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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ment and disarmament

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

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

COMMITTEE (F INQUIRY League of Nations Association 8 West 4Cth Street New York 18: New York

March 1, 1944

Dear Arthur:

Many thanks for the reprint of the Princeton resolutions. I shall be glad to get an additional supply from Mrs. Thomas.

I look forward to seeing Lester's report and the full report of the conference here when it is ready.

Yours sincerely,

FRANK AYDELOTTE

Arthur Sweetser, Esq. 3060 Garrison Street, N. W. Washington, D. C.

OFFICE OF WAR INFORMATION

WASHINGTON

February 28, 1944

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

Dear Frank:

Just a line to enclose reprint of the Princeton Resolutions as issued this week by the League of Nations Association. I am sure you will be interested to have this and am asking Mrs. Thomas to send you twenty or thirty more with the thought that you might want to send them to members of your Board to show the continuing activity in Princeton.

Also, you will be interested to know that we arranged last week for the joint re-publication by the Woodrow Wilson Foundation and the League of Nations Association of Sean Lester's Annual Report on the work of the League of Nations for 1942-43. This ought to be out before the next meeting and again copies can be had from Mrs. Thomas, or from Mrs. Charlotte Mahon of the Foundation. I think the members of the Board might like to have them.

Cordially yours,

A.S.

Arthur Sweetser

AS:CM Enclosure



The League of Nations and Post-War Settlement

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

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

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

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

TEXT OF RESOLUTIONS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

A. As regards international organization and administration

- That the nations of the world have reached the point where a cooperative organization is not only desirable but essential for a host of activities which have reached the international stage.
- 2. That that organization should be universal in character and built around one central authority as representative of the broad interests of the whole community of nations.
- 3. That that organization may have affiliated agencies organized either (a) on a regional basis, or (b) on a subject basis.
- 4. That any such affiliated agencies should be fully autonomous within their particular fields but should operate within the cooperative framework of the central organization, with proper allocation of funds, and documentation between themselves and the central organization.
- 5. That independent or uncorrelated agencies tend to build up a separatist attitude which militates against the free cooperation which should exist between all agencies seeking peace and progress amongst nations.
- 6. That, on the contrary, closely coordinated agencies can often pool their experience or facilities to the greatest advantage.

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

- 1. That problems of security and prevention of aggression have an urgency and compulsion which put them in a different category from other, more normal and more slow-moving international problems and thus offer the possibility of a different or even separate method of treatment.
- That such problems depend primarily on the Great Powers and their willingness to take a positive position, and that, unless all the principal military powers agree on concerted measures, any really effective action in a major crisis is extremely difficult, if not impossible.
- 3. That, contrary to a wide-spread view, the smaller powers also have great importance in this basic problem, whether as areas of conflict or as support for the principle of collective security and also for specific action.
- 4. That the existence of a common agency of disinterested mediation can appreciably improve the chances of settlement of international disputes, as demonstrated in the Aaland Islands, Greek-Bulgar, Peru-Colombia and Paraguay-Bolivia conflicts.
- 5. That such an agency, again contrary to common belief, is susceptible of very quick action and can be brought into operation in a few days' time, as in the Greek-Bulgar affair.
- 6. That its effectiveness can be measured in very direct ratio to the degree of force known to be behind it.
- 7. That, in the event of aggression, it is definitely possible, and indeed far easier than thought, to get a large number of nations to pass a verdict of guilty on the aggressor state, as in the case of Japan and Italy.
- 8. That in the event of agreement of principle, it is technically possible and even not too difficult, to organize economic sanctions on a worldwide scale, as in the Italo-Ethiopian conflict.
- 9. That the question whether or not such agreement will be reached is again primarily a question of the Great Powers, as demonstrated negatively in the Sino-Japanese affair.
- 10. That, if sanctions are initiated, they must be initiated in direct relation to the probable course of military events and become effective before the military goal is achieved, as was not the case in the Italo-Ethiopian conflict.
- 11. That lack of an effective system of collective security is the greatest single element underlying other causes of disunity between nations, notably heavy armaments and uneconomic tariff barriers.
- 12. That, conversely, armaments are the result rather than the cause of political insecurity and their reduction should be sought primarily through the removal of their causes rather than on a gun-for-gun mathematical basis.
- 13. That once disarmament is agreed to, adequate measures of supervision and control can be set up to prevent abuse or violation of agreement.
- 14. That, if there is to be any hope of improving the world political situation by peaceful change recommended by the community of nations, there must be a change in the unanimity rule which made such action impossible in the 1919-1939 period.

COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY

DR. FRANK G. BOUDREAU, Chairman

JR. I RAINE G. DOUDREAU, CHAITMAN

MALCOLM DAVIS

CLARK M. EICHELBERGER

HUNTINGTON GILCHRIST

CARTER GOODRICH

JAMES T. SHOTWELL

ARTHUR SWEETSER

MRS. HARRISON THOMAS, Secretary

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS ASSOCIATION

8 West 40th Street

New York 18, New York



March 6, 1944

Dear Mrs. Thomas:

Dr. Aydelotte asks me to thank you for your letter of February 29th enclosing a printed copy of the Resolutions adopted at the Princeton Conference and for the supply of fifty copies subsequently received.

