumstances, I could not now get there till about the end of term, I am somewhat in a quandary as to what is the wisest course to pursue, mainly from the point of view of work. I should like, on the whole, to complete what I have in the meantime undertaken to do here, as it is work that should be generally useful, whether it is done over here or on the other side. And I should also like to come over with some plan of work, related to what is being done, or I know to be needed, over here. I should like to talk all this over with Win, who can tell me more about the work in Princeton. Perhaps by delaying a little longer here, now that minds are turning to definite ideas about the post-war times, I can in the end bring with me knowledge that will make me more useful at the institute. But on all this I have no definite ideas; I had to wait on circumstances, and this is merely my first reaction to the sudden arrival of the visa at this time of day. Could you tell me what your own plans are for the summer, and for any work at the Institute in the near future?

I do hope that Bill is making real progress, and that you and Mrs. Aydelotte are easier in mind about him. Please remember me kindly to all at the Institute, and accept, with my thanks for your help, also my kindest wishes.

Always sincerely yours

Shmtrany

Dr Frank Aydelotte
Fuld Hall
Princeton, N.J.

7 August 1943

Dear Mitrany:

Many thanks for your letter of July 6th which came this morning. The policy for the Institute which you outline seems to me admirable. It was not followed in all respects, as you doubtless know, but I am working slowly in that direction. Progress so far has been largely a matter of understanding the elements of the problem since the financial situation has been such as to allow me no leeway for action except to put the arrangements for retirement allowances on a much better and fairer basis than they had hitherto been.

I look forward to talking this all over with you in detail when you return. Have you, by the way, made your plans at all definite? I should be interested to know when to expect you and whether you would like us here to do anything about finding quarters for you in Princeton. The situation is fairly difficult owing to the fact that the town is inundated with the Army and Navy.

You will be interested to know that the Rhodes Trustees are eager to have me make a short trip to England in the fall, and I am very keen indeed to do it if the American authorities consider this trip justified. My present plan would be to leave about the 15th of October and to be back about the middle of November, always provided transportation is available.

I have not seen Niebuhr since his return, but I shall look him up soon and ask for news of you.

With kindest regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

FRANK AYDELOTTE

David Mitrany, Esq.
Chatham House
St. James's Square
London, S.W. 1, England

July 13, 1943

Dear Miss Miller:

Many thanks for your letter. I already have myself a copy of Mitrany's A Working Peace System, which I received from England. I should be glad if you would let me know when the date of publication in the United States has been fixed and what you expect to charge for it. I thought of sending it to a number of people, but the need is rather urgent and we may have to get along with the one copy which I have.

Yours sincerely,

Frank Aydelotte

Miss Dorothy Miller
Oxford University Press
114 Fifth Avenue
New York City

FA/MCE



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OXFORD MEDICAL PUBLICATIONS

NEW YORK

ONE FOURTEEN FIFTH AVENUE

TELEPHONE: WATKINS 9-1100

12th July 1943.

The Institute for Advanced Study
Princeton
New Jersey.

Attention: Mr. Frank Aydelotte.

Dear Mr. Aydelotte:

We wish to acknowledge with thanks your letter of recent date. Enclosed you will find a list of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, which we trust you will find of interest.

A WORKING PEACE SYSTEM by David Mitrany, unfortunately, has not as yet been published, and at the present time, we are unable to specify a date of publication. We shall be glad to keep your order on file with the understanding that a copy will be forwarded to you when available, if you so desire.

Appreciating your interest in our publications,
we are

Very sincerely,

Dorothy Miller

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
New York, Inc.

DM.

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
 114 Fifth Avenue
 New York City

Complete List of the Publications of
 THE ROYAL INSTITUTE OF
 INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

(Items marked with an asterisk are published by the Institute. The remainders are published by the Oxford University Press. (In the U.S.A., Canada, India, Australia, and S. Africa all, with the exception of the BULLETIN OF INTERNATIONAL NEWS and the INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS REVIEW SUPPLEMENT, are published by the Oxford University Press.)

African Survey (Hailey 1938)	\$ 7.00
Atlantic and Emancipation (Wyndham 1937)	4.25
Atlantic and Slavery (Wyndham 1935)	3.75
Australia As Producer and Trader (Windett 1933)	4.50
Balkan States: I, Economic (1936)	2.00
Baltic States: Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania (1938)	3.00
*Bibliography of Italian Colonization In Africa (Varley 1936)	.75
Brief Account of Diplomatic Events In Manchuria (Parlett 1929)	1.35
British Commonwealth and the Future (ed. Hodson, 1939)	3.00
British Commonwealth Relations (ed. Toynbee, 1934)	4.00
British Empire (Study Group Report 1938)	5.00
*British Far Eastern Policy (Information Department Paper, 1939)	.30
*British Foreign Policy. Speech by Lord Halifax, June 29, 1939	.10
British Year Book of International Law. Annually from 1920	5.50
*Bulletin of International News (fortnightly). Annual Subscription	7.50
Single copies	.30
Cameroons and Togoland (Kuczynski 1939)	9.00
Capital Investment In Africa (Frankel 1938)	3.15
China and Foreign Powers (Whyte 1928)	1.05
*China and Japan (Information Dept. Paper 1939)	1.00
Colonial Population (Kuczynski 1937)	1.75
Colonial Problem (Study Group Report 1937)	8.50
*Constitutional Relations of the British Empire Bibliography (Lewin 1933)	.30
Consultation and Co-operation In the British Commonwealth (Palmer 1934)	3.75
Czechs and Germans (Wiskemann 1938)	3.00
Documents on International Affairs	
1928	3.75
1929	4.80
1930	3.75
1931	3.75
1932	6.50
1933	7.50
1934	7.50
1935 - Vol. I	5.00
" II	7.00
1936	12.00
1937	14.00
Eastern Industrialization and Its Effect on the West (Hubbard 1938)	7.00
*French Colonial Empire (Information Department Paper 1940)	.45
Fundamental Issues In the United States (Radice 1936)	1.25
*Future of the League of Nations (1936)	1.05
Future of Monetary Policy (Study Group Report 1935)	4.00
Geographic Disarmament (Marshall-Cornwall 1935)	3.75
*Germany and the Rhineland (1936)	.30
*Germany's Claim To Colonies (Information Department Paper 1939)	.40
Germany's Foreign Indebtedness (Harris 1935)	1.50
*Great Britain and Palestine, 1915-39 (Information Department Paper, 1939)	.85

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History of Peaceful Change in the Modern World (Cruttwell, 1937)	\$ 3.00
History of the Peace Conference of Paris (Temperley, 1921-4)	
Set of six volumes	63.00
Per Volume	12.60
Volumes 1, 2 and 3 sold together only	37.80
Volumes 4 to 6	each 12.60
Hungary and Her Successors (Macartney 1937)	8.50
*International Affairs	
(Publication temporarily suspended after November 1939 issue)	
*International Affairs Review Supplement	
(Quarterly since June 1940)	
Annual subscription	1.95
Single copies	.45
International Gold Problem (Study Group Report 1931)	3.75
International Sanctions (Study Group Report 1938)	5.00
International Studies In Modern Education (Bailey 1938)	5.00
*Italian Colonial Empire (Information Department Paper 1940)	.60
Labour In Agriculture (Howard 1935)	5.40
Nationalism (Study Group Report 1939)	3.75
National Socialism and the Roman Catholic Church (Micklem 1939)	3.00
National States and National Minorities (Macartney 1934)	7.00
Native Education (Wyndham 1933)	3.15
*Naval Disarmament (Latimer 1930)	1.05
Peace Settlement In the German-Polish Borderlands (Morrow 1936)	10.00
Political and Strategic Interests of the United Kingdom (Study Group Report 1939)	3.00
Problem of International Investment (Study Group Report 1937)	7.50
*Raw Materials (Information Department Paper. November 1939)	.85
*Refugees: A Review of the Situation Since September 1938	
(Hope Simpson. August 1939)	1.25
Refugee Problem (Hope Simpson. January 1939)	8.35
*Report of the Council of the Institute. Annually from 1920	.30
Republics of South America (Study Group Report 1937)	8.50
*Sanctions (Information Department Paper 1935)	.60
Science In Africa (Worthington 1938)	4.00
Short History of International Affairs, 1920-38 (Gathorne-Hardy, 1938)	3.50
Slump and Recovery, 1929-37 (Hodson 1938)	4.25
*South-Eastern Europe (Information Department Paper, December 1940)	2.00
Speeches on Foreign Policy, 1934-39 (Halifax 1940)	4.00
Study of History (Toynbee)	
Volumes 1 to 3 (1935)	17.50
" 4 to 6 (1939)	23.00
Set of 6 volumes	40.50
Survey of British Commonwealth Affairs (Hancock)	
Volume 1 (1937)	8.50
" 2, Part I (1940)	4.50
Survey of International Affairs series (Toynbee)	
World After the Peace Conference (1925)	1.50
Conduct of British Empire Foreign Relations (1928)	2.25
Survey 1920-1923	6.30
1924	7.50
1925 - Volume 1	7.50
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1925 - Supplement	3.75
1926	7.20
1927	7.20
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	1930	6.30
Consolidated	Index To The Survey,	
	1920-30	3.75
Survey	1931	6.30
	1932	7.20
	1933	8.00
	1934	9.50
	1935 - Volume 1	6.00
	1935 - Volume 2	7.00
	1936	13.00
	1937 - Volume 1	8.50
	1937 - Volume 2	6.00
	Treaty-Making Procedure (Arnold 1933)	1.35
	Unemployment (Study Group Report 1935)	8.35
	World Agriculture (Study Group Report 1932)	3.75
	*World Order Papers: First Series (Eight Papers by various authors 1940)	1.05
	World Population (Carr-Saunders 1936)	4.50

- - - - -

Supplement to List of Publications - In the Press:

Survey of British Commonwealth Affairs, Volume II, Part 2, - W. K. Hancock
 Survey of International Affairs, 1938. Volume I, - A. J. Toynbee \$8.50
 Hitler's Speeches. Selected and translated by Norman Baynes (In two volumes - 7.50
 I - Social Policy
 II - Economic and Foreign Policy
 Modern India and the West: A Study of the Inter-action of their Civilization
 by L. S. S. O'Malley. In two volumes, \$12.00
 Islamic Society and the West: A Study of the Impact of Western Civilization on
 Moslem Culture in the Near East. Volume I - \$7.00 by Gibb and Bowen.
 (The work to be completed in four volumes.)
 Church and State In Fascist Italy. by D. A. Binchy.
 The International Experiment in Upper Silesia: The Working of the Geneva
 Convention, 1922-37 by George Kaeckenbeeck.
 The Dutch Colonial Empire. Information Department Papers. No. 28.
 China and Japan. Information Department Papers, No. 21A. (Revised edition.)

In Progress:

Survey of International Affairs, 1938 - Volume II by R. G. D. Laffan.
 The American Speeches of Lord Lothian
 Islamic Society and the West. Volume II - by H. A. R. Gibb and Bowen.
 International Communications. By Brigadier-General Sir Osborne Mance.
 Refugees: A Review of the Situation since August 1939. By Walter Adams.
 Documents on International Affairs, 1938-9 (January 1st, 1938 to March 15th, 1939).
 Documents on International Affairs from March 16th, 1939. To be issued in separate
 fascicules, of which the first two will deal with Norwegian and Polish
 affairs respectively.
 World Order Papers. Collections of Papers dealing with the political, economic,
 philosophical, and cultural aspects of world order.
 Anglo-French Relations In Response to the German Problem, 1919-39, by W. M. Jordan.
 Federal Government. By K. C. Wheare.
 Jews in Europe. By J. W. Parkes.
 Problems of Minorities. By J. D. Mabbott.

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Stateless Persons. By F. H. Lawson.

Colonial Problems of Africa South of the Sahara. By Sir Alan Pim.

The Relations of Governments To Co-operative Movements in South-Eastern Europe.
by C. F. Strickland.

Multiple States (Other than Federal.) By Miss C. V. Wedgwood.

The British Empire. (Information Department Handbook). By Professor Eric A. Walker.

An Outline for the Study of International Relations. By Professor E. H. Carr.

Prices subject to change without notice.

July 8, 1943

Oxford University Press
American Branch
114 Fifth Avenue
New York City

Dear Sirs:

Do you carry the publications of
the Royal Institute of International Affairs
and have you by any chance a copy of Dr. David
Mitrany's A Working Peace System? If so, will
you let me know the price?

Yours sincerely,

Frank Aydelotte

FA/MCE

July 8, 1943

Dear Mitrany:

von Neumann appeared in Princeton the other day and brought me welcome news of you, together with a copy of your pamphlet, A Working Peace System, which I have read with the keenest interest. During our conversations last summer Riefler urged several times the advantages of a functional approach, but I must say that I never realized fully the force of the arguments in favor of this approach until I read your pamphlet. I am writing to the Oxford Press in New York today to find out whether additional copies can be obtained, since I want to bring it to the attention of our Princeton group which is cooperating with the Universities Committee on International Post-War Problems.

Have I told you about that Committee? I enclose one of their letterheads, so that you will have a list of the people involved in the Central organization. There are now cooperating committees in over one hundred colleges and universities undertaking a systematic study and discussion of post-war problems.

I was delighted to get your cablegram yesterday and shall put the arrangements through as outlined in my letter.

We had a very interesting conference for Sir William Beveridge last week. I enclose a list of the members in case you should be interested to see it. We ended up with a tea for about one hundred and fifty people from the Institute and the University, at which Beveridge made an informal but extremely interesting address.

I hope very much that your wife's health will improve during the summer and I look forward with great pleasure to having you return to the Institute in the autumn.

Yours sincerely,

Dr. David Mitrany
Chatham House
London, England

FRANK AYDELOTTE

Telephone: WHITEHALL 2233

Inland Telegrams: "ARZOPAGUS, PICCY, LONDON."

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All communications should be addressed to the Secretary

CHATHAM HOUSE,

ST. JAMES'S SQUARE,
LONDON, S.W.1

6th July 1943.

Dear Aydelotte,

Your kind letter, dated June 10th, arrived yesterday and I cabled to you, as you wished me to do, as I thought your suggestions extremely thoughtful and helpful. As you say, we cannot decide this finally till I get back and find out what my whole situation is, but, in principle, and I would say even specifically, so far as detailed in your letter, I am in hearty agreement with you.

You would, in fact, find among my early correspondence with Flexner a suggestion on much the same lines. He asked me when I was at Harvard what I thought would be a proper policy as to salaries. Knowing roughly what ideas he had, I made only two points:- (1) That he should not offer salaries above those paid in the bigger universities; those who would be interested in the experiment of the Institute would come anyhow, and I did not think it wise to appear to be "buying" those who were reluctant to come. (2) On the other hand, I urged upon him some generous scheme of sickness and retirement insurance, so that in case of emergency or on retirement a Professor should not drop too heavily from the standard of his salary. The only other point upon which I felt strongly was that, as ours was to be a "Society of Scholars", as he put it, there should be no differentiation in salaries; he agreed heartily with that, and only suggested that he would have to make some special arrangement for men like Einstein and Weyl, who were coming in exceptional circumstances.

I am making arrangements now and will write to you again soon. All is well here, and I am working hard. But there is too much going on and I am beginning to feel the strain of almost four years without any break.

I hope that you and your family are well, and I send you my

good wishes, together with my renewed thanks for your efforts
on our behalf.

Yours very sincerely,

D. Mitrany

P.S. I had a talk with Niebuhr yesterday. He is flying in a
few days, and if you see him soon, he will give you all the
news.

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

June 10, 1943

Dear Mitrany:

As you know, I have had to face certain financial problems at the Institute which I have found difficult of solution, and the prospective retirement of Einstein and Herzfeld in 1944 and of Lowe and Veblen in 1945 has caused me to take up with the Board the whole question of retiring allowances.

There was a kind of understanding that the 5% contributory plan would take care of the professors who participate in it, but this is far from being true. Your own case is an example. You were born in January, 1888, and would be due to retire on July 1st of the year following your sixty-fifth birthday, which would be July 1, 1953. Your prospective annuity under the 5% contributory plan at retirement will be \$2695.68. I represented very strongly to the Board that arrangements should be made for people in your situation to bring these annuities up to \$4000 and have been authorized to propose to the members of the faculty who are in your situation that their contracts and ours with the Teachers Insurance and Annuity Association should be increased by the amount needed to bring the annuities up to \$4000 at retirement.

I shall be glad to go into full details with you when you return to the Institute, but I may say briefly that this would mean that when you return and your salary is resumed your contribution to the Teachers Insurance and Annuity Association would be increased by \$751.44 a year and that there would be paid to your account in the T.I.A.A. by the Institute \$751.44 more than has been paid in the past.

Are you willing to enter into this arrangement? I think myself that the arguments from your point of view are all in favor of it and I hope that you will agree. Final decision can wait until you return, but if your mind is clear on the subject I should be glad meanwhile to have a cable in answer to this letter.

With kindest regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

Prof. David Mitrany
Chatham House
London, England

FRANK AYDELOTTE

1943

Memorandum on the Status of Prof. Mitrany

Professor Mitrany has remained in England since war was declared on September 1, 1939. For the year 1939-40 he was paid full salary. When his leave was extended in October 1940 the Trustees voted that Professor Mitrany should be paid the difference between his Institute salary and the salary he was receiving at Chatham House. Since his Chatham House salary was understood to be £1000 per year, this difference, computed at \$4.04, would be just under \$6000 due ~~to~~ him from the Institute. Of this sum \$3000(?) has been placed to Professor Mitrany's credit in the Princeton Bank and Trust Company. The remainder is held by the Trustees as a reserve for Professor Mitrany pending the adjustment of his salary at the time that he returns to Princeton.

It is understood that Professor Mitrany's leave from July 1, 1942, is without salary from the Institute, but that the Institute will continue payments, both on its own account and on his, to the Teachers Insurance and Annuity Association, amounting to a total of \$1000 per year.