Yours sincerely,

Secretary to Dr. Aydelotte

Mrs. Harrison Thomas League of Nations Association, Inc. 8 West 40th Street New York, N. Y.

League of Nations Association, Inc.

National Headquarters: 8 West 40th Street, New York, N. Y.

> Telephone LOngacre 5-2100 Cable "Leagonat"

FRANK G. BOUDREAU, M.D.
President
HUGH MOORE
Chairman, Executive Committee
FREDERICK C. McKEE
Treasurer
CLARK M. EICHELBERGER
Director

February 29, 1944

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

Dear Dr. Aydelotte:

As you see we finally had the Resolutions adopted at the Princeton Conference printed, since there was so much interest in them and the complete book will not probably be published until early Fall. I am enclosing a copy and under separate cover I am sending you fifty copies. We shall be glad to furnish more if you can use them.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Harrison Thomas
Secretary to the Inquiry

FAT: so Encl.

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League of Nations Association, Inc.

National Headquarters:

8 West 40th Street, New York, N. Y.

Telephone LOngacre 5-2100 Cable "Leagonat"

FRANK G. BOUDREAU, M.D.
President

HUGH MOORE
Chairman, Executive Committee
FREDERICK C. McKEE
Treasurer
CLARK M. EICHELBERGER

Director

January 4, 1944

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

Dear Dr. Aydelotte:

Enclosed is our check to you for \$5.00 to reimburse you for the tip which you gave the head waiter. I sent it first to Mr. Summers as I said, but he was kind enough to return the check telling me the man had already been paid. I had in mind to deal directly with him and save you trouble, but alas, I only added to the confusion. Thank you very much for advancing the money.

Mrs. Malcolm Davis has agreed to undertake the editing of our report for publication. Now all that remains is to find a publisher, but we are working on that point too and of course will let you know what develops.

Yours sincerely,

Mrs. Harrison Thomas

Secretary to the Inquiry

FAT:sc Encl. January 6, 1944

Dear Mrs. Thomas:

In Dr. Aydelotte's absence I acknowledge with thanks the receipt of your letter of January 4th, enclosing check for \$5.00 to reimburse him for the tip to the head waiter at the Inn.

I know Dr. Aydelotte will be glad to hear that progress is being made toward publication to your report.

Yours sincerely,

MARIE C. EICHELSER

Secretary to Dr. Aydelotte

Mrs. Harrison Thomas League of Nations Association, Inc. 3 West 40th Street New York, N. Y.

December 22, 1943

Dear Mrs. Thomas:

check, please send it to me, since I gave the head waiter \$5.00 on behalf of the League of Nations Association when we were dining at the Inn the other evening. I was not sure whether you had any funds out of which you could do it and I thought if not I would do it myself. You are quite right that the waitresses were taken care of.

We were all delighted with the conference and if you are able to publish the book that will be the ideal outcome.

Yours sincerely,

Frank Aydelotte

Mrs. Harrison Thomas League of Nations Association 8 West 40th Street New York City

December 20, 1943

Dear Mrs. Thomas:

I have just had a letter from Arthur Sweetser this morning about the conference and enclosing a mimeographed copy of the resolutions adopted. Could you supply me with half a dozen additional copies of these resolutions? I have various inquiries for them and I take it that it is good for the cause to give them as much circulation as possible.

Yours sincerely,

Frank Aydelotte

Mrs. Harrison Thomas League of Nations Association 8 West 40th Street New York, N. Y.

League of Nations Association, Inc.

National Headquarters: 8 West 40th Street, New York, N. Y.

> Telephone LOngacre 5-2100 Cable "Leagonat"

FRANK G. BOUDREAU, M.D.
President
HUGH MOORE
Chairman, Executive Committee
FREDERICK C. McKEE
Treasurer
CLARK M. EICHELBERGER
Director

December 20, 1943

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

Dear Dr. Aydelotte:

Thank you for calling our attention to the fact that the head waiter at the Inn did not have a tip. I have asked for a check for him, and will send it directly to Mr. Summers at the Inn, as soon as it comes from our Bookkeeping Department.

Mr. Summers had told me that the actual cost of the dinner would be \$2.25 per person plus ten per cent for gratuities; so we made the dinner cost \$2.50 as you know. I thought that would take care of the gratuities, but evidently it did not provide for the head waiter, who as you say was most cooperative and helpful.

We sent out publicity on the Conference very widely. I hope you saw the good story in the New York limes. We are still feeling very good about it, and very grateful to you still for your help which certainly was a major contribution to the success of the Conference.

I am seeing Mr. Norton of the firm of W. W. Norton today with regard to possible publication of the report.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Harrison Thomas

Secretary to the Inquiry

FAT:sc

December 20, 1943

Dear Arthur:

Many thanks for your letter. I am delighted to have the resolutions and have just written to Mrs. Thomas to ask for half a dozen additional copies, since I have had a number of inquiries for them.

I am delighted that there is a chance of the inquiry report appearing as a book.

I am giving your kind message to Mrs. Dilks.