THE ROYAL INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

OXFORD 47471

~~WHITEHALL 2288~~

All communications should be addressed to "The Secretary."

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

as from Kingston Blount
Oxford

4. 11. 43

Dear Aydalotte,

Mr. Ernest Davis, who works on American matters at the B.B.C., is going on a visit to the States. He will explain himself the purpose of his trip when he sees you. But I will be grateful if you could give him the benefit of your advice, and also any help he may need for making contacts in Princeton and outside it. With many kind regards,

Yours sincerely
Dmitriy

Dr. Frank Aydalotte
Field Hall
Princeton, N.J.

May 13, 1943

Dear Mitrany:

Dr. Feierabend came to Princeton a few days ago after having sent me your kind note of introduction. I very much enjoyed meeting him and was sorry I could not persuade him to come to the Institute to give a talk, but he had engagements which took him away immediately. There is just a chance that he may be able to return to Princeton later in the Spring.

Since I have heard no further word from you about your plans, I assume that you probably decided that it was wiser to spend this summer in England and return to the Institute in the Fall. Riefler has just been home for a short stay and I don't think he had seen you since your visa came through. I understand there is a chance of von Neumann returning, perhaps in June, and I hope that when he comes he may bring some news about your plans.

You will be interested to know that Mr. Bamberger celebrates his eightieth birthday on May 15th. He still goes to his office in Newark every day. I go over to lunch with him once a week to give him the news of the Institute and he seems keenly interested in everything.

Our plans for next year are now pretty definite. The Institute will again be small - about the same size as this year, since young men in mathematics and economics are more and more needed for war jobs.

The war record of the Institute is a source of great pride to me and it ought to be preserved in some permanent form when the war is over and it is possible to speak frankly about the confidential work which various individuals are doing.

I hope you will let me know as soon as possible about your own plans. We all look forward with pleasure to seeing you back in Princeton.

Yours sincerely,

FRANK AYDELOTTE

April 8, 1943

Dear Mitrany:

I have just received your letter of March 15th and feel a little conscience stricken that I have not written to you more fully about the Institute affairs during the year. The fact is that concentrating on your visa always left me with the feeling that you might be appearing here at any time to hear and see for yourself. That plus the fact that I have been very busy, as has everyone else at the Institute.

I have just been making some notes for the purpose of presenting a kind of review of the year's work to the Trustees at our Board Meeting this month and am delighted to give you a synopsis of them.

The number of members has, of course, sharply declined this year. The kind of people who would come to the Institute in ordinary times are urgently needed for research in connection with the war or for teaching. I enclose a little directory which we are issuing instead of reprinting the bulletin, which will show you the exact situation.

In spite of the reduction in our membership and the preoccupation of various members of the faculty with war work, I am pleased and surprised at the amount of research which has actually been done and published. One of the members in mathematics (Siegel) has produced a long paper which Weyl thinks the most important contribution to mathematics which has been made by anyone at the Institute since its foundation. von Neumann and Morgenstern are about to send to the printer a long book on mathematical economics, which is said to be ~~an~~ extraordinarily original and profound. I have read a good deal of the non-mathematical part and find it extremely interesting. Panofsky's two-volume work on Dürer will be published shortly, as will deTolnay's book on Michelangelo. In the School of Economics, Earle's group has been very active, and a young fellow by the name of Long, who is working with Stewart, is doing some extremely interesting work on the history of unemployment. These are the outstanding books produced at the Institute this year. There is a very long list of articles.

- 2 -

Alexander is back from England and is again concentrating on mathematics at the Institute. von Neumann is in England and I know hopes to look you up. Morse and Veblen go to and fro to Washington and to Aberdeen and are, I think, doing extremely useful work in connection with research on military problems.

Stewart and Warren are still advising the Treasury and Earle is called upon frequently for advice to the Air Forces. Meritt is supervising the reading of foreign-language newspapers for the Donovan Committee, but does his work at the Institute.

Next year it looks as if the situation would be somewhat the same as this year. There is just a chance that we may invite two or three recently-appointed Guggenheim Fellows to come here to do their work. The men we have in mind are Billington of Smith, who is writing a history of the expansion of settlement in America from the Atlantic Coast to the Mississippi; Harper of California, who is interested in the history of economic activities and governmental regulations in the English colonies in America before 1776; Harrington of Arkansas, who is studying diplomatic aspects of the growth of American enterprise abroad from 1865 to 1900 - what you might call the earliest stages of "dollar diplomacy"; Lewis of Maryland, who is studying trends in American political thought since 1900. These men are all concerned with various aspects of what might be called economic history, in which Stewart and Warren are increasingly interested.

We shall, I expect, have very few members in the School of Mathematics next year, but in the School of Humanistic Studies we hope for a few new individuals in addition to the small but strong group which we have at present.

Our financial situation, about which, as you know, I have been a little anxious, is made secure for two more years by renewal of the Rockefeller grant for economics. We shall continue, however, to be compelled to count every penny until such time as we receive a substantial addition to our endowment fund.

The limitation on the supply of oil in the eastern states and the very large expense involved in converting our furnaces to coal has compelled us to run Fuld Hall at a pretty low temperature for the U.S.A. (62 degrees), and for several months we were compelled to close the building

- 2 -

on Saturdays. It looks at present as if that situation would be the same next year, with the difficulties, if anything, accentuated.

We shall most of us, I think, be here right through the summer, as indeed we were last summer. We are getting a good experience on extremes of heat and cold, which Dr. Carrel claims is good for human beings. For my own part I am inclined to agree with Carrel.

I understand perfectly your inclination to go slow about returning to the Institute, in view of the interesting work you are now doing on post-war problems. All the experience so gained will be very much to the good when you do return, and if you feel it best to postpone coming until September I am sure our Trustees would approve.

We had last summer a series of week-end conferences on the whole subject of post-war planning, and as a result two quite ambitious schemes have been set up, one at Yale and one at the World Peace Foundation in Boston. They are both a direct result of these conferences at the Institute, but as things worked out it seemed best that the actual work should not be done here. I am keeping my eyes open for any possible opportunities in that direction in the future. The difficulty is that the best men are more and more swallowed up by government departments.

I hope this letter will give you at least some sense of what is going on in Fuld Hall and if you do decide not to return until the end of the summer I shall try every few weeks to send you a similar budget of news.

With warmest good wishes, I am

Yours sincerely,

Professor David Mitrany
Chatham House
St. James's Square
London, S. W. 1, England

FA/MCE

Re: VD 811.111
Mitrany, David

March 10, 1943

Dear Mr. Travers:

I wish to thank you for your letter of February 26th notifying me that an immigration visa has been authorized for David Mitrany and notification of this action has been transmitted by telegraph to the American Embassy at London. I appreciate very warmly the kind consideration which the State Department has given to this case and if you will notify me of the amount of the cable charges I shall be most happy to reimburse the Department.

Yours sincerely,

FRANK AYDELOTTE, Director

Mr. H. K. Travers
Chief, Visa Division
Department of State
Washington, D. C.

FA/MCE

Institute for Advanced Study

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

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

COPY OF WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

March 2, 1943

David Mitrany
Balliol
Oxford (England)

Visa granted State Department instructing London Please cable
plans when definite

Frank Aydelotte

ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON, D. C.

Visa Form L-2



DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

In reply refer to
VD 811.111 Mitrany, David

February 26. 1943

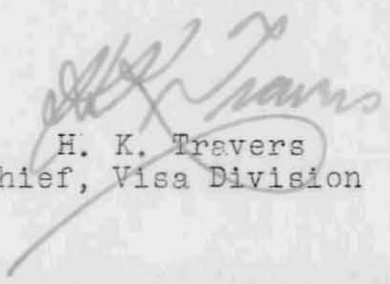
Mr. Frank Aydelotte,
Institute for Advanced Study,
Princeton, New Jersey.

Sir:

With reference to your interest in the visa case
of **David Mitrany**,
I have pleasure in informing you that, after careful
consideration of the documents submitted, the Depart-
ment has given advisory approval for the issuance of
an immigration visa.

Notification of this action has been transmitted
by telegraph to the American **Embassy at London.**
A statement of the exact telegraphic charges will be
sent to you at a later date.

Very truly yours,


H. K. Travers
Chief, Visa Division



February 22, 1943

Dear Mitrany:

Many thanks for your interesting letter of January 28th, which reached me in a little less than a month.

I hasten to say that the report about Veblen's eye was much exaggerated. He has had some trouble with one eye, but has not lost it. Indeed, it is now in as good shape as it has been for several years. The sight is not as good as in the other eye, but much better than no eye at all.

I am also happy to report that Bill has made a splendid recovery from his operation, is now back on the job teaching, and though I think he still feels a little pulled down by it, as would be inevitable, we hope and expect that his health is going to be better than it has been for several years.

No word as yet from the State Department, though, as I wrote you, I feel that the whole matter is settled in your favor and I fully expect to be able to send you a cable before this letter reaches England.

I am surprised to know that the English have not got further along with their work on post-war problems. Personally I feel that the matter is most urgent. It looks to me as if we were preparing to win the war and lose the peace. I feel particularly that now is the time for the leading Allies to settle various problems on which it will be much harder to get agreement once the German danger is removed. I had hoped that more was being done than the public realized, but the tone of your letter indicates that that is probably not the case. I look forward to discussing the whole matter with you in detail when you arrive.

With kindest regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

Professor David Mitrany
Kingston Blount
Oxford, England

FRANK AYDELOTTE

THE ROYAL INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

OXFORD 47471

~~WHITEHALL 2288~~

All communications should be
addressed to "The Secretary."

CHATHAM HOUSE,

10, ST. JAMES'S SQUARE,

LONDON, S.W.1.

BALLIOL COLLEGE,

OXFORD.

as from Kingston Blount
Oxford

26.II.1943

Dear Aydelotte,

This is to introduce H.E. Dr.
Feierabend, Minister of Finance in the
Czechoslovak Government. He is coming
over on business for his Government, but
it would be useful that he should have an
opportunity to meet you and your friends
in Princeton. He might perhaps be persuaded
to give a lecture on the region which he
knows so well.

Ever yours

S. Mitrany
—

Dr. Frank Aydelotte
Institute for Advanced Study
Princeton N.J.

Her Sec. genl. Kris

Telephone: WHITEHALL 2233.

Inland Telegrams: "AREOPAGUS, PICCY, LONDON."

THE ROYAL INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

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All communications should be addressed to the Secretary

CHATHAM HOUSE,

ST. JAMES'S SQUARE,
LONDON, S.W.1

as from Kingston Blount
Oxford

28.I.1943

Dear Aydelotte,

Your kind letter of the 16th December has just come (seven weeks by air mail), and I am writing at once to say how distressed I am to hear about Bill's operation. I rang up Win to find out whether he had more recent news, but he had not, but I hope that Bill is making good progress and it will be pleasant to hear of it soon. You will know how much we sympathize with him, and with you and Mrs. Aydelotte. Please give him my very good wishes for better health and luck in the New Year.

Thank you for all the trouble you have taken in my behalf. I am really sorry to have added to your burdens, though I know how willing you always are to help. No doubt the matter will get straightened out in due course. As we cannot know how long that will take, and what the transport situation will be when, there is nothing for me to do than to make the best use of the delay, and you may be sure that I am trying to do so. Since coming to London (where Chatham House have kindly put a room with all ~~the~~ facilities at my disposal), I have indeed found it difficult to steer an even course. London is no longer a city, but a resort - of a political kind - with the transients outnumbering the natives in the centre of the town and in public places. There is tremendous activity, and it is difficult to keep in touch with things and people even if one is not tied down to a job. Since the landings in North Africa, a kind of fever has spread over the particular field in which I am interested. The Allied officials have got a whiff of a home breeze, and are getting noticeably more restless and anxious, according to what they expect to meet if and when they get home. They are now worried lest they have to go home without any agreed plans for reconstruction, but so far apart from the period of relief nothing solid has been done. There is the view

that we must think of the war and of nothing else, and there is the fear that one idea or the other might displease Russia. Yet unless we do start talking we shall not know where we stand towards each other.

The other problem, to which I wish it were possible for you and the Institute to give some thought, is one of machinery. International relations are already largely economic and social but the F.O. and the State Dept. have not got the experience and personnel to handle them; nor would the regular economic departments abdicate their own part. Hence the problem of post-war policy is in that sense one of co-ordination; we have gone far in that for war purposes, but to my knowledge we are still ~~at~~ the starting line in regard to peace problems. There is growing pressure here for the establishment of the necessary machinery, preferably through a co-ordinating ministerial committee. That is the aspect in which I am especially interested, and I am learning a lot from my contacts here. It is an urgent matter, for action at the end of the war will have to be taken at once; one could say that the war will be won in the last battle, but the peace will be won or lost in the first battle. If we wait till then and then have to see first a struggle for departmental competency, things will happen which may sidetrack the whole peace effort. For the various European governments won't be able to wait for us - they will have to take action at once, and unless we have some arrangement for joint international action they will have to take national action which afterwards will be difficult to unscramble and re-adjust.

My old group at Oxford are being formally attached to the F.O., which will result in some changes of personnel and greater changes in work. I had no idea when I resigned that this was coming, so that it has made my position rather easier than if I had stayed on till now. Before you receive this Jim Alexander will be back and bring you news. It was so nice to have him here and I was sorry that he left, but I understood and sympathized with his standpoint. Please remember me to all our friends at the Institute, and once more my very good wishes for yourself and Mrs Aydelotte, and very special wishes for Bill.

Very sincerely yours

D. Mitrany

I have just heard from Win that Veblen has lost an eye - this was a great shock, for I had no idea that he was not well. I am so really sorry. The times are so full of strain that such personal sorrows touch one on the raw. Shortly before I left Oxford I lost my secretary - a young woman in good health and full of life; she got meningitis and was so used up by three years of selfless overwork that she went in two days, like a

*Shallor fruit. True one many
such unrecorded conversations
the war*

February 8, 1943

Dear Mitrany:

This is a brief air mail letter to say that I have had unofficial assurance that your visa has been recommended and that you and I ought both to hear as soon as the wheels of the last governmental machine turn around to the proper cog.

It will be a great pleasure to me and to all of us to see you back in Princeton. I have been confident from the start that there would be no real difficulty in arranging this visa, but the delay in getting action goes even beyond my experience, which is rather extensive in such matters.

Yours sincerely,

FRANK AYDELOTTE

Professor David Mitrany
Balliol College
Oxford, England

FA/MCE

Mitrany

February 8, 1943

Dear Fred:

My warmest thanks for your
letter of February 5th, which brings
great relief to my mind.

Yours sincerely,

FRANK AYDELOTTE

Dr. Frederick P. Keppel
Carnegie Corporation
522 Fifth Avenue
New York City

FA/MCE

CARNEGIE CORPORATION
OF NEW YORK
522 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK

February 5, 1943

Dear Frank:

When I got back to Washington last night there was the Mitrany case on my desk.'

We are recommending that the visa be granted, and you and he ought to hear as soon as the State Department wheels turn to the appropriate cog.

Sincerely,

J. P. Keppel

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

Wahman

CARNEGIE CORPORATION
OF NEW YORK
522 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK

F. P. KEPPEL

February 3, 1943

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

Dear Frank

I turned up here this morning, and
find your letter of the first, which I'll take
back to Washington with me. The Mitrany case
hasn't come to us yet, but I'll see just where
it stands when I go back tomorrow.

Sincerely yours

F. P. Keppel

FPK akb

VD 811.111 Mitrany, David
IVRC Docket No. 11,957

February 2, 1943

The Secretary
Interdepartmental Review Committee
1712 G Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

Supplementing my testimony as to the political convictions of Professor David Mitrany, I should like to submit the enclosed letter from Professor E. A. Lowe of the Institute faculty.

While I am convinced that Professor Mitrany has no Communist leanings whatsoever, I had to confess that I had never discussed political questions of this type with him. Professor Lowe has known Professor Mitrany intimately for many years and on this subject is admirably prepared to give testimony upon which the Committee can rely.

Professor Lowe is an American citizen, a graduate of the College of the City of New York, was for some years Lecturer in Paleography at the University of Oxford, is Associate in Paleography of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, D. C., and has been Professor of Paleography at the Institute for Advanced Study since 1936. He has been Honorary Consultant in Paleography to the Library of Congress since 1931. I mention these details in order that you may know that he is an entirely trustworthy person. At my suggestion, Professor Lowe subscribed and swore to his letter before a notary public.

If there is any further information which I can furnish the Committee about Professor Mitrany, I shall be glad to have you call upon me at any time.

Yours sincerely,

FA/MCE

FRANK AYDELOTTE, Director

Institute for Advanced Study

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

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

COPY OF
WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

Direct.

February 2, 1943

David Mitrany
Balliol
Oxford (England)

Testified hearing your case State Department Thursday All seems
favorable but decision not expected for another month Writing

Frank Aydelotte

February 1, 1943

Dear Fred:

I was summoned to a hearing about Mitrany before the Interdepartmental Visa Review Committee on January 28th. In accordance with a suggestion from the Committee, I furnished them with a brief memorandum mentioning my own opportunities for knowing Mitrany and mentioning the reasons why I thought his re-admission to the United States both safe and beneficial.

I was able to answer all the questions which the Committee asked me except that I was not able to say that I knew at first hand that he had never voted Communist. I was thoroughly convinced that he had no sympathy with the Communistic point of view, and said so, but I had to admit that this was merely an impression and that I had never catechized Mitrany on the subject.

In order to supplement this part of my testimony I am sending them today a letter from Lowe, who has known Mitrany well for many years and is able to state categorically that he knows that Mitrany has no leanings in the direction of Communism.

I enclose copies of my memorandum, of the letter I am writing today to the Secretary of the Interdepartmental Review Committee, and of Lowe's letter, in case it should be useful to you to have them. I send them all to New York in case it may be simpler for you not to have it in your official files in Washington.

Yours sincerely,

FRANK AYDELOTTE

Dr. Frederick P. Keppel
Carnegie Corporation
522 Fifth Avenue
New York City

FA/MCE

February 1, 1943

Dear Mitrany:

You will be interested to know that the firm promises I received from the State Department to expedite your case are at last bearing fruit. I was summoned to a hearing on Thursday in Washington, which I duly attended. The Interdepartmental Committee which conducted it seemed entirely friendly and I hope that things will now move faster. As I left the hearing I ventured to ask how soon a decision might be expected. The reply was that it would probably take a month. There are apparently one or two other boards or committees which must now pass on the case before it is finally settled.

I shall send you a summary of all this in a cablegram tonight, so that you will have some idea as to what to expect. I realized in the beginning that there would be delays, but I did not anticipate anything like this, and the maddening thing is that there seems to be nothing that can be done about it. These committees are apparently dealing with a great volume of cases and the machinery is extremely slow. The indication of another month's delay was not a promise of action within that time and I should not be surprised if the delay were even longer.

I am hoping that I may have some word from you by Alexander, who has just returned and who is coming in to see me today. I shall wait for that before sending off my cablegram.

I hope Toynbee acted on his suggestion to resume your stipend from Chatham House pending the clearing up of your visa difficulties and that you have been able to make good use of the intervening time. You may be sure I shall continue to do everything possible to push your case through and to get favorable action at the earliest moment. I have instructed the State Department to cable you directly at our expense the moment your visa has been authorized.

With kindest regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

Professor David Mitrany
Balliol College
Oxford, England

FRANK AYDELOTTE

C O P Y

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

School of Humanistic Studies

Princeton, New Jersey

February 1, 1943

Dear Dr. Aydelotte:

In response to your question regarding Professor David Mitrany's political views with special reference to Communism, I am in a position to give you the following facts.

I have known Professor Mitrany both here in Princeton and also in England. I have several times spent a whole day with him in his English home in Oxfordshire where he lives more like an English squire than a Communist. During the two years preceding the war I had innumerable walks with him when the conversation was almost entirely political. On such occasions, in the intimacy of friendly conversation, it is impossible not to betray one's deeper political feelings. I can say emphatically and categorically that never did I hear from Professor Mitrany a single remark that even bordered on sympathy with Communism as a form of government; nor did I ever hear him quote Communist doctrine or Communist authorities; nor did he ever make reference to Communist practice as something worthy of our imitation. You cannot be with a man as often as I have been with Professor Mitrany without knowing his political convictions. From all I have seen of him and heard from him, I am absolutely convinced that Professor Mitrany had no Communist affiliations or leanings.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) E. A. LOWE

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

Sworn and subscribed before me this
1st day of February, 1943

MARION G. HARTZ
A Notary Public of the State of New Jersey

Washington, D. C.
January 28, 1943

MEMORANDUM FOR INTERDEPARTMENTAL VISA REVIEW COMMITTEE

Refer to:
VD 811.111 Mitrany, David
IVRC Docket No. 11,957

I should like to present briefly to the Committee a statement, first, of my opportunity of knowing Professor Mitrany, second, the reasons why I think his readmission to the United States is entirely safe, and third, the reasons why I think it would be beneficial.

I. Professor Mitrany has been, since 1933, a member of the faculty of the Institute for Advanced Study. I have been a trustee of the Institute since its foundation and have had frequent opportunities during these years of seeing Professor Mitrany and of hearing full details about his work and his personal character.

II. Professor Mitrany is completely loyal to the American form of government. He has taken out his first papers and hopes to become an American citizen. Although he was born in Roumania, he is a British subject and enjoys the confidence of leading members of the British government, as is proved by the fact that he has been doing for the last three years important confidential work for the Foreign Office.

III. Professor Mitrany is a man of high intellectual ability. He has an unusual grasp of Political Science and International Relations. He was at one time a professor in the London School of Economics, and we consider him a valuable member of our faculty at the Institute for Advanced Study. Both his scholarship and his personal influence are, in my opinion, of great value to the United States.



Frank Aydelotte
Director of the Institute
for Advanced Study

January 25, 1943

Secretary of Interdepartmental
Visa Review Committee
Department of State
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

Case: David Mitrany
VD 811.111
IVRC Docket No. 11,957

I am in receipt of your notice of the
hearing of the above-mentioned case, to be held
on January 28th at 1:30 P.M., and wish to say that
I am planning to attend the hearing. .

Yours sincerely,

FRANK AYDELOTTE

ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON, D. C.



DEPARTMENT OF STATE

WASHINGTON

Visa Form IVRC-4

In reply refer to

VD 811.111 Mitrany, David

IVRC Docket No. 11,957

January 20, 1943

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

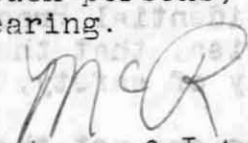
NOTICE OF HEARING

Case: David Mitrany

Take notice that this case is assigned to hearing before an Interdepartmental Visa Review Committee at 1712 G Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. The calendar will be called promptly at 1:30 pmon January 28, 1943 and you will be expected to answer the call at that time and be prepared to make any statement you may deem appropriate in connection with this case.

If because of compelling reasons you are unable to appear on the above date, you should inform the Review Committee by registered letter, telegraph, or telephone, at least three days prior to the hearing date, giving the reasons for such inability to appear in order that appropriate consideration may be given thereto.

Only persons who have submitted B or C and IVRC-1 forms and the attorneys of such persons, if any, are entitled to appear at the hearing.


Secretary of Interdepartmental
Visa Review Committee



The purpose of these hearings is to provide the Committee with the fullest and most accurate information possible regarding visa applications. Attendance is not compulsory but in the interest of Applicants it is desirable, particularly in the case of a person now in this country who is himself seeking a permit for permanent residence.

If because of distance from Washington or other controlling reason the recipient of the accompanying notice finds it impracticable to be present, he is requested to notify the Visa Division without delay. He may at the same time, if he desires, submit a statement in the form of an Affidavit which will convey to the Review Committee such information as he is in a position to furnish (not duplicating the details in the formal visa application already in the hands of the Committee).

For the information of those who are planning to appear personally it may be added that while the hearings are not in the nature of a judicial proceeding, the witness is placed under oath, since whatever testimony he may present becomes part of the official record in the case.

A sponsor or other supporter of an application should be prepared to make clear his own qualifications to furnish useful and reliable information. He should be prepared further to answer such questions, both as to the application and as to his own relation to it, as the members of the Review Committee may wish to ask, and to aid in clearing up any ambiguities or apparent inconsistencies in the material already before them.

The specific matters upon which the Committee desires the fullest information available regarding such applications include the following:

The applicant's understanding of the ideals and principles of our form of Government, his sympathy and accord therewith, and should the visa be granted, his complete loyalty thereto.

Such information as to the applicant's health, personality education and training, experience and resources as will throw light upon the probabilities of his becoming a useful and desirable member of our Community.

In these connections, information is desirable as to his close personal contacts in the country or countries where he has already resided, and in the event of his application being granted, as to those with whom he would be in immediate touch in this country.

It should be noted that in the case of all enemy aliens the terms of the Presidential Proclamations prescribe, as a condition of granting the visa, that the record shall furnish satisfactory assurance not only of safety, but also of benefit, to the United States.

Witnesses who are not themselves American citizens are requested, if possible, to bring with them the passports on which they entered the country.

While it is not in any way obligatory for him to do so, the witness may introduce his testimony by presenting six copies of a brief typewritten statement covering the points already mentioned (one copy for each member of the committee and one for the Stenographer). Experience has shown that such statements serve as a useful basis for such discussions as the members of the Committee may wish to initiate, are likely to ensure a more satisfactory permanent record, and operate to save the time and energy of all concerned.

Dear Dr. Aydelotte:

I believe this memorandum covers all the dates that appeared in the visa application filed with the State Department. We had no dates or other information about his early education, or the date of his going to England, though someone told me (I believe Professor Earle) that it was his impression that he was there during the last war - or at least part of it.

There were many questions about political activities, organizations to which the Mitrany's belonged, etc. I have got the impression from Dr. Gilbert and others who have attended such hearings at the State Department that the questions/pertained largely to the political background of the applicant; in other words, I have the feeling that dates are not of particular importance at this hearing. There is a statement on the back of the form I sent you today to the effect that if the sponsor is unable to attend the hearing he may submit a written statement, which is not to include any of the information given in the application.

In case the question should be raised, I don't believe Mrs. Mitrany has ever been in this country.

Yours sincerely,

M.C.E.

Safely - final to be seen
writings - our ideals
British subject - invited
by them

1st paper taken out
Perm position for

Benefit

High ability
London school
Partnership at Institute
writing & teaching
understanding of world affairs

TA - Knowledge
Trustee

Dit since 1939

December 16, 1942

Dear Mitrany:

I have your letter of November 25th and Miss Wise has shown me your letter to her about remittances. We shall arrange these in accordance with your wishes out of the funds which have accumulated to your credit during the last three years.

I hope you won't feel that I minded in the least the negotiations necessary for the securing of your visa. It all seems to me ridiculous and unnecessary, but that is our government's fault, not yours. I only emphasized the complicated nature of the formalities in order that you should understand the reason for the delay. I am thoroughly convinced myself that all this tedious red tape is no real protection to the country and only results in inconvenience to people like yourself who, as everybody admits, ought not to be bothered with it.

Life goes on here very busy as usual. More and more members of the faculty are being drawn into war work, but a substantial amount of research goes on at the Institute regardless.

My son Bill has just had a rather serious operation for the removal of a kidney and is now convalescing at our house. He recovers his strength a little more slowly than he had hoped and expected, but he has on the whole come through the ordeal remarkably well.

I am hoping for a little holiday in Florida, but I shall be back on the job before this letter reaches you. I go off Christmas Eve, but my wife will stay to look after Bill and follow me, if at all, a week or ten days later.

With kindest regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

FRANK AYDELOTTE

Professor D. Mitrany
Royal Institute of International Affairs
Balliol College
Oxford, England

P.C.5.

BRITISH POSTAL CENSORSHIP

This cover was open when it
reached the Censorship.

A handwritten signature or set of initials, possibly 'JW', written in dark ink.

THE ROYAL INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

FOREIGN RESEARCH AND PRESS SERVICE

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Telephone: Oxford 4747¹
Telegrams: Areopagus, Oxford

25.XI.1942

*Representing the Chairman of the
Council in Oxford*
LIONEL CURTIS

Director of the Service
ARNOLD J. TOYNBEE

Deputy-Director of the Service
G. N. CLARK

Administrative Officer
H. B. MOORE

Dear Aydelotte,

My thanks for your letter of the 3rd and for the short cable. I am indeed sorry that the matter should have grown into such a burden for you, and the whole thing is queer. It hardly shows the new outlook which we need for the new world. I have left Roumania in 1909 and have lived here since 1912, and the fact that I stayed here to do war work, neglecting to cover my retreat, might by now have been assessed as a credit. The personal inconvenience is a minor matter, but the holding fast to the 'racial' bogey in quarters which have been so bitter about its practical causes, shows how backward we still are in our political thinking.

All this only adds to my estimate of the problem before us. Let me say again that if the work here were operational, no personal choice would have been in question at all. But as the work has come to be almost wholly on post-war problems other considerations come in, and on this I am indeed most anxious for a chance to talk with you and our friends. It cannot be done by correspondence. There is a general and growing realization that the post-war problems will be extremely arduous and complex. I have the additional conviction that there will be no peace conference, in the usual sense, but an armistice in which the immediate military and political conditions will be laid down, and then a fairly long period, stretching over years, during which the problems of reconstruction and reorganization will gradually be worked out.

Naturally that rests on the assumption that there will be a new international system. The preparatory work must be done now, and cannot be left till the firing ceases. The war will be won by the last battle, but the peace will be won by the first battle, or not at all. That means again the need for coordination now within each government in the several aspects of international policy, especially economic and social, and in the second place it means a parallel coordination between the several governments involved. Neither exists so far.

That is not necessarily due to a lack of goodwill. There is first the very heavy burden of carrying on the war. But there is

the deadweight of existant departmental segregation, each intent upon its particular field; and there is naturally also the deadweight of the several 'national interests'. Both have to be overcome, and no doubt will in time. But as always with great political and social changes, the path will have to be cleared by detached students, free to think through a problem to its natural solution, without the responsibility for policy. If it be true, as I think it is true, that we are actors, rather bewildered and in blinkers, in some great historical change, then the Universities have thrust upon them as great a responsibility as an opportunity.

It is not possible for officials tied to a grinding routine, and in duty bound to strive for a particular interest, to think out the problems of the time in that comprehensive and detached way. Therefore if the scholars and the students fail to do this, it will not be done at all. And I need hardly add that they alone can help intelligent public opinion to keep pace with a willing, or to watch and prod an unwilling, political leadership. I want to write a short preliminary paper on this issue, and will send it on as soon as it gets done. But the matter is urgent and vital. I have many close contacts, and I can assure you that the Universities are facing a grave responsibility.

May I say that I had a good talk with Riefler about this a few days ago, and we found ourselves in hearty agreement. The same evening there was a dinner of American and English officials, and I had the good luck to get hold of Alexander, so the three of us were there in strength.

Now about practical matters. If it were not for the transport complications, I would be quite glad to have some free time in London, for there is a great deal I could learn and make use when I come. The Clipper is stopped for the time being, and my exit visa expires on Dec. 24, but I am sure no difficulty will arise on that matter. There remains the matter of funds. T. was delayed, and contrary to what he told you, for he is now rarely consistent, he wants in view of my resignation that I should stop now. Incidentally, certain developments have taken place rather suddenly which may alter still more the nature of our work, in which case my decision will prove to have been unwittingly a wise anticipation. At any rate, I shall be free from the end of this month. Miss Wise writes me that my usual remittance for November and December is arranged, but from January I shall need a hundred pounds a month, and I must be fairly certain of that as my wife's needs are still pressing. If you would kindly give whatever instructions may be necessary for a monthly remittance for that amount, in the same way as arranged hitherto by Miss Wise, you will oblige me greatly. I fear that all this means a little more trouble for you, but we shall straighten it all out when I come.

I will keep you informed of my doings, and in the meantime send my good wishes for Christmas and the New Year for you and Mrs. Aydelotte and your son, and also for all at the Institute.

Yours ever

D. Mitrany

I thank you for handling the matter about the room. I quite understand, and I am sure we can arrange that New Year's Eve. I would not willingly do that. Please remember me to him.

VB:811.111 Mitrany, David

November 28, 1942

H. K. Travers, Esq.
Chief, Visa Division
Department of State
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Travers:

I have your letter of November 24th regarding the visa case of Professor David Mitrany. I have, in accordance with your request, filled out the IVRC-1 Forms and return them to you herewith.

Anything that you can do to expedite action in this case will be appreciated not only by Professor Mitrany himself but by all of his colleagues here as well.

Sincerely yours,

FRANK AYDELOTTE, Director

Charge to the account of _____

Institute for Advanced Study

\$ _____

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

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

WESTERN UNION

1217-B

CHECK

ACCOUNTING INFORMATION

TIME FILED

R. B. WHITE
PRESIDENT

NEWCOMB CARLTON
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

J. C. WILLEVER
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

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

November 25, 1942

~~Mitrany~~
Balliol
Oxford (England)

State Department promises expedite your case rapidly as possible
but warn may take several months Toynbee suggested when here
that you might continue Chatham House work until visa arranged

Frank Aydelotte

not filed

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.

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

NEWCOMB CARLTON
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

J. C. WILLEVER
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS

DL=Day Letter

NT=Overnight Telegram

LC=Deferred Cable

NLT=Cable Night Letter

Ship Radiogram

WESTERN UNION

(107)

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

CABLE NJ286 CABLE=OXFORD 14 24/1205P

LC FRANK AYDELOTTE FULDHALL=
PRINCETON NJ=

SORRY CAUSING YOU SUCH TROUBLE WRITING=
DAVID MITRANY.

*Together suggest
when he had been
convinced the name
was not a visa
error*

*stat Dept promise
expedite your case
rapidly as possible but
were way late several
months ~~before~~ in contact
that ~~the~~ ~~with~~*

TELEPHONE NO.
TELEPHONED TO
TIME
BY *H*
ATTENTS TO
DELIVER

*183
Dr. Aydelotte
Feb*

ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON, D. C.



DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

November 24, 1942

In reply refer to
VD:811.111 Mitrany, David

My dear Dr. Aydelotte:

I refer to your letter of November 17, 1942 concerning documents submitted by you, prepared on behalf of Professor David Mitrany who desires to obtain an immigration visa for admission into the United States for permanent residence.

It appears that the second set of BC Forms were inadvertently forwarded to you and the forms submitted with your letter of October 19, 1942 are under consideration by the Department in connection with Professor Mitrany's visa case.

However, it is suggested that you fill out and return to the Department the IVRC-1 Forms which were enclosed with my letter of November 13, 1942.

Please be assured that this case will be expedited as much as possible consistent with existing regulations.

Sincerely yours,

H. K. Travers
Chief, Visa Division

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



Institute for Advanced Study

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

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

COPY OF WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

November 19, 1942

Mitrany
Balliol
Oxford (England)

Continuing urgent efforts with State Department Have received
some encouragement but fear considerable delay inevitable

Frank Aydelotte

COPY to Dr. Keppel

November 17, 1942

H. K. Travers, Esq.
Chief, Visa Division
Department of State
Washington, D. C.

Re: VD 811.111 Mitrany, David

Dear Mr. Travers:

I have your form letter of November 13 enclosing Forms A, BC, K and IVRC-1(2), calling for material in regard to David Mitrany, professor in the Institute who is eager to return from Great Britain to his position here. You will remember that the difficulty in Professor Mitrany's case is a technical one in that while he is a British subject he was born in Roumania and is therefore technically an enemy alien. The forms which you now send me I received from the Visa Division some weeks ago and returned to you duly filled up with the information called for. If by any chance these forms have been misplaced I can, of course, prepare a new set on the blanks which you now send. I should be grateful if you would let me know whether this is necessary. I hope very much that the original forms will be found and I should be grateful if you would expedite Professor Mitrany's case as rapidly as possible.