With warmest good wishes for Christmas and the New Year to Ruth and yourself, I am
Yours sincerely,

FRANK AYDELOTTE

Arthur Sweetser, Esq. 3060 Garrison Street, N. W. Washington, D. C.

League of Nations Association, Inc.

National Headquarters:

8 West 40th Street, New York, N. Y.

Telephone LOngacre 5-2100 Cable "Leagonat"

FRANK G. BOUDREAU, M.D.
President

HUGH MOORE
Chairman, Executive Committee

FREDERICK C. McKEE
Treasurer

CLARK M. EICHELBERGER

Director

December 16, 1943

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

Dear Frank:

This is just a line, a bit belated, I fear, to thank you most warmly for everything you did over the last week end, both in taking Ruth and myself in off the streets and in giving such splendid hospitality to the League group. I think the Conference was an outstanding success, with one of the best levels of discussion I have ever seen, and this was due in no small part to the Conference Chairman and the delightful surroundings, including, I should especially say, a most delicious luncheon, for which I hope you will express our appreciation to Mrs. Dilks.

I have not written before as we ran into a good deal of work here. Mrs. Thomas and I spent some time Monday in getting out a press release which she sent with a special letter to the Times and Tribune, with very good results in the former, which I hope you saw. She also airmailed other copies to special papers around the country and sent still others to a list of some 300 papers.

In addition to this, we have taken the first steps for securing both an editor and a publisher for the book which we hope to put out. I think we can find someone to bring the manuscripts into some kind of unity, and also a publisher who would be glad to get them out. Finally, we are after the Carnegie Endowment for another grant to equal the Woodrow-Wilson Foundation grant!

As regards the question of the Inn which you mentioned to me, I find from Mrs. Thomas that tips were included both in the price of \$2.50 set for the dinner and added to the bills for the rooms. She definitely arranged with Mr. Summers that the dinner price would include gratuities, so that I think we have nothing to do there.

One other interesting point. The day I was in Princeton for our League meeting, I received a letter from Frank Walters at Oxford saying that they had just had a Secretariat meeting in London, the fourth or fifth, with 150 people present, and that he also was getting out a book on the League, though dealing primarily with the forthcoming Secretariat. Attached

Dr. Frank Aydelotte Page two

is an extract from his letter which I think is very interesting.

Again with very many thanks and with best Christmas greetings to you and Marie, I am

Yours as ever,

MS.

Arthur Sweetser

AS:mb

P. S. Please mite ma any posk-Conference ideas or suggestions.

Extract from a letter from London dated November 16, 1943.

"We had a League Secretariat tea party last week, the fourth or fifth since 1940. It was very successful, with nearly 150 people present.

"Talking of the Secretariat, our small committee has now practically completed its booklet on the future international Secretariat and it should be published very shortly by Chatham House. I shall be writing to your side about it shortly; I think it could be usefully published in the United States. I suppose this would have to be arranged with the publishers here but this should not involve difficulties as we do not expect any authors fees! I accepted the job of revising the drafting before printing, and in the end I found this meant practically rewriting the whole thing -- a very long job but I rather enjoyed it. The final result has no great sparkle, nor is it particularly original in its suggestions but I think it is a fairly solid and useful job, and as readable as could be expected."

Luncheon for League Conference December 12, 1943

Tickets sold at door 76 @ \$1.00	\$76.00
Luncheon served to 19 helpers	19.00
4 served who did not pay	4.00
Taxi fare - Mrs. Peterson	.75
Due Mrs. Dilks	\$99.75

December 14, 1943

Received from Miss Eichelser \$76.00 for 76 tickets sold at League

Conference on December 12, 1943

Bunty L. Anthr

LUNCHEON RESERVATIONS PRINCETON CONFERENCE

Frank Aydelotte Clarence A. Berdahl Dr. Frank Boudreau Mrs. Frank Boudreau 4 atricleth Bendrawk Harold Butler J. H. Chapman Mrs. J. H. Chapman Rudolf A. Clemen / E. Fullerton Cook Edward Corwin Gertrude C. Dixon, Michael F. Doyle Stephen Duggan Halbert L. Dunn Mr. Clark M. Bichelberger Mrs. Clark M. Eichelberger Raymond Gautier Huntington dilettri len Delation Theodore M. Greene F. Hilgert A. F. Hinrichs

Joseph L. Hromadka Manley O. Hudson Ellsworth Muntington P. W. Van Ittersum Dorothy Kenyon Dudley Kirk Clyde Kiser C Florence Kitchelt John I. Knudson Walter H. C. Laves John Lindberg 8 4 ELEGAIA Walter Loridan L F. H. McDougall / C. F. MacGuire Mrs. C. F. MacGuire Frederick C. McKee Mrs. Burnett Mahon 6 Herbert L. May Willaim Menke L Hugh Moore The hoo . C. R. Morey Mrs. Laura P. Morgan

F. W. Notestein Margaret Olson / Ludwik Rajchman Sigurd U. Rasmussen W. G. Rice, Jr. Mary V. Robinson / Gabriele Rohde Dorothy . Riefler Ansgar Rosenborg Louise Schatz Lyle L. Schmitter H. M. Spitzer Hazel K. Stiebeling Arthur Sweetser Sarah Wambaugh P. A. Watterson Mrs. P. A. Watterson John B. Whitton 6 Dorothy G. Wiehl

John H. Williams

George F. Zook

P. Trankly

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Harlow Warlow Hromadka +

FOR RELEASE DECEMBER 14

From the League of Nations Association, Inc. 8 West 40th Street New York 18, New York

NEW YORK. A group of American citizens who have been officially associated in various capacities with nearly every field of work of the League of Nations concluded yesterday a three-day conference held in Princeton and New York, the purpose of which was to determine what contribution the League of Nations can best make to the postwar settlement and what should be the American attitude toward the League.