- oct 19

Yours sincerely,

FRANK AYDELOTTE

FA:mr

ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON, D. C.

Visa Form A-1



DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

In reply refer to
VD 811.111 Mitrany, David

November 13, 1942.

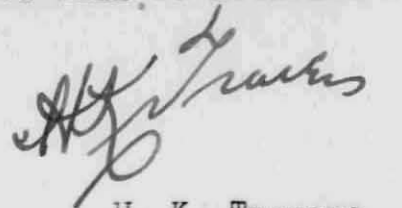
Mr. Frank Aydelotte,
The Institute For Advanced Study,
Princeton, New Jersey.

Sir:

There is enclosed a leaflet describing the new visa procedure which became effective July 1, 1941 together with the prescribed forms which when completed should be returned to the Visa Division, Department of State, Washington, D.C. It is believed that you will find the enclosures fully explanatory and that it will not be necessary to make further inquiries of the Department before the forms are completed and returned as directed.

Please be assured that prompt and careful attention will be given to all of the required documents which may be submitted and that you will be notified of the action taken on the case.

Very truly yours,


H. K. Travers
Chief, Visa Division

Enclosures:

1. Form A.
2. Form BC.
3. Form K.
4. Form IVRC-1 (2).



November 9, 1942

Dear Carter:

Many thanks for your letter of November 4. The difficulty with Mitrany's visa is that he is technically an enemy alien because of his Roumanian birth, in spite of his British citizenship. I have accordingly had to fill out for the State Department the usual questionnaire which is the basis for action in granting permission to enemy aliens to enter the United States. I did this some weeks ago and have been pressing the Visa Division of the State Department for action. They are extraordinarily slow. If you know any way of hurrying them up I should be most grateful if you do anything in your power.

I recently sent a man to see you about Russia, and I hope you have been able to give him some help.

There are many things I should like to talk over with you if you ever come this way.

With kindest regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

Dr. Edward C. Carter
Institute of Pacific Relations
129 East 52nd Street
New York, N. Y.

INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

129 East 52nd Street
New York, N.Y.

4th November, 1942

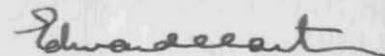
Dear Aydelotte:

When do you expect Dr. David Mitrany to arrive in this country? I am eager to see him as soon as he arrives.

Is there any difficulty with reference to his visa? I have known Mitrany for a great many years and if there is any way in which I can be of assistance please do not hesitate to let me know.

I do hope that I may see you soon.

Sincerely yours,



Edward C. Carter

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

November 4, 1942

Dear Dr. Nevins:

Many thanks for your letter. When it came to securing a visa for Mitrany we discovered that he is technically an enemy alien because of his Rumanian birth, in spite of his British citizenship. I have accordingly had to fill out voluminous documents concerning every detail of his life from his birth down, to secure letters of recommendation, etc., and turn all this material in to the State Department. I have no doubt that the answer will be favorable in the end, but I am keenly disappointed, as I know Mitrany must be, at the seemingly interminable delay.

The matter, as I understand it, is in the hands of Mr. H. K. Travers, Chief of the Visa Division. If Berle were able to exercise any influence on the Visa Division, it would be all to the good and I should be most grateful.

Yours sincerely,

Dr. Allan Nevins
Department of History
Columbia University
New York City

FRANK AYDELOTTE

Columbia University
in the City of New York

November 2, 1942


DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

My dear Dr. Aydelotte:

Can you kindly tell me what progress is being made in fetching Dr. Mitrany to this country? If I can be of any help, I would like to lend a hand. As I know Mr. Berle, the Assistant Secretary of State, I might be able to put in a few words in that quarter--if it would do any good.

Dr. Mitrany was most anxious to come over to this country, and I am quite certain that he will now be of more use to the general cause on this side of the Atlantic.

Sincerely Yours,



Allan Nevins

Dr. Frank Aydelotte
Institute for Advanced Studies

November 2, 1942

Dear Mitrany:

So far we have been unable to get any action by the State Department, but I am bombarding various individuals and hope there may be some word to send you soon, possibly before this letter arrives.

Meanwhile, I think I ought to tell you of a hint dropped by Toynbee just before he left for England two weeks ago. When he understood the situation and the inevitable delay in arranging your reentry, Toynbee said at once that he would be happy to have you resume your job at Chatham House so that you would at least have funds to go on with. I hope he has said this to you already, but if by any chance he has not, I see no reason why you should not mention the matter to him yourself.

You will be interested to know that Alexander is now in England and that he hopes to make a visit to Oxford if he can get the time. Work goes on steadily here at the Institute. We have instituted the custom of monthly faculty luncheons and are having the second one of this term today. Men who are away on war work try, if possible, to get back for these, so that we have a very interesting reunion on the first Monday of each month, and indeed we have most of the men back every Monday.

With kindest regards, I am-

Yours sincerely,

FRANK AYDELOTTE

Professor David Mitrany
Balliol College
Oxford, England

FA/MCE

October 19, 1942

Dear Mr. Travers:

I had a telephone conversation with Mr. Dorrs of your office the other day concerning Professor David Mitrany, a member of the faculty of the Institute for Advanced Study, who has been on leave of absence for three years working for the Royal Institute of International Affairs, which supplies material to the British Foreign Office.

Professor Mitrany wishes to return to his professorship at the Institute, but because he was born in Rumania Mr. Dorrs informs me that he is technically an enemy alien in spite of his British citizenship and in spite of the fact that he has already taken out his first papers for naturalization in the United States.

I have accordingly filled out form BC and send it herewith, together with letters of recommendation called for. I shall be most grateful if you would do anything that you reasonably can to expedite this case because of the fact that Professor Mitrany has now given up his position in England and is needed to resume his work at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton. If you can give me any idea as to about how long it will take for the case to be decided, that would be a great convenience both to him and to us.

The Institute will cheerfully bear the cost of any cablegrams which may be necessary in order to hasten action on this case.

Yours sincerely,

FRANK AYDELOTTE, Director

H. K. Travers, Esq.
Chief, Visa Division
Department of State
Washington, D. C.

FA/MCE

October 16, 1942

Visa Division
Department of State
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sirs:

I have known Professor David Mitrany ever since my appointment as a professor of the Institute for Advanced Study. As a colleague I have always found him helpful and ready to cooperate. I have heard him air his views freely on international affairs and that in the presence of Dr. Albert Einstein, whose anti-Fascist and pro-American sentiments are known to all. I have never heard him say anything approaching approval or agreement with policies of the Axis nations and their allies.

During the first two months of the war, in the autumn of 1939, I came in contact with Professor Mitrany in England, while he was engaged as a member of the staff of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, as an expert on Rumanian matters, and I had an opportunity to see the high regard in which he was held by his colleagues and its head, Dr. Arnold Toynbee.

During the years before the war I saw a good deal of him and I was impressed not alone by his great intellectual endowment but by his personal integrity and high political and civic ideals. I have never on any occasion heard him express any view or sentiment which would make me hesitate to stand as guarantor of his staunch and loyal support of our cause in this war. If he is permitted to return to this country I am certain that he will prove useful to the general war effort.

Very sincerely yours,

E. A. Lowe

October 14, 1942

As a result of a telephone conversation between Dr. Aydelotte and Professor Panofsky as to whether Professor Panofsky's office at the Institute could be made available to Dr. Mitrany on his arrival, it was today agreed:

That the office can be made available to Dr. Mitrany, provided:

- 1) that Professor Panofsky may reserve the right to occupy the office himself at any time, if and when heating and transportation facilities should make it ~~more~~ necessary.
- 2) that other office space be provided for Professor Lee in the Humanistic pavilion.

October 13, 1942

Dear Mitrany:

I have been communicating with you largely by cable, but since the matter of your visa is likely to be somewhat delayed it occurs to me that I had better send you a running account by air mail, so that you may understand some of the difficulties which I could not fully explain in my cablegrams.

Conyers Read was compelled to give your letter to the censor on his arrival in the United States and it was delayed about ten days before it was finally sent on to me from Washington. Read telephoned me that he had brought the letter, that he understood something of its contents, but he seemed very much to prefer not to give me verbal messages from you but rather to have me wait until the letter arrived. I am very sorry for the delay which this caused.

As soon as I received the letter and understood the situation I got in touch with the State Department and was surprised to find that because of your Rumanian birth you were classed technically as an enemy alien, despite your British citizenship. This makes it necessary for us to fill out a long and complicated form giving every detail of your history and career from the time of your birth down to the present. With the aid of Who's Who (which I wish were fuller) and by taxing the memory of all your friends in Princeton we shall, I think, be able to furnish the State Department with a satisfactory record. This will then have to be considered by the officers and committees which pass on admission of enemy aliens, and while I have every confidence in receiving a favorable verdict, it is inevitable that it will require some time. I asked an officer in the Visa Division how much time would be required and he refused ever to hazard a guess. I know that in the case of other men these formalities have always taken weeks and sometimes months. I have given instructions that the decision when reached should be cabled to London at our expense, so that no time will be lost in issuing the visa once it has been authorized.

- 2 -

If this delay should prove considerable and you find yourself financially embarrassed I should be most happy to send you funds.

I am afraid that you will be inevitably classed as an enemy alien after your return to Princeton and will be subject to certain restrictions on that account. I hope these will not prove onerous and I expect that once you are here your British citizenship will help.

There is one more point which I wish you would be thinking about between now and the time you arrive. As you know, Loveday is at the present moment occupying your office, and the members of his staff are quartered in adjoining rooms on the same floor. Loveday stands ready to move, of course, if you so desire, but I wonder whether it would not suit you better for the present to occupy a quieter room and leave Loveday where he is. The region around your office is at present one of the busiest in the Institute. On the other hand, Riefler's office, alongside Stewart's and Warren's, would be available for your use, or Panofsky's, which is just above Meritt's and is one of the quietest places in the Institute. I should think you would find one or the other of these more comfortable at the moment. Riefler's would probably be more convenient because of the proximity to the economics secretary, Miss Wise, and Panofsky's would be perhaps the best of the three from the point of view of quiet and seclusion. The whole matter can be settled after you arrive; I mention it now so that you can be thinking it over.

You may be sure that we shall all of us here do everything possible to facilitate the visa formalities and that we look forward with the greatest pleasure to your return.

Yours sincerely,

FRANK AYDELOTTE

Professor David Mitrany
Balliol College
Oxford, England

P.S. I now have both your letters of September 24th and September 29th. Your letter written September 29th from Balliol reached me in a plain envelope from Washington on October 6th, and the one of the 24th, written at Brown's Hotel and apparently brought by Conyers Read and handed by him to the censor reached me today from New York.

C O P Y

October 15, 1942

Chief, Visa Division
Department of State
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

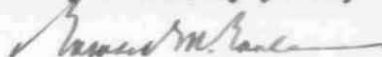
My colleague, Professor David Mitrany of the Institute for Advanced Study, is applying for a visa to the United States and I am writing this letter to express the hope that it may be possible for you to act favorably upon his request.

Professor Mitrany went to England for his usual summer holiday in the spring of 1939 and remained there after the outbreak of war in September of that year. Almost continuously since that time he has been associated with a research group working for the Royal Institute of International Affairs and the Foreign Office. I know of a good many of the projects in which Professor Mitrany and his colleagues have been engaged and can testify that they have been of importance to the prosecution of the war. Professor Mitrany's particular task has been concerned with Anglo-American relations.

Although Professor Mitrany was born in Roumania, he has been for a great many years a British subject. He has resided in the United States as visiting professor at Harvard (1931-1933), at Yale (1932), and since the fall of 1935 has been a professor in the School of Economics and Politics at the Institute for Advanced Study.

There can be not the slightest doubt that Professor Mitrany is loyal to the cause of the United Nations, more particularly as Great Britain and the United States are concerned. I have known him intimately for about ten years and can testify to this without the slightest hesitation.

Very sincerely yours,



Edward Mead Earle

Institute for Advanced Study

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

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

COPY OF
WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

October 10, 1942

Mitrany
Balliol
Oxford (England)

Confident shall secure visa but complicated formalities necessary
and some delay inevitable because Rumanian birth makes you
technically enemy alien despite British citizenship

Aydelotte

October 6, 1942

Dear Mr. Travers:

I am writing to ask whether you can do anything to facilitate an American visa for Dr. David Mitrany, who has been since 1933 a professor in the School of Economics and Politics of the Institute for Advanced Study. Dr. Mitrany was in England at the time he was appointed and came to the United States to take up his professorship in the summer of 1936, receiving a non-quota visa No. 817810 on July 7, 1936.

When the war broke out in 1939 we gave Professor Mitrany leave of absence to do some work for the Royal Institute of International Affairs, which supplies material to the English Foreign Office. The group have been working at Balliol College, Oxford, where Professor Mitrany has resided from 1939 to the present time.

Professor Mitrany has now finished his work with the Royal Institute and is eager to return to the United States. He had a reentry permit when he left this country, but that has expired and he learns from the Embassy in London that the approval of the State Department is necessary for the granting of a visa. I take it that this is a mere formality, but I should be grateful if the authorization for this visa could be granted as soon as possible, since Professor Mitrany has reserved airplane passage for some time in the month of October and we are eager to have him back at his work at the Institute at the earliest possible date.

Yours sincerely,

FRANK AYDELOTTE, Director

H. K. Travers, Esq.
Chief, Visa Division
Department of State
Washington, D. C.

FA/MCE

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.

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

NEWCOMB CARLTON
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

J. C. WILLEVER
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS

DL=Day Letter

NT=Overnight Telegram

LC=Deferred Cable

NLT=Cable Night Letter

Ship Radiogram

WESTERN UNION

(38)

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NJ62 VIA RCA=CD OXFORD 39 NFD

NLT FRAND AYDELOTTE=

FULD HALL PRINCETON (NJ)=

1942 OCT 8 AM 7 43

UNEXPECTED DIFFICULTY AMERICAN VISA BECAUSE REENTRY PERMIT
EXPIRED NEW APPLICATION NEEDED WASHINGTON CONYERS REED
BRINGING DETAILS COULD YOU KINDLY GET SPEEDY APPROVAL STATE
DEPARTMENT EMBASSY READY ACT IMMEDIATELY EVERYTHING ELSE
READY=

DAVID MITRANY.

FRAND.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

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.

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

NEWCOMB CARLTON
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

VILLEVER
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

WESTERN UNION

(26)

1201

SYMBOLS

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Ship Radiogram

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NJ255 CABLE=OXFORD 24 8

NLT FRANK AYDELOTTE=

FULD HALL PRINCETONNJ=

1942 OCT 8 PM 4 34

CAN YOU TELL ME WHATS HAPPENING CAN MAKE NO PLANS AND
TRANSPORT SOON VERY COMPLICATED THANKS=

DAVID MITRANY.

PHONE NO. 185

TELEPHONED TO Miss Aydelotte

TIME 5-10 PM

Y. AM

TO RE. file

ATTEMPTS
TO
LIVER

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES
WASHINGTON, D. C.

October 6, 1942

Dear Aydelotte:

I hope you have received since you wrote on October 2nd the letter from Mitrany addressed to you which I delivered to the censor at La Guardia Field, but in case you didnot I have the following data from Bill Langer which he got from Mitrany.

David Mitrany

Born January 1, 1888, at Bucharest, Rumania
British nationality by nationalism
Professor at Institute of Advanced Study, Princeton
since 1934

Entered New York October 12, 1936, on 4D Immigrant
Visa given by London Consulate July 7, 1936,
Identification Card No. 817810

Application for first papers No. 3-156187
Declaration of Intention No. 2749 issued at U.S.
District Court , Trenton, N.J., April 14, 1939

Did war work in England for Foreign Office; re-entry
permit expired in meantime. Recalled by Institute
to Princeton. British exit visa and air priority
available.

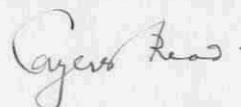
This much from Langer. The difficulty seems to be that by reason of the fact that Mitrany's re-entry permit to the United States has expired he cannot get permission to re-enter the United States. He thought the matter was a mere technicality which you could straighten out at this end. At least, that is my impression though Mitrany did not talk much to me about it since he intended to set it all forth in the

- 2 -

letter to you.

I hope you will act with speed and advise him since he is simply waiting in London for something to happen from you. If you are to be in Washington on Thursday, I shall be delighted to see you though I think I have told you all I know about this particular matter.

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Conyers Read".

Conyers Read

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

October 6, 1942

Dear Read:

You can disregard my letter of a few days ago, since Mitrany's letter reached me this morning in a plain enveloped mailed from Washington. There is no mark of the censor on it, but I assume that it must have come from their office.

Yours sincerely,

FRANK AYDELOTTE

Professor Conyers Read
O. S. S.
Library of Congress Annex
Washington, D. C.

FA/MCE

Institute for Advanced Study

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

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

COPY OF
WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

October 6, 1942

Mitrany
Balliol
Oxford (England)

Letter brought by Read held by censor and only received today
Making vigorous application to State Department immediately

Frank Aydelotte

October 2, 1942

Dear Read:

This letter from Mitrany which you mentioned in your telephone conversation has never arrived. I received a telegram from Riefler urging me to push Mitrany's application vigorously, but since I do not understand what the complication is I find it impossible to do anything. Could you summarize the letter to me by mail? If that is feasible I should appreciate very much hearing from you; if not, I will try to see you in Washington next Thursday.

Yours sincerely,

FRANK AYDELOTTE

Professor Conyers Read
O.S.S., Library of Congress Annex
Washington, D. C.

FA/MCE

Before-English

Reply myself agreed
text return for present &
discuss situation with you.
respectfully
Oct

David Mitrany

THE ROYAL INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS
FOREIGN RESEARCH AND PRESS SERVICE

Telephone:

OXFORD 47471

Telegrams:

AREOPAGUS, OXFORD

Balliol College,

Oxford

marked in work

September 29th, 1942.

Dear Aydelotte,

I sent you a few days ago a cable to beg you to do the necessary at the State Dept. in connection with my visa. I am very sorry to have had to trouble you with this matter, but ~~the~~ difficulty was unexpected. I had a reentry permit, and I knew that I would have to let it expire when I decided to stay here and do war work. I come under the classification of non-quota immigrant, and the visa has always been given me without any question by the local Consul. Now it appears that a new regulation dating from the summer of 1941 and of which I was not aware, requires a preliminary approval by the State Dept., on application by two American sponsors. My former visa was given me at London on July 7th, 1936, with the number 817810.

The people at the Embassy, on enquiry by the Foreign Office, said that they would give the visa at once on receiving the formal approval of the State Dept. It is a mere formality apparently, but it has upset for the time being my arrangements, so that I should be glad if the Washington end of the application could be got through quickly. In the meantime, as I have resigned from Chatham House, I am afraid I shall have to fall back upon the Institute, which makes me

all the more anxious to come over as quickly
as possible.

With many thanks and kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

D. Mitrany

I hear that travelling conditions
may be altered very soon, and I
don't try to come here then, if
you will kindly do the same on your side.

Dr Frank Aydelotte,
Institute of Advanced Study,
Princeton,
N.J.



TELEGRAMS "BROWNHOTEL" LONDON.
TELEPHONE: REGENT 6020.

*Mailed in
new York*

BROWN'S HOTEL,

LONDON, W. 1.

(DOVER ST & ALBEMARLE ST)

24. IX. 42,

Dear Aytelotte,

I have run today into an unexpected snag - the very last I thought possible. The British authorities gave me all the visas etc. without any difficulty - on the contrary, did all the formalities for me - and also the priority on the clipper. I came to town to get my U.S. visa, and I found myself caught in a formal contradiction.

I classify in the States as a 'resident alien', entering on a re-entry permit. Because I stayed here to do the work with my re-entry permit has expired, and I have to start again with a formal immigrant visa, which can be given only after application to the State Department. It is just an unfortunate formality - We called up the Embassy, and they told me that they would give me

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A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

NEWCOMB CARLTON
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

J. C. WILLEVER
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

1201

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Ship Radiogram

WESTERN UNION

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NJ46 CABLE=LONDON 17 28

1942 SEP 29 AM 7 41

NLT FRANK AYDELOTTE=

INSTITUTE OF ADVANCED STUDY PRINCETON (NJ)=

IMPORTANT THAT YOU PUSH MITRANYS APPLICATION VIGOROUSLY=

WINFIELD RIEFLER.

THE ROYAL INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

FOREIGN RESEARCH AND PRESS SERVICE

Balliol College, Oxford

Patron of the Institute
HIS MAJESTY THE KING

Chairman of the Council
THE VISCOUNT ASTOR

Vice-Chairman of the Council
THE RT. HON. THE LORD SNELL, C.B.E.

Honorary Treasurer
SIR JOHN POWER, BART., M.P.

Telephone: Oxford 47471
Telegrams: Areopagus, Oxford

*Representing the Chairman of the
Council in Oxford*
LIONEL CURTIS

Director of the Service
ARNOLD J. TOYNBEE

Deputy-Director of the Service
G. N. CLARK

Administrative Officer
H. B. MOORE

22.IX.1942

Dear Aydelotte,

I have just received the circular letter asking the faculty to report on their government work. As a matter of fact, I was just by way of making notes for a detailed Report to you and the Trustees, on my three years of war work, but this I cannot send now. In a general way, our work has moved steadily towards problems of reconstruction, though the political background of the war is inevitably involved in it. The group here has been something of an experiment, and there may be lessons of academic interest, as well as of governmental interest, in our experience. It has one lesson of some urgency and importance, which I shall be glad to have a chance to discuss with you, all the more as, from what I hear, it applies to Washington as much as to London.

to let me stay
The willingness of the Trustees and of yourself has been deeply appreciated by those who have employed me. On my side, I have kept my academic obligations to you by keeping out of anything which had to do with propaganda or 'information', which was one of the reasons why hitherto I had declined offers to work in the U.S. If I return now, I do so with the goodwill of all those with whom I have had official contacts. You could get rather more on this, should you be in Washington, by talking with Mr. Berlin at the British Embassy; he has been here for several weeks and returned last week to the States. The amount and complexity of the work to be done is truly overwhelming, and as much as possible of it must be done now, for unlike the water floods, social floods do not recede once they have broken through the institutional dams. You must give me some time when I come, so that we may go through these things in detail. I am pretty tired, as I never took off more than a week's holiday in these war years, but a few days' rest should put me straight.

With many kind wishes, and my thanks to you and the trustees for all your consideration,

Yours sincerely

D. Mitrany

September 21, 1942

Dear Mitrany:

I have just received your cable with the good news that you have a seta on a plane in October and replied saying that we look forward with great pleasure to your return to the Institute.

Your letter of September 3rd gives me quite a different idea of the situation at Chatham House and makes me understand your desire to return. We were proud of making a contribution through you to the English war effort, but if you feel that your work there is no longer effective we shall be most happy to have you back here.

Yours sincerely,

FRANK AYDELOTTE

Professor David Mitrany
Royal Institute of International Affairs
Balliol College
Oxford, England

FA/MCE

Institute for Advanced Study

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

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

COPY OF
WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

September 21, 1942

Mitrany
Balliol
Oxford (England)

Look forward with keen pleasure to your arrival in October

Frank Aydelotte

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

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COPY OF WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

September 8, 1942

Mitrany
Balliol College
Oxford England

Riefler returning ~~this week~~ with messages from me Toynbee strongly
urges your remaining England but Institute eager have you back whenever
you feel justified in returning Riefler will advise on airplane
priorities

Aydelotte

THE ROYAL INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

FOREIGN RESEARCH AND PRESS SERVICE

Balliol College, Oxford

Patron of the Institute
HIS MAJESTY THE KING

Chairman of the Council
THE VISCOUNT ASTOR

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Honorary Treasurer
SIR JOHN POWER, BART., M.P.

Telephone: Oxford 47471
Telegrams: Areopagus, Oxford

3.IX.1942

*Representing the Chairman of the
Council in Oxford*
LIONEL CURTIS

Director of the Service
ARNOLD J. TOYNBEE

Deputy-Director of the Service
G. N. CLARK

Administrative Officer
H. B. MOORE

Dear Aydelotte,

I have not been able to reply to your cable so far because matters are still rather complicated. As I explained to Riefler, I had for the last year resisted suggestions from here that I should go over because, apart from other reasons, I wanted in fairness to the Institute to go only when I could do so without any official ties. That is why I asked him whether he could eventually make the necessary transport arrangements over there, but apparently he was unable to do so, but unfortunately he did not let me know, so that matters have drifted. Your cable gave me more definite information, although it presented two conflicting alternatives, but that did not matter because the advice to go had come from here though not from me. Only as I still deem it essential to go as a private individual, the rules make the granting of transport priority quite an affair, even though my friends agree with my standpoint.

Having in the meantime informed Chatham House that I would be leaving them, I may be for awhile, if I am held up, without a formal position. But there is plenty to do, though I shall not delay of my own choice. I quite appreciate what you say about the 'centres of policy'. This organisation never was one, and for reasons which I explained to Riefler it is becoming even less than it was. It was precisely some of the people at the real centres who wanted me to make the change, but those are personal connections, which are likely to become more active when I am less tied. Apart from that, I feel both the need, and that it would be proper, to do some writing, out of my experience here, on the nature of coming problems; I could do with a little peace after three years of ceaseless pressure, and though I am sorry to inconvenience Loveday, I shall be glad to sit in my room at last.

There are so many problems to discuss; it will be grand to sit down with you all. But I expect that I may be able

Something more definite
to cable you before this letter reaches you.

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

Yours sincerely

D. Mitrany

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WESTERN UNION

1201

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Ship Radiogram

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

NEWCOMB CARLTON
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

J. C. WILLEVER
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

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NJ2 17 VIA RCA BACK-DATE= CD LONDON 34 10 NLT

FRANK AYDELOTTE/FULD HALL=

1942 SEP 12 PM 6 50

PRINCETONNJ= ~~THE INN BUCKHILL FALLS PENN~~

THANKS FOR CABLES FORGIVE DELAY DUE CONSULTATIONS HERE STOP
FOROFF HAVE JUST ARRANGED AIR PRIORITY END SEPTEMBER BUT
WILL HOLD UP ARRANGEMENTS ASSUMING RIFLER DUE SOON=

DAVID MITANY.

TELEPHONE No. 85475

TELEPHONED TO M.C.E.

TIME 7:30

BY TO SE Dh

ATTEMPTS 1

TO

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

September 5, 1942

Dear Professor Nevins:

Many thanks for your letter about Professor Mitrany. I had heard from Riefler about his desire to come back and sent him off a cablegram to say that we should be most happy to have him if he thought he could be released from his work in England. When I have his reply I shall do what I can about a plane priority, but I am not optimistic about that.

Professor Toynbee, who has an important responsibility in connection with the Chatham House work, has just spent a week-end with us in Princeton and is very eager that Mitrany be allowed to stay in England. Toynbee makes a very strong point to the effect that because Mitrany is British subject he is qualified for confidential work in England of the kind which he could not do in the United States. I have written this to Mitrany and have said to him that the final decision must be his and that we will acquiesce in whatever decision he makes.

Yours sincerely,

FRANK AYDELOTTE, Director

Prof. Allan Nevins
Columbia University
New York City
FA/MCE

*Riefler
w-4-1942*

Columbia University
in the City of New York

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

September 3, 1942

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

My dear Dr. Aydelotte:

During my recent work in England I had several opportunities of seeing Dr. David Mitrany, an old and valued friend. He is much troubled about his present position there. For various reasons of a political nature, his work at Chatham House has become less congenial to him than formerly. Moreover, now that America is in the war he feels that he can probably be more useful in this country. He spoke quite frankly to me, and I think that I am safe in writing that he would be grateful if two services could be done him by the Institute.

First, it would be of assistance to him if a cablegram could be sent him saying that the Institute feels that he could be of great use now in America, and explicitly urges his return. This would enable him to explain his departure.

Second, and more important, he wishes very much that you, and members of the Institute now working in Washington, would use their influence to procure for him an early priority in air passage from England to America. Such priority is arranged by the State Department and the American Embassy in London. Mr. Mitrany feels that to return by sea would give his wife, who is unwell, more anxiety than she ought to have. And he wishes to come over, if possible, by the end of this month. He hopes that you and your associates can put in a strong word with him at the State Department.

I know that you will pardon this communication, which is dictated by a desire to be of use to Dr. Mitrany. I feel that he could be most helpful in the United States just now. Perhaps you will kindly send the gist of this note to Dr. Riefler, whom I do not know, but who Dr. Mitrany thought could be of aid.

Very truly yours,

Allan Nevins
Allan Nevins

August 31, 1942

Dear Mitrany:

This is a postscript to my recent cablegram, to which I have as yet had no answer. Toynbee has been here over the week-end and brought messages from you, together with a very strong plea that you be allowed to continue for another year in your present job.

The decision is one for you to make. Nearly all the members of our Institute faculty are now engaged on war work of one kind or another, as are most of the people who had planned to work here next year. Toynbee made the very sound point that as a British subject you could work more effectively in England than in the United States because of the stupid reluctance of official groups in this country to use anyone except native born Americans on confidential jobs.

On the other hand, the time may have arrived when you feel that you have made your contribution in England and could work more effectively here. When that time does come and you can get released you may be sure that we shall rejoice to have you back.

With kindest regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

FRANK AYDELOTTE

Professor David Mitrany
Balliol College
Oxford, England

FA/MCE

August 27, 1942

Dear Mr. Freeman:

Professor Mitrany is a regular member of the Institute faculty, on permanent tenure. He was granted leave of absence at the outbreak of the war, in September, 1939, in order that he might place his services at the disposal of the British government. In accordance with our practice in this country, Professor Mitrany's leave for the year 1939-1940 was on full salary.

At the end of this first year of leave Professor Mitrany informed us that he was receiving a salary from the British government and suggested that he would understand perfectly well if we granted him leave without salary on that account. The Trustees decided that for the years 1940-1941 and 1941-1942 they would hold for Professor Mitrany the difference between his English salary and his salary at the Institute, namely \$6,000 per year. The money has been held in our surplus income account. The actual payment of it to Mitrany after his return would, so far as I can see, subject him to an extremely heavy American income tax.

We have never known whether Professor Mitrany wished to accept this arrangement or whether he would insist on having leave without salary for those two years. The rate of income tax is so high in Great Britain that there would be very little difference to him finally one way or the other.

When the question of renewing Professor Mitrany's leave for the year 1942-1943 came up I recommended that he be granted leave without salary. This recommendation was accepted and I so informed Professor Mitrany. It goes without saying that if he should find it possible to return to the Institute this fall his leave would be cancelled and he would be placed again on full salary. His leave had been granted by the Trustees by specific action each year.

Mr. Freeman
S. D. Leidesdorf & Co.
New York City

Yours sincerely,

FRANK AYDELOTTE

✓
CABLE NIGHT LETTER

Princeton, N.J.
August 18, 1942.

MITRANY
BALLIOL
OXFORD, ENGLAND

REPLYING YOUR LETTER AND RIEFLER'S REPORT, TRUSTEES
FORMALLY EXTENDED YOUR LEAVE BUT JOIN ME IN CORDIAL
INVITATION RETURN PRINCETON IF CONSISTENT WITH WAR
DUTIES. CONFIDENT YOUR CONTINUED CONTACT WITH CENTERS
OF BRITISH POLICY WOULD ADD TO YOUR USEFULNESS HERE.
WARM REGARDS.

AYDELOTTE

Copy to Miss Wise

22 July 1942

Dear Mr. Schur:

Are you the tax expert in the Treasurer's office?
If so, I have a question for you.

Mitrany has been absent from this country since May 1939, and in September or October 1939 he accepted an appointment in England in what is called Chatham House, an official organization working under the English Foreign Office. As a member of Chatham House Mitrany receives £1000 per year. For the year 1939-40 the Institute continued Professor Mitrany's salary in full at the rate of \$10,000 a year. For the years 1940-41 and 1941-42 we undertook to make up the difference between his Institute salary and his English salary which, computing the Pound at \$4.00, means \$6,000 a year.

These payments, however, have not all been made. Four monthly salary checks at the full rate were placed to his credit in the Princeton Bank in the fall of 1939: September, October, November, and December. In 1940 the Institute deposited to Mitrany's account nine monthly payments from January to September, amounting to \$7125.03. Since September, 1940, no payments have been made to Mitrany's account, and it seemed to us possible that he might prefer never to have them made on account of income tax complications.

I have somewhere a vague impression that if a man is out of the country he does not pay income tax, and since Mitrany has been continuously absent since May, 1939, I wondered whether he would be liable for American income tax since that date. If he is liable, it seems to us here that we probably should inform the income tax authorities and arrange for payment to be made out of Mitrany's funds, without waiting for his return. If he is not liable, that, of course, settles the matter. I should be grateful if you could let me have this information.

Yours sincerely,

FRANK AYDELOTTE

Ira A. Schur, Esq.
125 Park Avenue
New York City

Balliol College
Oxford

July 2, 1942.

Dear Aydelotte,

Your good letter of June 3 has just come and I am grateful for your thoughtfulness. I have been for some time on the point of writing you, but apart from constant overwork things were still undecided in my mind. Then to my delight Riefler turned up, and I could discuss with him the situation, for reference to you, more clearly than one could do in writing.

He will have told you of our conversations by now, and what my views are. Now that America is 'in', a sentimental difficulty, which you so well appreciated, has been removed. At the same time, I have refused various suggestions that I should come back because I felt that it would not be proper, in view of my connection with the Institute, that I should come with any ties or functions that ^{my} cause however slight a conflict of allegiance. On the other hand I have been so closely in contact with what is being done and thought here on post-war problems, that I am anxious to relate it to the similar work in America. If I come over, it will be with the blessing of the two centres of policy here, with which I have personal contacts which would continue. In a way it is their need for such personal contacts which has made them wish that I should go over. But I want to come as free of ties as possible, and that is the arrangement which I hope you and Riefler can help to make. For the rest, the sooner the better, for there are many issues brewing now.

Riefler's presence made me realize keenly how homesick I was for Princeton and the Institute. Occasional visitors bring me news sometime of you all, but it is all too scanty. That is really one of our difficulties, as Riefler will tell you, that communications are so inadequate. And the people in charge here are increasingly realising that it is not only a matter of formal negotiations, when some issue arises, but of knowing each others' minds. There is also a growing sense of the leadership which the President and Mr. Wallace are offering on post-war problems, and on this I have been in touch also a great deal with members of the several Allied governments and their experts. In spite of all the difficulties and trials, the younger generation at any rate, in which I include myself, are realising with something of a thrill that this is a great historical opportunity, and there is much searching in their minds and hearts, but insufficiently crystallized so far in a definite line of policy. There is so much to do - and we must be prepared for peace as much, if not more as we should have been prepared for war.

I must come to discuss all this. Please help Riefler to make the arrangements we have discussed, and in the meantime my kindest wishes to you and Mrs Aydelotte and the Institute. Sincerely yours

D. Mitrany

June 3, 1942

Dear Mitrany:

Am I right in thinking that you feel obliged to continue in your present duties during the academic year 1942-1943? Not having heard from you, I assumed that to be the case and at the annual meeting of the Board I recommended that you should be granted leave of absence for 1942-1943 without salary, it being understood, however, that the Institute continues with its own payments and yours in the Teachers Insurance and Annuity Association. If any change in your situation should make it possible for you to return, this arrangement can, of course, be revised at any moment. The attitude of the Board is that they are glad to have the members of the Institute faculty assume any duties in connection with the war to which they may be called and that we shall be glad to have you back here again whenever you feel that you can properly return.