One of the principal actions of the Conference was adoption of a resolution urging "the appropriate authorities of the League of Nations and of the United Nations to give early consideration to the necessity of co-ordinating the international agencies developed after the first World War with those developing during the present war for the prupose of assuring continuity and of benefiting from the experience of nearly a quarter of a century,"

The background for the Conference, which in Princeton was held at the Institute for Advanced Study, was laid in a series of eighteen studies which have been under way for six months and which were initiated by a Committee of Inquiry set up by the League of Nations Association. Each study was prepared by an American citizen associated with the work of the League and each deals with a particular phase of its work, such as security, reduction of armaments, economic and financial problems, the drug traffic, mandates, housing, health, and general principles of international organization. In this connection the Conference urged "full recognition and support of League agencies continuing to function during the war, including particularly those on American soil, such as the Economic and Financial Mission at Princeton and the Permanent Central Opium Board in Washington,"

'Dr. Frank G. Boudreau, Director of the Milbank Fund and for twelve years a member of the Health Section of the League of Nations, presided over the opening dinner at Princeton on Saturday. Other speakers included Harold Butler, former Director of the International Labor Office and British Minister to the United States, Alexander Loveday, Director of the League Economic and Financial Mission at Princeton, Dr. Frank Aydelotte, host to the Conference, Judge Manley O. Hudson of the Permanent Court of International Justice, and Arthur Sweetser, for twenty-two years an official of the League.

The resolutions of the Conference welcomed the Moscow Declaration calling for a "general international organization" and the passage by an overwhelming vote of the United States Senate of the Connally Resolution which endorsed the Moscow Declaration, believing that this action by the Senate promises to prevent a repetition of the deadlook in 1919 which paralyzed United States government action in support of international cooperation. The Conference expressed the hope that the United States Government in cooperation with other governments would take steps at the first opportunity to implement the Moscow Declaration and the Senate Resolution.

Warm approval was expressed for the action of the United States

Government in initiating the recent United Nations conference on Food and

Agriculture and on Relief and Rehabilitation. In this connection the group

particularly welcomed the action of UNRRA in inviting the technical organizations of the League of Nations and the International Labor Organization to send representatives to participate in the Atlantic City conference as well as in future conferences and work, thus initiating that coordination of international agencies which the Princeton group considers so essential.

Sessions on Sunday were devoted to consideration of the reports above mentioned and especially to a statement of possible bases of international organization, including (1) the League of Nations revised and strengthened,

(2) the United Nations expanded and formalized, (3) an altogether new agency, or (4) two agencies, one dealing with security and one with other problems. The group emphasized "the necessity of developing an effective system of collective security" in the light of a series of principles evolved out of interwar experience.

It was pointed out that some 250 American citizens have at various times and often for long periods participated officially in different phases of the work of the League of Nations. Many of these persons were prevented by present tasks in connection with the war effort or by their absence in other parts of the world from attending the Princeton Conference. Among the hundred or more present, in addition to the speakers mentioned, were Huntington filchrist, former Assistant Director of the Mandates Section, Dr. Stephen P. Duggan, associated with the League's work in the field of intellectual cooperation, Judge Dorothy Kenyon, member of the Committee on the Legal Status of Women, Herbert L. May of the Permanent Central Opium Board, and Dr. Sarah Wambaugh, Deputy Member of the Saar Plebiscite Commission.

The Conference was organized by the League of Nations Association of which Clark M. Eichelberger is National Director, and Mrs. Harrison Thomas, secretary to the Inquiry Committee. The complete report will be published by the Association with the cooperation of the Woodrow Wilson Foundation.

December 17, 1943

Dear Dr. Boudreau:

Many thanks for your letter. It was a great pleasure to have the conference here and if you ever want to hold another let us know.

I am delighted to hear that you and Arthur Sweetser are working on the book. It ought to be published.

Incidentally, can you give me any advice as to what would be the most suitable place to publish this draft pact for a future international authority, which has been prepared by a committee of the English League of Nations Union under the chairmanship of Lord Cecil? You may remember my allusion to it at the meeting. I have now received copies and enclose one herewith. It ought to be circulated for the benefit of interested people in this country.

Yours sincerely,

Frank Aydelotte

Dr. Frank G. Boudreau 40 Wall Street New York 5, N. Y.

December 17, 1943

Dear Arthur:

I received from Lord Cecil a copy
of the draft pact only a day or two after our
meeting in Princeton. You may remember my allusion
to it and particularly to a committee to resist
aggression made up of the four great powers. You
will find this in Article 9.