I hear indirectly from one source or another of the high estimation in which your work is held at Chatham House and have assumed that your contribution would be more important than ever when the time comes to make peace. Fortunately, it is now beginning to look as if that day were drawing a little nearer.

As yet, however, hardly anyone in this country dares to utter, or even think, anything as optimistic as that, realizing as we all do, the immense amount of work that still must go into our war effort.

I am very proud of the record which the Institute faculty is making. I hear that you have seen Riefler and he has probably told you of the work which Stewart and Warren are doing in Washington and the useful service which Earle has been giving to the Army and the Navy. Veblen, Morse, and von Neumann are all doing research on government projects and Meritt has an interesting and important job with the Donovan Committee. I have given up my work with the Enemy Alien Hearing Board to become chairman of a personnel division of the Office of Scientific Research and Development, which I find extremely interesting. My wife and I shall stay in Princeton through the summer so that I can be in Washington two or three days of each week. I wish I had some kind of a job which would take me over to England, but apparently my fate is to keep my nose to the grindstone here.

With kindest regards, I am

Professor David Mitrany
Balliol College
Oxford, England

Yours sincerely,

FRANK AYDELOTTE

Princeton, New Jersey - Pennsylvania - 7/7/41

Secretary
Institute for Advanced Studies
Princeton, New Jersey

Dear Friend:

We are endeavoring to bring our files up to date and would like to know if Dr. David Mitrany is still connected with the Institute. If not, could you send us his new address? We should appreciate word regarding him on the attached card.

*Reply on reverse
side*

Sincerely yours,

Elizabeth B. Baker

Elizabeth B. Baker
Secretary



THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS

Secretary
Institute for Advanced Studies
Princeton University
Princeton, New Jersey

Prof. Mitrany
still has an
official
connection
with the
Institute for
Advanced
Study, but
he has
been on
leave
of
absence
for studies
in

connection with

the war since September, 1939.
He is in England, but we shall
be happy to forward any letter
that you may wish to address to
him.
Very truly yours,
Richard S. Bailey

Sent by clipper mail to
Professor David Mitrany
Balliol College
Oxford, England

April 15, 1941

Dear Mitrany:

I had Webster lunching with me today and was delighted to get some direct news about you. We think of you often and look forward to the time when it will be possible for you to return to Princeton.

I understand that you have been corresponding with Miss Wise about your financial affairs, and I want to make sure that you understand just what the situation is as between you and the Institute. I recommended to the Board that the Institute should pay the difference between the salary which you receive in England and the \$10,000, computing the pound at the official rate of \$4.04. If I am right in thinking that your salary at Chatham House is £1,000, this would mean that the Institute would pay you just under \$6,000. We have placed over \$3,000 to your credit for the academic year, 1940-1941, but on instructions from you have withheld further payments. I should be glad to have payments made or withheld, as you prefer. It is my understanding that payments made to your credit here, while you are out of the country continuously for such a long time, would not be taxable. I can get a legal opinion on this point if you so desire. Mrs. Bailey has not reported you to the income tax authorities for the year, 1940, and will not of course for 1941. If you will send me a statement of the salary you receive from the Foreign Office and a statement of your wishes in respect to payments from the Institute, I shall be glad to follow your instructions. If for any reason it suits you better not to have payments made at this time, you will of course lose nothing since the money is being accumulated and held in reserve for you.

The war news looks a little gloomy today, but it is my hope and expectation that bad news at this juncture will only stiffen the determination of this country to see the English win and speed up our own war effort.

Yours sincerely,

FRANK AYDELOTTE

FA:ESB

November 22, 1940

Dear Mitrany:

Many thanks for your letter of October 30th, which I received today. I shall ask the treasurer immediately to act on your request to hold in hand funds due you until the end of the year, when we can get a statement of what you have received by way of salary and determine what is due you from the Institute.

Everyone will be glad to know that I have had word from you and I need not say that we should be very much interested in anything that you can write about your war work or the general situation in England.

There has been a great hardening of the conviction of thoughtful people in this country that we must do everything in our power to assist the British to win the war. I am just back from the meeting of the Trustees of the Carnegie Foundation, which is composed of college presidents from all over the United States, and I was very much interested to hear their reports of the fact that this feeling is held not merely in the East but with equal strength in the Middle West, the South, and on the Pacific Coast.

The contribution which we shall be able to make in the form of airplanes and other war material will be stupendous in the end, but the delays incident to getting a great industrial machine turned in that direction are simply sickening. These delays are characteristic of democracy and they are also characteristic of science. Part of the trouble comes from constant improvements in design, which very much slow up the rate of manufacture but produce a better product in the end.

The feeling of American solidarity with Britain has never been so strong in my lifetime. It is very different from the last war and very much deeper.

I shall be glad to convey your messages to Mr. Bamberger and Mrs. Fuld, and I know that everyone in the Institute would like to have affectionate good wishes sent to you.

Yours very sincerely,

FRANK AYDELOTTE

Professor David Mitrany
Balliol College
Oxford, England
FA/MCE

Copy,

30 October 1940

Dear Aydelotte,

I have to thank you for your letter of the 26th September, and for your cable which confirmed the suggestions made in the letter. You will know how grateful I am to you and the Trustees for dealing so kindly with my request, and for all the other arrangements. You have made things very easy for me, and I appreciate your friendliness deeply.

In a few days I hope to write you at greater length, and to be able to tell you more about our work here. Today I wanted to add one more small request, which may mean a little inconvenience for the treasurer, but which I hope you can induce him to grant. I should be glad if he would let anything due to me accumulate in his own hands till I can get from here, at the end of the academic year, a formal statement of what I have received by way of salary and we can settle what I would owe the Institute. You will see that this will save me a great deal in formalities, not easy to carry out from here, and it would also make the position of my family much easier if they should have occasion to claim anything from the Institute. The office will ^Know best how to arrange this, but I should be grateful if it can be done.

We are passing again through a period of heightened excitement, but we do not seem to get excited any more. People are sticking to their jobs and mean to see it through. But I will write more about war and our work next time. Again all my thanks to you, and my very good wishes for yourself and Mrs. Aydelotte.

Yours sincerely

Shutran

I have meant so often to write to Mr Bamberger and Mrs Fuld;

please give them my devoted good wishes.

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.

R. B. WHITE
PRESIDENT

NEWCOMB CARLTON
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

J. C. WILLEVER
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter

NL = Night Letter

LC = Deferred Cable

NLT = Cable Night Letter

Ship Radiogram

WESTERN UNION

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

1940 FEB 9 AM 10 23

NR14 25 3 EXTRA=OXFORD FEB 8 VIA SWARTHMORE PENN 9

FRANK AYDELOTTE=

:INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY A=

·APOLOGIES DELAY ONLY TODAY DECISION CONTINUE OUR GROUP STOP
WOULD APPRECIATE TEMPORARY FURTHER LEAVE TILL RECEIPT TODAYS
LETTER REVIEWING SITUATION BEST WISHES=

:MITRANY.



THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

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PAY33 CABLE=OXFORD 27 FEB 8 NLT

PRESIDENT AYDELOTTE=

SWARTHMORE (PENN)=

*Forwarded to
Princeton*

APOLOGIES DELAY ONLY TODAY DECISION CONTINUE OUR GROUP STOP
WOULD APPRECIATE TEMPORARY FURTHER LEAVE TILL RECEIPT TODAY'S
LETTER REVIEWING SITUATION BEST WISHES=

=MITRANY.

854A.

MITRANY.

Telephone : ~~Windsor 6633~~ OXFORD 47471
Inland Telegrams } "AREOPAGUS, OXFORD."
Foreign Telegrams }

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All communications should be addressed to the Secretary.

~~CHATHAM HOUSE,~~

~~ST. JAMES'S SQUARE,~~

~~LONDON, S.W.1~~

BALLIOL COLLEGE,

OXFORD.

8.II.1940.

Dear Aydelotte,

You and the Trustees have shown me great forbearance in not cabling ~~me~~ to ask my intentions before now. I beg you and them to forgive what may have appeared as unpardonable remissness, but which really was an unfortunate quandary. About the middle of December the future of our group came to be discussed with the government, discussions of the kind which one expects to be concluded 'tomorrow'. To-day, at last, I was able to cable you as follows:

"Apologies delay only today decision continue our group stop would appreciate temporary further leave till receipt todays letter reviewing situation best wishes Mitrany"

For reasons which I cannot here explain the question was raised early in December whether our work should be continued.

When discussions began three alternatives appeared possible! 1. We might be abolished altogether; 2. we might be absorbed by the Ministry of Information; 3. we might be attached to the F.O. The first would have solved the problem generally; the second would have solved my particular problem, as I could not -in fairness to our Institute, quite apart from my personal feelings- be tied to propaganda; the third would have created a new relationship the effect of which I would have had to find out. As it happens, the ultimate agreement leaves us as an autonomous body, with only a closer daily liaison with the F.O.; this involved a supplementary estimate, which was passed by the Commons last night.

In the circumstances I feel that I might venture to beg that my leave be extended. I realize that this is asking a

great deal, especially as our colleagues have now returned from Washington. But quite apart from any personal reasons, and from the question whether I can make any useful contribution to the work here, the work here is bound to be of some use to me as a student. Such intense experience does, fortunately, not often come in the way of those concerned with the study of politics and of problems of government. I find that my theoretical ideas have some relevance to many things that are being discussed now, like federal union, ^{and} I cannot but see that the practical problems I watch are bound to be good for my theoretical adventures; not to speak of the opportunity to watch the human factor in these very special conditions.

I make this application on the understanding that:

1. I will not stay longer than I should deem myself justified by the general usefulness of the work;
2. I would resign at once if I should feel that the work becomes incompatible with academic detachment. The question of future international cooperation is so paramount in my mind, and so deep in my heart, that I could under no conditions be persuaded to do or write anything which might increase division and bitterness;
3. That you and the Trustees may recall me at any time if you should have reason to do so; and that in any case I would not ask for leave beyond the present academic year.

You may like to know that I am keeping as much as I can in touch with things in the States. I live in a house with Professor Joseph Chamberlain, of Columbia, who is visiting here, and so we continuously discuss American problems. At the same time I am making an effort not to lose touch with academic work. Apart from such reading and writing as I can do now and then, I have last term given a University lecture on the 'Crisis of Liberalism' in historical perspective. This term I am to read a paper on 'Can Political Theory become a Political Science?' before the Political and Economic Club; and another before the Stubbs Society (a society of graduate students in history), at their own choice, on the conflict of social doctrine between Marxism and Peasantism. It is an interesting subject, which circumstances is bringing to the fore again; I got interested in it after the World War, being puzzled by the bitter antagonism between the peasants and the industrial workers, and after much research I came to a conclusion which I published in an essay called "Marx v. the Peasant". It seems to have remained the only thing on the subject, and now Chatham House want to republish it in an enlarged form, if I get a chance to do it.

Believe me, always yours sincerely

S. Mitrany

February 24, 1940

Dear Mitrany:

Your letter of February 8th reached me this morning, and it gives me pleasure to reply to you immediately that I secured authority from the Board of Trustees to extend your leave, if it seemed to you and me advisable, for the remainder of this academic year. Under the circumstances, as you explain them, I am glad to sanction your remaining with the Chatham House group for the remainder of the year upon the conditions which you outline. I do not anticipate any emergency which would make it necessary for us to recall you, but I am glad to have that possibility included.

Certain plans which are being made for next year, especially in the field of international relations, make it important that you should return next September. I expect Earle has written you about these, but if not, he or I will send you details as fast as they can be worked out.

With warmest good wishes, I am

Yours sincerely,

FRANK AYDELOTTE

Professor David Mitrany
The Royal Institute of International Affairs
Balliol College
Oxford, England

FA/MCE

January 9, 1940

Dr. David Mitrany
Balliol College
Oxford, England

Dear Mitrany:

This is just a line to inform you that the Institute received yesterday a check for \$1,000, being the final payment on a grant to support a special study by you on international relations. They would like a report on your use of these funds sometime after the expiration of the term of the grant, June 30th, 1940. If you will send me instructions as to how this money is to be used, I shall be happy to follow them.

Marie and I have had a most delightful, quiet Christmas holiday here, and return to Swarthmore at the end of this week. I hope to get some kind of decision from the Institute Board about the four-family house which has been under discussion for a year or two. It was Earle's suggestion that if the Institute is not prepared to build such a building to rent to faculty families, the professors concerned might build it cooperatively, putting up a certain amount of money themselves and borrowing the rest from the Institute Endowment fund. Mr. Maass assures me that this is perfectly feasible, and I hope that the committee on Buildings and Grounds will fix the terms on January 22nd. Am I correct in thinking that you are interested in taking one of these four houses? If so, will it suit you to go in on some such plan as I have outlined? I ask only for a general indication. You would, of course, want the exact details before committing yourself definitely. If all goes well, I should hope that the building might be ready for occupancy in October, 1940, but there may be a delay if we have any difficulty in securing an agreement on plans and terms.

With kind regards and good wishes, I am,

Yours sincerely

Frank Aydelotte

FA/db

THE ROYAL INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

OXFORD 47471

~~WHITEHALL 2288~~

*All communications should be
addressed to "The Secretary."*

CHATHAM HOUSE,

10, ST. JAMES'S SQUARE,

LONDON, S.W.1.

BALLIOL COLLEGE,
OXFORD.

12.II.1940

Dear Aydelotte,

I am enclosing a copy of a letter to Miss Sydnor Walker, for your private use, as it has some general things which may interest you.

As regards the Rockefeller grant, I should have written you before but it slipped my mind that when I arranged to stay here, I wrote at once to Miss Walker putting the whole matter in her hands. It would have been quite natural if in the circumstances they should have decided to suspend the grant. Instead they wrote in a most friendly way that they left me free to continue to make whatever use of it I thought best.

That has enabled me to continue to employ Gilbert, of whom I think highly and who is more than capable to work on his own. As long as he is without permanent employment I should like to go on using him and that will absorb the major part of the grant. The remainder was meant for some help and contributions which I needed from specialists, and I suppose that there would be no objection to that surplus staying over to be used in that way next year. Do you think this is alright?

This brings me to make another inquiry. As you know, until last year I have been treated somewhat stepmotherly and had no help at all; and now when I got some good help my work has got interrupted. I am more anxious than ever to continue it, and I shall need help, while I understand from you that there may be difficulty about stipends next year. Do you think that it would be possible to use such money as I will refund from my salary here as a reserve for an assistant for me? That looks a bit as if I were trying to take back with one hand what I gave with the other; yet I shall need help, and in that way it would not add to your budget. It is not a matter which you need decide or even answer now, unless you would care to give Gilbert a hint that I might keep him on if, unfortunately, he were still unplaced next year. I will say nothing from here.

Always yours sincerely

S. Mitrany

Telephone: ~~Warrington 2235~~ OXFORD 47471
Inland Telegrams }
Foreign Telegrams } "AREOPAGUS, OXFORD."

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~~CHATHAM HOUSE,~~

~~ST. JAMES'S SQUARE,
LONDON S.W.1~~

BALLIOL COLLEGE,
OXFORD.

8.II.1940.

Personal

Dear Aydelotte,

I have cabled you today and written formally to Fuld Hall. There are some things which I want to add privately. First I want to acknowledge with many thanks your kind letters from Swarthmore and from Lake Wales. The copy of the first, mailed on the 19th December, arrived here the 23rd January, and the 'air mail' original two days later. From other evidence it seems that the holiday traffic in this direction broke down badly, which is not surprising. Let me add something to my formal letter.

1. Apart from the reasons given in my formal letter for asking for further leave there is also the natural wish, which you will understand, to give whatever help I can, as long as that help moves in the direction of future peace. And there is one other thing, which is not relevant to your decision, but which in honesty I must admit, that I should hate to get away to safety and comfort if things go badly here. If you call me back I will come, but I shall be miserable - unless things stay as quiet over England as they are now, which is very unlikely.

At the same time I beg you to believe me that apart from my work, which means everything to me, it is a real sacrifice to be away when you have taken over. I am well aware that this is a crucial period for the Institute, and I am not without a sense of guilt that I am not there to give you such help and support as might have been in my power; all the more so as I am conscious of the ease of mind and friendly comfort which your presence at the Institute gives me.

2. I am the more sorry as I heard from Lowe, to my distress, that you found yourself faced with a deficit. As

-2-

you know, though ^{some of us} ~~we~~ thought some outlays to be unwarranted, we knew nothing about the state of the budget. This brings me to the financial question. I left it out of my formal letter because I wanted you to be free to deal as you may think best with it, and because I care not to discuss at large what I feel perfectly at ease in telling you about my personal situation. When the question of reorganization here came up, not knowing whether I could count on further leave from the Institute, I felt that the earlier nominal arrangement should be put on a more solid basis. I am now on a salary of £1000 a year (which is the ~~hi~~ highest level paid, outside the one exception of the director). That, given our new income tax, should work out at about an actual £800. Except for our few household goods and my books, I have not a cent of possessions of any kind, while my wife's long illness has left me with debts which still have to be cleared away. But of course I do not want to add to my income through my war work, while it would make me happy to think that I can make some small contribution towards wiping off your deficit. I am completely in your hands in this matter. If agreeable to you, I would suggest that we leave the matter over till my return, or till my resignation from here: (a) because the time of this is uncertain, (b) this uncertainty would complicate my accounts and your bookkeeping if we made a fixed arrangement now, (c) because I am anxious that the payments for annuity should continue in full. If this course seems acceptable to you, I could in due course submit my accounts and return the excess of salary.

3. I am greatly interested in the building scheme, and I am writing to Earle in some detail about it, with the request that he keep me informed. Last spring I had put my name down for a half of the smaller unit then contemplated. For the reasons I mentioned before, I must try to live as modestly as possible, which suits my taste well, and I shall also have to raise all the cost of the undertaking. So the question of total cost is vital to me.