I enclose a copy of the pact and should like very much to get your advice as to the most suitable place to publish it in order to reach interested people in the United States.

Yours sincerely,

Frank Aydelotte

Arthur Sweetser, Esq. 3060 Garrison Street, N. W. Washington, D. C.

League of Nations Association, Inc.

National Headquarters: 8 West 40th Street, New York, N. Y.

> Telephone LOngacre 5-2100 Cable "Leagonat"

FRANK G. BOUDREAU, M.D.

President

VICTOR ELTING
Chairman, Executive Committee and Treasurer

CLARK M. EICHELBERGER
Director

40 Wall Street New York 5, N. Y.

December 16, 1943

Dear Doctor Aydelotte:

Thanks to you the meetings at Princeton on the future of the League were a great success. The Committee is deeply grateful to you and your associates for all the time you gave and the trouble you took to prepare and conduct the meetings.

Sweetser and I expect to put in a good deal of time from now on getting the documents in shape for publication. I have practically liquidated my obligations to UNRRA and the Organization for Food and Agriculture, and can now spend my spare time on proposed book.

Perhaps it may be advisable to hold another meeting to launch the book when it is ready.

With best Season's greetings, I am

Yours sincerely,

Frank G. Boudreau, M.D.

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

FGB: HGS

L. of n. conf.

December 15, 1943

Dear Mrs. Thomas:

I find that the head waiter at the Princeton Inn did not receive a tip. He did so much both in arranging the dinner and in looking after people generally that I think he ought to have \$5.00. Are there any conference funds out of which this can be paid?

Yours sincerely,

Frank Aydelotte

Mrs. Harrison Thomas League of Nations Association. 8 West 40th Street New York 18, N. Y.

NEW YORK TIMES, TUESDAY, DECEMBER 14, 1943.

LEAGUE MACHINERY Each study was prepared by an FOUND USEFUL NOW

100 Americans Once Active at Geneva Back Program After Three-Day Conference

Welcoming the Moscow declaration for a "general international organization" and the adoption by the Senate of the Connally resolution, a group of nearly 100 Americans who have been associated officially with the League of Nations in various capacities have ended a three-day meeting to discuss the contribution the League could make to the post-war settlement

At the conference, some sessions of which were held in Princeton, now British Minister to the United N. J., and the others in this city, States; Alexander Loveday, directhey adopted a resolution urging tor of the League Economic and "the appropriate authorities of the Financial Mission; Dr. Frank League of Nations and of the Aydellotte, who was host to the United Nations to give early con- conference at the Institute for Adsideration to the necessity of co- vanced Study, and Judge Manley ordinating the international agen- O. Hudson of the Permanent Court cies developed after the first World of International Arbitration. War with those developing during the present war for the purpose of voted to consideration of possible assuring continuity and of bene- bases of international organization, fiting from the experience of including the League of Nations nearly a quarter of a century."

ence was laid in a series of eigh- malized; or the formation of an alteen studies, under way for six together new agency, or the estabmonths, that were initiated by a lishment of two agencies, one dealcommittee of inquiry set up by ing with security and one with the rague of Nations Association, other problems.

Am :an citizen associated with national organization.

conference urged "full recognition ture such convictions would bring and support of League agencies prison terms from "three months continuing to function during the up." war, including particularly those on Americ as the Economic and Firancial Mission at Princeton and the Permanent Central Opium Board in Washington."

Dr. Frank G. Boudreau, director of the Milbank Fund and for twelve years a member of the health section of the League, presided over the opening dinner of the conference at Princeton Saturday. The speakers included Harold Butler, former director of the International Labor Office and

The sessions Sunday were derevised and strengthened; the The groundwork for the confer- United Nations expanded and for-

Produce Merchant Jailed PHILADELPHIA, Dec. 13 (港)the work of the League, and dealt A produce merchant was sent to with such topics as security, re- Federal prison for forty-five days du: on of armaments, ec omic and fined \$2,000 today for selling and financial problems, the drug lettuce at \$1 a crate above the traffic, mandates, housing, health price ceiling. United States Disand the general principles of inter- trict Judge Harry E. Kalodner, who sentenced the defendant. Ed-On the basis of these studies the ward Kaplan, said that in the fu-

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CHARLES COBURN, Star of "Knickerbocker Holiday", a new Producers Corp. of America Picture is shown wearing an Adam Executive, a smart hat for the well groomed man.

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December 15, 1943

Dear Arthur:

I received a copy of the release and saw it very well used in the Times. Requests have come to me for a copy of the resolutions. Could you supply me with one? I have a copy of the committee's report, but I remember that a number of minor changes were made during the meeting and I should like to see the thing as finally revised.

A great many people have spoken to me of their interest in the discussions and of their hope that the report of the committee will eventually be published in book form.

Yours sincerely,

FRANK AYDELOTTE

Arthur Sweetser, Esq. 3060 Garrison Street, N. W. Washington, D. C.

FOR RELEASE DECEMBER 14

From the League of Nations Association, Inc. 8 West 40th Street New York 18, New York

NEW YCRK. A group of American citizens who have been officially associated in various capacities with nearly every field of work of the League of Nations concluded yesterday a three-day conference held in Princeton and New York, the purpose of which was to determine what contribution the League of Nations can best make to the postwar settlement and what should be the American attitude toward the League.

One of the principal actions of the Conference was adoption of a resolution urging "the appropriate authorities of the League of Nations and of the United Nations to give early consideration to the necessity of co-ordinating the international agencies developed after the first World War with those developing during the present war for the prupose of assuring continuity and of benefiting from the experience of nearly a quarter of a century."

The background for the Conference, which in Princeton was held at the Institute for Advanced Study, was laid in a series of eighteen studies which have been under way for six months and which were initiated by a Committee of Inquiry set up by the League of Nations Association. Each study was prepared by an American citizen associated with the work of the League and each deals with a particular phase of its work, such as security, reduction of armaments, economic and financial problems, the drug traffic, mandates, housing, health, and general principles of international organization. In this connection the Conference urged "full recognition and support of League agencies continuing to function during the war, including particularly those on American soil, such as the Economic and Financial Mission at Princeton and the Permanent Central Opium Board in Washington,"

'Dr. Frank G. Boudreau, Director of the Milbank Fund and for twelve years a member of the Health Section of the League of Nations, presided over the opening dinner at Princeton on Saturday. Other speakers included Harold Butler, former Director of the International Labor Office and Pritish Minister to the United States, Alexander Loveday, Director of the League Economic and Financial Mission at Princeton, Dr. Frank Aydelotte, host to the Conference, Judge Manley O. Hudson of the Permanent Court of International Justice, and Arthur Sweetser, for twenty-two years an official of the League.

The resolutions of the Conference welcomed the Moscow Declaration calling for a "general international organization" and the passage by an over-whelming vote of the United States Senate of the Connally Resolution which endorsed the Moscow Declaration, believing that this action by the Senate promises to prevent a repetition of the deadlock in 1919 which paralyzed United States government action in support of international cooperation. The Conference expressed the hope that the United States Government in cooperation with other governments would take steps at the first opportunity to implement the Moscow Declaration and the Senate Resolution.

Warm approval was expressed for the action of the United States

Government in initiating the recent United Nations conference on Food and

Agriculture and on Relief and Rehabilitation. In this connection the group

particularly welcomed the action of UNRRA in inviting the technical organizations of the League of Nations and the International Labor Organization to send representatives to participate in the Atlantic City conference as well as in future conferences and work, thus initiating that coordination of international agencies which the Princeton group considers so essential.

Sessions on Sunday were devoted to consideration of the reports above mentioned and especially to a statement of possible bases of international organization, including (1) the League of Nations revised and strengthened,

(2) the United Nations expanded and formalized, (3) an altogether new agency, or (4) two agencies, one dealing with security and one with other problems. The group emphasized "the necessity of developing an effective system of collective security" in the light of a series of principles evolved out of interwar experience.

It was pointed out that some 250 American citizens have at various times and often for long periods participated officially in different phases of the work of the League of Nations. Many of these persons were prevented by present tasks in connection with the war effort or by their absence in other parts of the world from attending the Princeton Conference. Among the hundred or more present, in addition to the speakers mentioned, were Huntington filchrist, former Assistant Director of the Mandates Section, Dr. Stephen P. Duggan, associated with the League's work in the field of intellectual cooperation, Judge Dorothy Kenyon, member of the Committee on the Legal Status of Women, Herbert L. May of the Permanent Central Opium Board, and Dr. Sarah Wambaugh, Deputy Member of the Saar Plebiscite Commission.

The Conference was organized by the League of Nations Association of which Clark M. Eichelberger is National Director, and Mrs. Harrison Thomas, secretary to the Inquiry Committee. The complete report will be published by the Association with the cooperation of the Woodrow Wilson Foundation.

Program-spoker

League of Nations Association, Inc.

National Headquarters:

8 West 40th Street, New York, N. Y.

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FRANK G. BOUDREAU, M.D.
President

HUGH MOORE
Chairman, Executive Committee
FREDERICK C. McKEE
Treasurer
CLARK M. EICHELBERGER

Director

December 8, 1943

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

Dear Dr. Aydelotte:

Our statistics this morning are as follows:

Conference reservations 5% - 70 Dinner 57 - 70 Room 37 - 38 Sunday luncheon 56 - 87

I will telephone Mr. Summers at the Inn after our second mail comes in this morning, since reservations are still coming in.

I think we had better set ten o'clock as the hour to convene Sunday morning. It may be a little later than that, but at least the building should be opened then. I think you are right that more definite plans should be made for Sunday. Mr. Eichelberger and I are lunching with Dr. Boudreau tomorrow; he may have suggestions on that point and if so, I will send them on to you.

No, we do not want reporters at the Conference. The whole purpose is a full and frank discussion of the future of the League by Americans who have most closely been connected with the League; and that purpose can be much better realized without reporters present. I believe Mr. Sweetser expects to prepare a news release, which will be sent out after the Conference.

For the same reasons, I think it would be better not to invite the members of the Princeton United Nations Committee. While, of course, they are fine people they might not have the background I have indicated above which would qualify them to express an opinion on the future of the League.