4. I am writing you separately about the Rockefeller grant.

I am delighted that you and Mrs. Aydelotte have had such a good rest. Do you still have supper in bed? I am a great believer in it, though rarely a beneficiary now. But I do hope you are not overdoing and taking all the possible care of yourself. There is so much work ahead for us! ^{We} ~~the~~ are keeping well under the circumstances, but I feel tired; ^{last} ~~the~~ winter in Princeton was a great strain, and unfortunately we have had a difficult summer in the family, and not a week-end off all the time. Now a week-end of complete rest seems something too foolish even to dream about. But we are bearing up and tackling our problems as they come.

My devoted good wishes to you and Mrs Aydelotte and your son and again my grateful thanks to you for your friendly help.

I will write you another time about the war.

*With the kindest regards
David Mitrany*

THE ROYAL INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

OXFORD 47471

~~WHITEHALL 2222~~

*All communications should be
addressed to "The Secretary."*

CHATHAM HOUSE,

10, ST. JAMES'S SQUARE,

LONDON, S.W.1.

BALLIOL COLLEGE,

OXFORD.

24.II.1940

Dear Aydelotte,

The enclosed note was held back partly because ere I could send it I was laid low by 'flu - a mean insidious brand now known as 'throat 'flu', because it leaves one with a cough, a kind of internal earthquake, which goes on long after the disease has gone. The two days during which I had to lie on my back gave me a chance to take stock of things and at present I have a great desire to put myself here on a part-time arrangement, on a reduced or nominal salary.

I realized that I am rather run ~~down~~ down and that the work here is ~~rather~~ wearing. Of course, it's war time, and the old Adam in me still makes me want to have a hand in it. But you will see from the enclosures that the wider thing is much in my mind, and inevitably there is not much of it to be learnt or to be achieved in the war work. When the ends of war were frontiers and territory and changed sovereignty, the work of war was directly concerned with them; when the changes are sure to be mainly social, they are in a different category from the work of war itself, which incidentally shows how blind the whole thing has become. So while carrying on and doing what I can to help immediately, it would be a

wise to have a chance to look around and to try to grasp what is going on down below. There will be the real change that will make history, and while hidden and complex, yet a student should try to get a glimpse. I do not forget my duties to you and to my function.

I wish I could talk it over with you. This is a matter on which your views and the feelings of my colleagues should clearly have their part in the decision, since they would make it possible or not. That is why I am writing again privately, so that you should be free, if you will be so good, to give me the benefit of your view in utter frankness, without having to feel the responsibility of a decision. Of course, my idea and your reply will be conditioned by the decision as to my application for further leave, and by your view as to the financial side, as put to you privately early this month. But with this reservation, would you be agreeable to my going on part-time here, with a corresponding financial adjustment, so that I may give some time and my mind to keeping in touch ~~with~~ with general trends, and perhaps do some work on them privately? *It this idea does not in any way with any decision you may have made in the meantime, would you please cable me your view, so that I may take the matter up at once?*

Yesterday I was at home for a day - how lovely is this country, so gentle and so strong, with the snowdrops and the aconites bringing the mystery of spring once more back again, and making all this fuss of man look so childish and so trifling! My wife and I stood on the hill and looked over the counties, and we knew then that the war was but a small thing - we were walking along one of Cromwell's dykes, and could see an anti-aircraft gun down below, and yet England *looked* so solid and unchangeable. *My very good wishes to Mrs. Mitrany. David*

Mitrany

~~Copy~~

February 27th, 1940.

Dear Miss Walker,

Forgive me for not having written before. I was so pleased to get your friendly letter and wanted to write, but we were caught in a whirlpool of departmental rearrangements, and not knowing which side we would come out, I could not know what the effect would be on our work. After much palavering we have got, for the time being at any rate, a Parliamentary blessing and we remain autonomous with the work going on much as before.

That applies also to the "peace aims" work, though some difficulties have arisen about that. Complications were not to be avoided with the splitting up of Chatham House into peace time and war time, and some of the consequences are paradoxical. As you know, though some of us have worked already in the last war and ever since on such issues, yet now we have to take a vow of abstinence in regard to them. That is the more irksome as there is both a tremendous interest in peace aims, and also much vagueness in regard to them. The idea of federal union is much talked about, and some people are even busy working out written constitutions. There is such a natural desire for a political organisation which should save us from a repetition of trials of war. Both the aspiration and these discussions are all to the good. But I have a curious feeling, which I could not explain and much less justify, that they are somehow missing the real trend.

When I went to the Manchester Guardian after the last war, Mr Scott gave me a box with his confidential war time correspondence to read and arrange, and amongst them were a number of lively letters from Lord Fisher. Fisher apparently had a feeling that he had been let down by King George when he was at the Admiralty - he did not say so, but he ended every

- 2 -

letter with the prophetic exclamation "Kings will be cheap after the War!". I have a feeling that questions of political frontiers, sovereignty and the usual devices of peace treaties will be cheap after this war, but that there will be tremendous pressure on questions of economic and social arrangement. We shall want some protection against the recurrence of war, but, if I might put it this way, "security" will this time mean much less military security and much more social security in the minds and the demands of the peoples. That is the sense which I feel arising, though hardly conscious as yet, when I move among ordinary people. That is also the challenge which our opponents are throwing down at us - in their slogans and propaganda and claims - and we shall have no chance to avoid it, even if we would, for it hits home too closely. There is little so far in our declarations on peace aims to suggest that our policy makers are aware of what is gathering below the surface; we are still using the pre-1914 slogans, very good in themselves, but no answer to the new needs and aspirations. (Incidentally, the study on which I set Dr. Rumney ~~gives~~ fits *well* into this - it is an effort to find out through a comparative sociological enquiry what meaning at various times people have given to the idea of "security", so as to give some concreteness and relevance to the use of the term. It would have been really helpful as an introduction to the present more definite discussions of peace aims, when "security" is used to cover a multitude of ends, and I hope that Rumney can get something done on his own.)

To come back to the signs of the time. The other night a few of us met here for a discussion with Dr. Micklem, the Head of Mansfield College, on religion and public opinion. He, as well as one or two R.C. friends present, felt confident that we would have a religious revival; and they used as proof the argument that even the new social creeds like Nazism and Communism were as much religions as they were political movements. The fact is obviously true, but is the conclusion drawn from it true? One can note a deep and ~~unconscious~~ ^{inherent} craving for spiritual values, for emotional communion, but in a large measure they seem part of a wider craving for a new and juster social world. That surely is the sign of our particular era, and a fine sign on the whole, for what my friends call the religious side of these new social creeds proves that they are not materialistic in the mean way in which we are apt to use the term. They are concerned with the material side of life, but not in a materialistic way, for it is spiritualised, or socialised if you like. I can see it in the young people here as we do in the States. It all depends which factor will give the dominant trait in the combination - clearly the tremendous impetus for social change cannot be held up, but, to put it crudely, the social creeds could rise and thrive without religion, but religion will not

- 3 -

hold its own without a social core. All the more so as those who hope and pray for a religious revival mean it to take place within their particular church, whereas the new social creeds have the tremendous advantage of a universal appeal.

These are just vague premonitions in my own mind, for things are too complex and deep to show any shape yet, and we are much too hard driven in our daily work to try to discern it. It is a terrible time, but historically also most interesting and even exciting. Naturally, if there is any sense at all in what I feel it has its significance for America. We might hope to live in "isolation" if the war were to end in the usual changes of frontiers and sovereignty and so on. But no amount of congressional legislation will keep out, for good or for evil, the echo of the great social changes which will be the real effect of the war in Europe. What will we do if at the end of it Europe is racked with social tremors, while we have collected and frozen all the gold in the world? A few of my more leftward friends are already worrying about economic stagnation when war production stops, and about all that will come with exhaustion and unemployment. We might do a stroke of good business for America, and at the same time enable the democracies to withstand the social onslaught of the dictatorships, by offering them all the financial help they would need for reconstruction provided that they spend on social services at least fifty per cent of what they have been spending on military preparation. That would make them democratically solid, and it would also make them, with a rising standard of living, into good customers. Anyhow, these are the problems which will really tell, and I do not know how many of the "peace aims" groups are worrying about them.

My plans inevitably are rather indefinite, but if you see Dr. Adeyote, with whom I am in constant touch, he will be able to tell you what the prospect is. In due course I will, in any case, write to you again - but much more briefly! - to report on the use of your grant. If in the meantime there is anything which specially interests you please write to me, and I will attend to it at once.

With many kind remembrances,

Yours sincerely,

Miss Sydnor H. Walker,
The Rockefeller Foundation,
49, West 49th Street,
New York City.

THE ROYAL INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS
FOREIGN RESEARCH AND PRESS SERVICE

Telephone:

OXFORD 4747¹

Telegrams:

AREOPAGUS, OXFORD

Balliol College,

Oxford

7. VIII. 40.

Dear Mr. Delatte,

These lines will be brought you
by Mr. Henri Bonnet, who will give you
news of us. He will see Earle and the
other gentlemen on the Coordinating Committee,
but I am anxious that he should have a
talk with you, too, and I would beg you to
give him very frankly your help and
advice as regards his contacts and
activities.

Ever with great wishes

Yours sincerely

David Mitrany

Dr. Frank Aydelotte

Institute for Advanced Study

Princeton N.J.

1 May 1904

Dear Mitrany:

Please pardon my delay in commenting on your financial situation. I have not yet had time to consult the Trustees, but I do not think anything need be settled until you return next September. We do have a deficit this year, a quite serious one. By heroic efforts I have succeeded in making next year's budget balance, but the additional support I have received is only temporary, and while I am optimistic about the future, I cannot say that anything is certain. My inclination in your case is to let the matter go without any adjustment on your part, but I cannot say that this is the attitude of the Trustees until I have had an opportunity to consult them. I suggest that meanwhile you do nothing.

I should be glad to have notice of your plans whenever you find it convenient to write. I hear that you are in Rumania at the moment. We look forward to all the fresh and new information which you will have when you return to the Institute next September.

With kindest regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

Dr. David Mitrany
Bavilcol College
Oxford, England

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED	
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1207-B

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CHECK

ACCOUNTING INFORMATION

TIME FILED

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

To David Mitrany

February 9, 1940 19

Street and No. Balliol College

Place Oxford, (England)

Gladly extend leave pending receipt letter Regards

~~Frank Aydelotte~~

1.44

Charge Institute for Advanced Study

Sender's address
for reference

Sender's telephone
number

January 12, 1940

Dear Professor Mitrany:

Your kind letter of November 30 was received when I was laid low by a severe attack of grippe, which accounts for my delay in replying. I am happy to report that I have completely recovered.

I shall refer your letter to Dr. Aydelotte when he returns from Florida, and I know that he will be interested in your views regarding the housing of the "listening post". You have probably heard long before this that it was deemed advisable to coöperate with Princeton University in connection with this project by furnishing space, so that the rooms at 69 Alexander Street formerly occupied by Mr. Mason, Miss Jones, and Mr. Earle are now used by Professor Whitton and his group.

We read with such interest all the letters and news from England and Europe, and we are hoping that this dreadful war may soon be over, though of course no one can tell what will happen from one day to the next, and it is hard for us to know what is happening because reports are conflicting.

Since I last wrote to you, Fuld Hall grounds are being beautified by the planting of trees - maples, pines, etc. You won't recognize the place that you saw on May 22, 1939, when the cornerstone was laid.

Several of the professors are away attending meetings, but next week they will be returning for the second term. It would be grand news to learn that you also would be with us in the near future.

Miss Eichelser joins me in all good wishes and kind regards to you and your wife.

Sincerely yours,

Professor David Mitrany
Kingston Blount
Oxford, England

ESTHER S. BAILEY

ESB

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED	
DOMESTIC	CABLE
TELEGRAM	FULL RATE
DAY LETTER	DEFERRED
NIGHT MESSAGE	NIGHT LETTER <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
NIGHT LETTER	SHIP RADIOGRAM

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CHECK
ACCT'G INFMN.
TIME FILED

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

OCTOBER 25 19 39

To MR. DAVID MITRANY

Street and No. KINGSTON BLOUNT

Place OXFORD, ENGLAND

PLEASE WITHOLD LETTERS RUMNEY AND WALKER UNTIL YOU RECEIVE MY

LONG LETTER DISPATCHED TODAY PRESIDENT HARDING. THEN CABLE

ME REPLY.

EDWARD MEAD EARLE

2.40

INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY, PRINCETON, N.J.

Sender's address
for reference

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

Sender's telephone
number

Mitrany

P.S. A personal postscript. There can be no question of course of your continuing to pay my salary. I am trying to find a cottage or small place near Oxford and give up our house, although we have made good use of it for evacuees, etc. We shall arrange things according to possibilities.

But if it could be arranged, I should be grateful if you could keep up the monthly payments to the Teachers' Association insurance, so that my claims may remain intact.

I meant to write you a great deal more, but we are swamped with work. I have had three days off for a holiday and I see little chance of getting more. But fatigue apart, we are well and doing what we can.

Again, all my good wishes to you, and my thanks for all your friendly help.

S.M.

If at any time you come across any pamphlet or document^{or} which would help us to understand American policy or Western Hemisphere problems, please remember me. We get many papers, telegrams and reports, but I do not want to miss anything more solid. Many thanks.

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Council in Oxford*
LIONEL CURTIS

Director of the Service
ARNOLD J. TOYNBEE

Deputy-Director of the Service
G. N. CLARK

Administrative Officer
H. B. MOORE

13th September, 1940.

Dear Aydelotte,

You will have received my cable in reply to yours, enquiring about my plans. I was waiting every day to make a decision here, a decision which was not easy to make. It is not easy, whatever one's duties elsewhere, to leave England when she is struggling so hard; and the air attacks on London of the last few days, presaging more to come, more or less clinched that point. It would be like leaving the bedside of some one very dear and dangerously ill; one may be helpless, and yet one has to stay. A little while ago my wife and I were talking, more in a dream, of how wonderful it would be to have a little peace on the shores of California, of Florida, but we both at the same time burst with the same feeling that it really would be intolerable while things are as they are here.

One would feel that way naturally even without being engaged in war work. I know very well that no man is indispensable. But in order not to act solely on my own feelings, when your cable came I showed it to Toynbee and asked him to give me his view frankly; I am enclosing a copy of his written reply. It so happens that our work here is once more being reorganised - and that was one reason why I did not communicate with you earlier. Much of our routine work has had to be curtailed or even dropped because we have been cut off from so many European countries, and at the same time the strange course of the war forced here as in other directions a change in the line of action. The Government might have decided therefore that at the moment we could not be of much use to them. Instead they have asked us to turn more to the long range study of the problems of the time.

We are not indeed here concerned with collecting large masses of detailed material, and we would not have the resources for doing that. We are rather expected to have at hand brief studies of the fundamentals of the various issues and problems, and to keep them up-to-date, so that at any moment they could be used to inform

- 2 -

decisions of policy. To that end 12 Research Sub-Committees have been set up (with two or three subsidiary sub-committees on limited problems), and I do not know whether on account of versatility or for what other reasons, I have been put to work on five of them: 2 committees concerned with the general issues of the future, INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATION, and SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION; 2 of a more specific kind, MINORITIES, and the DANUBIAN COUNTRIES; and the fifth so-called WESTERN HEMISPHERE GROUP (one of several on regional "new orders"), of which I am rapporteur (that is Chairman) with Zimmern, Webster, and Dr. Humphreys (the Lecturer on Latin America in the University of London) as members. In addition I am in charge of a special study on European Peasantry, from the point of view of its general outlook and interests, because I seem to be the only one of the inveterate urbanites here who has taken some interest in that very important European group.

This information is not secret, but at the same time it is only for you and such members of the Institute to whom you want to mention it. I wanted you and them to see that at least I am doing work which in a substantial degree fits in with the study of international issues on a purely academic plane. I may say again that I find that the theoretical work which I was trying to push forward when I left is useful now, and it is most distracting that I had not had a chance to finish it.

I also understand that a group at Columbia are organising a study on the Sociology of War; that was the very thing on which I had put Rumney to work, and if he has done what we planned together he should be able to give invaluable help to the other group. This is therefore my position, both from the personal point of view and from that of my work here. I need hardly tell you how home-sick I am for Princeton, especially with you there in charge, and for a chance to work quietly and try to see the future through this fire-ball which is singeing us all. But there it is. I know that you and the Trustees and my colleagues will understand, even if you do not approve. I should be in a horrible dilemma if you were to order me back, but I need hardly assure you that on my part I would consider very earnestly and respectfully any views on this which you may communicate to me.

In the meantime please accept my very good wishes for you and Mrs. Aydelotte and for all the Institute, and when you find a little time I hope you will write to me. It is a great help to keep in touch with you.

With kindest regards,
Yours sincerely,

Dr. Frank Aydelotte,
Fuld Hall,
Princeton.

D. Mitrany

COPY.

10th September, 1940.

Dear Mitrany,

Thank you for showing me the cable from the Institute of Advanced Study inquiring about your plans. As you know, I have very much appreciated, as you have yourself, the consideration which the Institute has been showing in granting you leave of absence in order that you may do in this country, in a very great national emergency, the war work that you are specially qualified to do and that you are anxious to do as a British subject who wishes to give the utmost possible help to the country under present conditions.

It is natural that the Institute should wish to have you working there again when you can be spared from the work you are now doing here and I should have liked to meet them if I could have seen my way to doing without your services. But I can only say that if unfortunately you had to leave us now the research work that the F.R.P.S. is doing for the Government and Government Departments would seriously suffer.

This research work has, as you know, been put in hand exclusively for the Government's use and has been planned, in consultation with the authorities, so as to be of direct practical value to them - not unlike Professor Earle's Committee at Princeton. We are now meeting important specific demands from the Government side, and the two regions with which you are concerned - the United States and South-Eastern Europe - are both of them vital to our general plan.

As our work has nothing to do with propaganda or publicity, but lies entirely in the regular field of Chatham House, we need the services of scholars like yourself who are practically impossible to replace.

I very much hope that in the circumstances the Institute of Advanced Study will see its way to extending your leave of absence in view of these facts.