You are wise to plan for seventy-five at lunch, since as you say the number might even be larger as no doubt most of the people who attend the Sunday conference would enjoy having luncheon there. If further registrations come in tomorrow morning I will send you word.

Please tell Miss Eichelser that I sent by express on Monday about forty-three copies of the Inquiry Report for use at the Conference. Most of those who made reservations up to the end of last week had copies sent them, but of course, it is too late to mail out copies to those who made reservations this week.

Dr. Frank Aydelotte

- 2 -

December 8, 1943

Thank you for planning to have extra helpers with regard to the dinner and luncheon. I think I have it all planned so that it will run off smoothly.

There is really great interest in this Conference on the part of many persons formerly connected with the League who will not be able to be there. I hope we can have a really down to earth discussion on Sunday of the League's future. It will be timely and should be most useful.

Sincerely yours,

Faucera. House

Mrs. Harrison Thomas Secretary to the Inquiry

FAT:sc

December 8, 1943

Dear Mrs. Thomas:

Most of the League people here seem to be handing their reservations to me instead of mailing them to you. I sent you some yesterday and enclose another herewith.

Mr. Loveday tells me that he reserved only for himself. If wives are to be included, as Dr. Aydelotte suggests, a reservation should be made for Mrs. Loveday. I am sure that Dr. Aydelotte (who has gone off to New York since dictating his letter to you) would feel that she, as the Director's wife, should be included anyway.

Yours sincerely,

FRANK AYDELOTTE

December 8, 1943

Dear Mrs. Thomas:

Miss Eichelser tells me that you are a little puzzled as to what to do about wives at the dinner because of possible lack of space. My advice to you would be to accept reservations for them and if at the last moment it appears that we have more people than can be accommodated in the one dining room we can then arrange to take care of the wives in some other way. We could have the Inn set up an overflow dining room where the ladies could have their dinner and they could then come into the main room for the speeches. I am sure something of that kind can readily be arranged and thus save you the embarrassment of explanations beforehand.

I don't think I ever asked you whether or not you want people to dress for the dinner.

Yours sincerely,

Frank Aydelotte

Mrs. Harrison Thomas League of Nations Association, Inc. 8 West 40th Street New York, N. Y.

FA/MCE

Director's Office: General Files: Box 38: League of Nations Conference, December 12, 1943
From the Shelby White and Leon Levy Archives Center, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, NJ, USA

League of Nations Association, Inc.

National Headquarters: 8 West 40th Street, New York, N. Y.

> Telephone LOngacre 5-2100 Cable "Leagonat"

FRANK G. BOUDREAU, M.D.
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HUGH MOORE
Chairman, Executive Committee
FREDERICK C. McKEE
Treasurer

CLARK M. EICHELBERGER

Director

December 6, 1943

Dear Dr. Aydelotte:

Thus far our statistics are as follows:

Confere	ence reservations	56
Dinner		47
Room	·*	35
Sunday luncheon		45

I have just written Mr. Summers at the Inn about the reservations for the dinner and room and will telephone him Wednesday morning any additional reservations. I shall come to Princeton the first thing Saturday morning as I told Miss Eichelser over the telephone and, of course, will have with me complete lists, etc. Mr. Eichelberger's secretary, Miss Olson, is also coming down. We will bring another person with us if it seems advisable to handle sale of tickets for dinner and luncheon. I assume people will take care of their hotel bills as they leave the Inn Sunday morning.

Of course, it is impossible to say whether a number of people will appear at the last moment who have not made reservations but I suppose some will do so. We are doing a little last minute telephoning today to persons from whom we have not yet heard -- members of our Board, etc. Certainly, I should say there will be at least 75 people at the Conference and probably nearly that many at the dinner.

I think Mr. Sweetser does not plan any set speeches on Sunday or any resumes of the individual reports that have been made by the different consultants. I believe he wants to get right down to the business of discussion of the actual future of the League. However, you and he will be able to talk this over Saturday night.

Mr. Sweetser has been in touch with Raymond Fosdick about speaking at the dinner Saturday night but when I telephoned Mr. Fosdick's office just now they told me he has to leave for the South Friday and will not be able to come. The British Minister, Harold Butler, is to speak at the dinner and I believe Jean Monnet, although so far as I know that is not definite as yet.

We have sent copies of the Inquiry report to all persons who have made reservations up to the end of last week and I am sending a supply of

copies down by express to be given to those who do not yet have them.

It seems to me everything is well in hand. I think we can look forward to a very useful conference.

With continued thanks to you,

Cordially,

ace cera. House

Secretary to League Inquiry

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

December 7, 1943

Dear Mrs. Thomas:

Many thanks for your letter of December 6th. We are trying to mobilize a few helpers for you here to take care of the conference on Sunday and shall go into all the plans when you come down on Satuday morning. I think we can also find someone to take tickets for the dinner on Saturday night, so that it will not be necessary for you to bring another person in addition to Miss Olson.

We are planning tentatively for seventyfive people at the luncheon, though it would not surprise me if that number would swell to one hundred.