Yours very sincerely,

(signed) ARNOLD J. TOYNBEE.

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Director of the Service
ARNOLD J. TOYNBEE

Deputy-Director of the Service
G. N. CLARK

Administrative Officer
H. B. MOORE

PERSONAL

July 10th, 1940.

Dear Aydelotte,

I was very glad to hear from you. I am obliged to you for the friendly suggestion you make concerning the Institute's arrangements. In any case I should have been glad to leave this in your hands, and anything which you and the Trustees may decide will be satisfactory for me, for you have all given me generously of your kindness already.

We have learnt now not to try to give any news from here, as it is likely to be out of date by the time it reaches the other side. Besides, you get it more amply in the American press. The events of the last two months have staggered us, and the transformation it has brought over the face and in the life of England would be difficult to believe. We are becoming more every day an armed camp, with no one left out of the war. The people, as you may imagine, are splendid, and the only grumbling is if they do not get enough war work to do. I feel confident that they will stand up equally well to the more painful tests that are coming to us. The only thing which we would wish is to get at least the children out of the way, even if we can't do the same with the old and the helpless. For the rest we shall do what we can when the time comes. Even I have acquired a steel helmet to help with our amateur fire brigade in saving Balliol, in case of need!

We are also, as students, acquiring experience more quickly than we can assimilate it. If it were not for our anxiety about those for whom we are responsible I could take a more detached view of it all, for the spectacle is grimly fascinating. Not that anyone claims to see clearly through what is happening. We realise all too well that forces are being released which may, when crystalised, bring about a world very different from the one we have known and from that

- 2 -

contemplated by the dictatorial magicians. As far as I can see it, it is a vast social upheaval, bursting through the cramping shell of the national state, and bringing about in the end an inevitable reconstruction on a broader plane. The religious minded, in the ordinary sense of the term, will say that this is some divine providence working its will through the trials of man. But I refuse to believe that any gods could be so cruel and stupid to go to work in this way. Throughout history man has seemed to be unable to see clearly and accept willingly the inevitable reconstruction of political society. When I gave my Dodge lectures at Yale, I tried to take a bird's eye view of that evolution and that was the conclusion which seemed to me to stand out from it - that whatever our blunderings, political nature, so to speak, moved inexorably forward, and always got little help from those in control at a given time. What is happening now seems to be but another act of that historical tragedy, an act more cruel and destructive because of the tremendous technical skill we have developed since the breakdown of the feudal era. But it is ~~not~~ clear ^{that} whatever happens, isolated national states will have lost meaning and purpose in the western world; and just as revolutions have always been made by conservative rulers, as I have often held and argued, so now it is the fanatical nationalism of the totalitarian states which is bursting asunder the idea of cohesive and unitary nations. We had a chance to further the process democratically, by evolutionary methods, after the last war, and Wilson had a vision of it. But the democratic state, historically speaking, proved even more conservative than the autocratic, because it had larger and more faithful backing, and so we missed the chance. We are still trying to keep our minds on these big problems and to think of reconstruction, though at the moment it is like devising parliaments ⁱⁿ ~~in~~ the Terror. I do not see how the Babylonian structures which the dictators are carving together can last, but unfortunately on our side we are not putting anything together at all. We might still retrieve our world by some such dramatic declaration of faith as would be a union of the United States and the British Empire, but we shall not do it unless in desperation; and I am not thinking of this in the sense of any immediate material effect, for I know that the United States cannot do much more materially than they are doing now. But what a glorious rallying cry and rallying point it would be, and an effective one I am convinced!

I do not know where this will reach you. You are probably somewhere on holiday, and I am sure that you need it after the trials of last summer and your hard work since then.

- 3 -

I should be grateful, if it is possible, if you were to send me anything in the way of documents or other publications (not newspapers) which you may think useful for our understanding of American opinion and policy. I am now working mainly on American matters, and while we get a large supply of papers besides cables and official reports, there are probably many other things which would be instructive but do not reach us.

Please remember me to our friends and accept my very good wishes for you and Mrs Aydelotte.

Always yours sincerely,

D. Mitrany

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

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Postal Telegraph

(THE MACKAY SYSTEM)



ALL AMERICA
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Send the following Message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

Form 2

David Mitrany
Kingston Blount
Oxford (England)

Leave first term granted

Abraham Flexner

(Charge Institute for Advanced Study
October 9, 1939)

1.44

Mitrany

THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION

49 WEST 49th STREET, NEW YORK

OFFICE OF THE COMPTROLLER

GEORGE J. BEAL, COMPTROLLER

H. M. GILLETTE, ASSISTANT COMPTROLLER

CABLE ADDRESS:

ROCKFOUND, NEW YORK

January 4, 1940

Dear Dr. Aydelotte:

We are enclosing check to the order of the
Institute for Advanced Study in the amount of \$1,000, rep-
resenting final payment on account of our grant toward the
studies of Dr. David Mitrany.

Shortly after the terminating date of the grant,
June 30, 1940, we would appreciate receiving a statement of
expenditures, together with a check to our order for any unused
balance.

Very truly yours,



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

HTW

Enc. 1 check

Mitrany

THE ROYAL INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

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

OXFORD 47471
~~WHITEHALL 2288~~

All communications should be
addressed to "The Secretary."

3. 7. 40.

Dear Aydelotte,

Your kindly message came some time ago,
and I am grateful for it. On the strength of it
I was about to cable back, asking for an extension
of leave, but in the meantime certain things
have happened which may alter the whole character
of our organisation. Very confidentially, and only for
your own private information, I would tell you that
we may be brought formally under the F.O.,
that would change our position radically, and it
is a question how it will affect our work. I
am not happy about it, and I may not find it
possible to stay. But the negotiations are not yet
ended, and a detailed scheme is being worked out
to be submitted to us. That will probably take
another fortnight. As soon as I have seen it,

and decided whether I can join in it without
hurt to my obligations to the Institute, I will
cable you one way or another. But my reasons
for action must be known only to you, and that
is why I am writing you these lines in
advance, after a discussion we had here this morning.

I will write again, soon. Meanwhile, my
very true wishes to you Mrs. Rydelska & your
family for peace & good work in the New Year.

Always yours sincerely
David Mitrany

January 9, 1940

Mr. H. M. Gillette, Assistant Comptroller
Rockefeller Foundation
49 West 49th Street
New York City

Dear Mr. Gillette:

Please pardon my delay in answering your kind letter of January 4th. It came while I was away on Christmas holidays. I wish to thank you for the check for \$1,000, representing final payment on your grant toward the studies of Dr. David Mitrany. I shall be glad to make sure that you receive, shortly after the end of the academic year, June 30, 1940, a statement of expenditures under this grant, together with our check for any unused balance.

With warm appreciation of the generosity of the Foundation, I am,

Yours sincerely

Frank Aydelotte

FA/eb

19 December 1939
Dictated Dec. 16

Dear Mitrany:

I have just received your two letters of December 2nd (rather promptly as mail goes nowadays), and have cabled you as follows:

Believe you could reasonably request leave for another term but hope you can return Princeton following year.

It seems to me that if the work you are doing is important and interesting, you would be entirely justified in asking the Trustees to extend your leave for the remainder of the present academic year. I hope things will so arrange themselves that you can then return to Princeton in September 1940. Please understand that this is not an official demand but only my personal opinion. I shall certainly be ready to consider and discuss with the Trustees any suggestions you have to make. I am glad to have the Institute make some contribution to the formation of British policy, but at the same time these are of course important days for us at the Institute, and I shall be glad to have you back as soon as you feel that you can be spared from your duties in England.

Since my election I have been spending half of the week in Princeton and half of the week in Swarthmore, and I shall continue on that schedule until the Swarthmore Board chooses my successor. Just how long it will take them to do that I do not know, but I have been able to arrange for an assistant in my office here, and I am sure that I shall have no difficulty in carrying on these double duties until the decision is made.

I can set your mind at rest in regard to any dangers that may beset the Institute from the influx of large funds. The fact is that our present budget is based upon the expectation of a modest amount of support from outside, and I very much hope we can get it; otherwise, we shall have to make some rather drastic economies. I intend to economize in any case in all the things that do not matter, but it is uncomfortable not to have a cent for books and to be so severely limited as to stipends. I can assure you that no expansion is contemplated at this moment, but only solid support of such activities as have already been started. It is not a question of a cadalsac but one of oats for the horse.

It is nice to get your refreshing letters, and I look forward with great pleasure to your return to Princeton.

With warmest good wishes for Christmas and the
New Year, I am

Yours sincerely,

Dr. David Mitrany
Balliol College
Oxford, England

FRANK AYDELOTTE.

C.C. sent air mail.

as from Kingston Blount
Oxford.

Mitrany

12. X. 39.

Dear T-lexner,

This is just a line to
acknowledge your cable, and to thank
you and the Trustees for having made it
possible for me to help here. No doubt
I shall hear in more detail from you, and
I will write again.

We are all well, and working hard
and with confidence. At any rate, we feel
that at last we have ~~the~~ the right thing.
I myself am in Oxford, but manage to
run over for a few hours on Sunday to
see Eva. She has a house full of
evacuees from London.

In addition to my war work,
I have been asked to lecture

here in the course of Political History.
Six of us are giving one lecture each
this term, with together leading off
next week. Mine is the next, on
the Rise and Decline of Liberalism
in the 19th. cent. All this is a
voluntary offering on our parts to
help fill in a measure the gap
in Oxford's academic staff.

I hope you and Ann & the girls
are all well. With all good wishes

Yours truly
D. Mitrany

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Director of the Service
ARNOLD J. TOYNBEE

Deputy-Director of the Service
G. N. CLARK

Administrative Officer
H. B. MOORE

30 October 1940

Dear Aydelotte,

I have to thank you for your letter of the 26th September, and for your cable which confirmed the suggestions made in the letter. You will know how grateful I am to you and the Trustees for dealing so kindly with my request, and for all the other arrangements. You have made things very easy for me, and I appreciate your friendliness deeply.

In a few days I hope to write you at greater length, and to be able to tell you more about our work here. Today I wanted to add one more small request, which may mean a little inconvenience for the treasurer, but which I hope you can induce him to grant. I should be glad if he would let anything due to me accumulate in his own hands till I can get from here, at the end of the academic year, a formal statement of what I have received by way of salary and we can settle what I would owe the Institute. You will see that this will save me a great deal in formalities, not easy to carry out from here and it would also make the position of my family much easier if they should have occasion to claim anything from the Institute. The office will know best how to arrange this, but I should be grateful if it can be done.

We are passing again through a period of heightened excitement, but we do not seem to get excited any more. People are sticking to their jobs and mean to see it through. But I will write more about war and our work next time. Again all my thanks to you, and my very good wishes for yourself and Mrs. Aydelotte.

Yours sincerely

S. Mitrany

I have meant so often to write to Mr Bamberger and Mrs Fuld;
please give them my devoted good wishes.

Original by clipper

Copy by boat

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

October 18, 1940

Dear Mitrany:

I have just sent you the following cable reporting the action of the Trustees at their meeting on October 14:

"Delighted inform you leave extended on terms suggested
my letter September twenty-eighth"

I recommended that your leave should be extended to cover the academic year, 1940-1941, and that the Institute should pay the difference between the salary you receive from the British Government and your regular Institute salary, as suggested in my letter to you of September 28.

If you will let me know exactly what the salary is which you receive from the British Government, I shall convert that into dollars at the present rate and instruct the Treasurer to pay the difference between that and the salary which you would receive if you were here at the Institute.

I may say in this connection that it is a source of great satisfaction to us to be making through you a contribution to the British war effort, which is so important to the safety of the United States. I very much regret that official regulations will probably make it impossible for you to tell us much about what you are doing, but if there is any news or information which I could properly give the Trustees at their next meeting about your activities, I know that the Board would be very much interested.

We are all delighted with the way in which this academic year has begun. The members of the Economics Section of the League add greatly to the interest of life at the Institute, and we have in addition an extraordinarily able group of members in all three schools. I think you know that we have tea together regularly in the common room, and we are making plans now to finish the fourth floor so that it will be possible to serve simple luncheons in Field Hall. Deficits in our budget the last two years have at any rate been temporarily stopped by short-term gifts from Mr. Benberger and the foundations, and I hope to be able before these gifts expire either to reduce our expenses or increase our income in such a way as to keep our budget in balance.

During the summer we have made some repairs and alterations to Olden Manor and find the house a most comfortable and delightful one in which to live. Barle and I have recently built houses for ourselves, and Miss Goldmann and Morse have purchased houses in the village so that the comfort and security of the faculty are gradually being increased.

With kindest regards, I am

Very sincerely yours,

Professor David Mitrany
Balliol College
Oxford, England

FRANK AYDELOTTE

INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

October 18, 1940

XX

Mitrany
Balliol
Oxford (England)

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

Aydelotte

September 28, 1940

Dear Mitrany:

I received your cablegram of September 10th and understand perfectly how difficult it would be for you to leave England at this time. I feel, furthermore, that the experience which you are having is useful to you and that if we can make any contribution to an English victory by prolonging your leave of absence, we ought to do so. I am, therefore, prepared to recommend to the Trustees at the meeting on October 14th that your leave of absence should be extended for another academic year.

I feel that if you receive no salary in England the Trustees would be prepared to pay your salary in full, but that if you receive a salary from the British Government, as I understand you do, they would then want to adjust your stipend accordingly, decreasing it by the amount that you receive from the British Government. Does this seem to you fair?

The men whom we have lent to our Treasury Department have served on a \$1.00 a year basis, excepting only their expenses, and the Trustees with whom I have discussed the matter have suggested that the arrangement for you should be parallel. If there are any particular considerations which I could not know about and which should affect this adjustment please write to me frankly and I shall make sure that these points are given careful consideration. The recommendation which I shall make on October 14th is that your leave be extended and that the adjustment of your salary be left to the Executive Committee or to the Treasurer.

With kindest regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

FRANK AYDELOTTE, Director

Professor David Mitrany
Balliol College
Oxford, England

FA/MCE

WESTERN UNION

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.

R. B. WHITE
PRESIDENT

NEWCOMB CARLTON
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

J. C. WILLEVER
FIRST VICE-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

NAZ104 VIA RCA=CD OXFORD 26 SEP 10

NLT AYDELOTTE INSTITUTE ADVANCED STUDY=

PRINCETONNJ=

1940 SEP 13 PM 5 22

EXTREMELY DIFFICULT BOTH WORK AND PERSONAL GROUNDS RETURN NOW
CONFIDENT YOU AND TRUSTEES WILL UNDERSTAND WRITING FULLY
KINDEST WISHES=

MITRANY.

CABLEGRAM

September 8, 1940

Mitrany
Balliol
Oxford (England)

Eager know your plans Can you justifiably relinquish
war work to return Princeton this year Warm regards Please cable

Aydelotte

2.84

DAVID MITRANY

Born Jan. 1, 1888, Bucarest, Rumania
Ph.D., London School of Economics
Married Ena Limebeer (British) June 9, 1923

Editorial staff, Manchester Guardian, 1919-22
Asst. European editor of the Carnegie Endowment's
 "Economic and Social History of the World War"
Lecturer on Politics, Univ. of London
Visiting Professor in Govt., Harvard, 1931-33
Dodge Lecturer, Yale, 1932

Professor, Institute for Advanced Study (he said in a
 handwritten memo "since 1934"; actually he has been
 on the Institute payroll since Sept. 1, 1933,
 receiving in the first year \$6000. On Sept. 1, 1934,
 his salary was increased to \$10,000.

Came to Princeton in autumn of 1935. Went abroad for the
 summer of 1936 and entered at New York Oct. 12, 1936,
 on a 4D Immigrant Visa issued by London Consulate
 July 7, 1936. Returned to England every summer.

Application for first papers No. 3-156187
Declaration of Intention No. 2749 issued at U. S. District
 Court, Trenton, N. J., April 14, 1939

Went to England in May, 1939, for summer holiday. Remained
 there after outbreak of war in September to work with
 research group at Royal Institute of International
 Affairs and Foreign Office.

Fellow Royal Economic Society
Member British Coordinating Committee for International Study
British delegate to International Conference for Scientific
 Study of International Relations

Author: The Problem of International Sanctions, 1926
 The Land and the Peasant in Rumania, 1930
 The Progress of International Government, 1934
 The Effect of the War in Southeastern Europe, 1937

Dear Dr. Aydelotte:

I believe this memorandum covers all the dates that appeared in the visa application filed with the State Department. We had no dates or other information about his early education, or the date of his going to England, though someone told me (I believe Professor Earle) that it was his impression that he was there during the last war - or at least part of it.

There were many questions about political activities, organizations to which the Mitrany's belonged, etc. I have got the impression from Dr. Gilbert and others who have attended such hearings at the State Department that the questions pertained largely to the political background of the applicant; in other words, I have the feeling that dates are not of particular importance at this hearing. There is a statement on the back of the form I sent you today to the effect that if the sponsor is unable to attend the hearing he may submit a written statement, which is not to include any of the information given in the application.

In case the question should be raised, I don't believe Mrs. Mitrany has ever been in this country.

Yours sincerely,

M.C.E.

THE ROYAL INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

CHATHAM HOUSE,

10, ST. JAMES'S SQUARE,

LONDON, S.W.1.

WHITEHALL 2233.

*All communications should
be addressed to the Secretary.*

- David MITRANY

Born 1 Jan, 1888 Bucarest,
Romania.

- British Nationality by Naturalisation ~~24~~
- Professor at the Institute for Advanced Study,
Princeton, N.J., since 1934.

- [Entered at N.Y. 12 Oct. 1936 4) Immigrant
on visa given by London Consulate 7/~~VI~~^{VI}/36
(Identification Card No. 817810)

- Application for first papers No. 3-156187
Declaration of Intention No. 2749 issued
at U.S. District Court, Trenton, N.J.
14 April 1939

- Did war work in England (for Gov. Office)
Re-entry permit expired in meantime.
- Recalled by Institute to Princeton N.J.
Exit visa + air priority already available.