I am a little concerned about the program for Sunday and believe it would be advisable to put down a certain number of topics and speakers to lead the discussion. I am writing to Mr. Sweetser about this today.

What do you want to do about publicity? Are reporters welcome at this conference or is it off the record?

Looking forward with pleasure to seeing you, on Saturday, I am

Yours sincerely,

Frank Aydelotte

Mrs. Harrison Thomas League of Nations Association, Inc. 8 West 40th Street New York 18, N. Y. P. S. We have in Princeton a strong United Nations
Association. Would you like the members of its Executive
Committee invited to the conference on Sunday?

F.A.

Mrs. Harrison Thomas

P.S. No. 2. At what time do you expect to convene on Sunday morning? I have a great many inquiries and need to know also because of arrangements for transportation, opening the building, etc.

F.A.

To m. Frank aydelotte Mrs Butler deeply gratiful for invitation but unable to accept. Recovering from flu (Signed Harold Butler Telegrem. Stestin union

December 7, 1943

Dear Arthur:

I have a letter from Mrs. Thomas saying that she has 56 conference reservations so far and expects the number to swell to 75. It would not surprise me if it is increased to 100.

Mrs. Thomas says that you do not plan any set speeches on Sunday or any resume of individual reports, but instead wish to get down to the business of discussion of the actual future of the League. If I am going to preside I think I ought to have at least a list of topics and names of people who will lead off with the discussion of them. Otherwise the meeting is likely to be side-tracked and time wasted by more or less aimless palaver. We can discuss all this when you come, but I think it would be worth while for you to be thinking it over and making out a rough outline.

I am glad that Harold Butler is coming and I am telegraphing him today to ask him to stay with us.

I hope Ruth is coming with you. We need her to assist in managing things on Sunday.

Looking forward with great pleasure to your coming, I am

Yours sincerely,

FRANK AYDELOTTE

Arthur Sweetser, Esq. 3060 Garrison Street, N. W. Washington, D. C. FA/MCE

December 6, 1943

Dear Arthur:

leaves me, however, pretty vague as regards the program for Sunday. Do you expect everyone to speak who has been made responsible for a chapter in the report? I note that there are seventeen chapters in Part 2 in addition to six chapters in Part 1. If we are to have so many speakers we shall certainly have to adopt a very stringent rule about time, and the speakers should be warned accordingly in advance or they are certain to come with manuscripts which will be too long for the time allowed.

Yours sincerely,

FRANK AYDELOTTE

Arthur Sweetser, Esq. 3060 Garrison Street, N. W. Washington, D. C.

FA/MCE

COPY

December 3, 1943

Mr. William H. Summers The Princeton Inn Princeton, New Jersey

Dear Mr. Summers:

Acceptances are coming in well for the Conference at Princeton, December 11th and 12th. So far we have twenty-nine room reservations and thirty-seven reservations for the dinner. I will send you later information with the list of those who have room reservations the first of the week. I thought in the meanwhile, you would like to know how the thing is coming along. I feel fairly sure that we shall have our hundred at the dinner and that all your rooms will be taken. A good many people will probably appear or send in reservations at the last minute.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Harrison Thomas

FAT:sc

OFFICE OF WAR INFORMATION

WASHINGTON

December 3, 1943

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

Dear Frank:

I found your two letters of the 26th and the 29th on my return to Washington from Atlantic City and am hastening to answer them with the hope of reaching you on Saturday.

First of all, I am most grateful for taking me in over the week-end, both for the pleasure of being with you and also for helping someone else out at the Inn. I hope to get down on the early morning train from here in order to see how everything is going.

Secondly, about the arrangements at the conference, I am sure that Mrs. Thomas and her group in New York will be able to handle all of that most efficiently. They have had an immense amount of experience in it and know all the people so that I think we can count of them in every way.

Thirdly, as regards the conference itself, everything seems to be shaping up well. When I was in New York on Saturday and checked up with Mrs. Thomas, the first replies had begun to come in, bringing sixteen acceptances to five refusals, which is a very high proportion if it continues at that rate. I have been hoping to hear more fully from her this week but in the confusion of moving from Atlantic City, seem to have missed it. I imagine, however, that she will be writing both of us shortly as to just how things are shaping up.

Harold Butler not only agreed but even asked to come, as I think I wrote you. I telephoned Raymond Fosdick and wrote and spoke to Jean Monnet with the thought that it would make a magnificent combination if we could get these three men who formed the Anglo-Franco-American team which started the two international agencies after the last war. Fosdick is very keen on coming if he can postpone by a day a trip he had already scheduled to the South and Monnet also will come if he can adjust it with other plans. We could thus make the opening dinner a kind of general introduction, with speeches from old friends, and start off straightway the next day on the one central question, namely, the four possible bases of international organization suggested in the memorandum. I think you will agree that there is no point in going back over the old history or having the various speakers repeat what the League has done in their respective fields.



Looking forward to seeing you next week, I am

Yours as ever,

N.S.

Arthur Sweetser

December 4, 1943

Dear Mrs. Thomas:

I am delighted to have a copy of your letter to the Princeton Inn and to know that the reservations are coming in so promptly. I hope that you are planning to come down early on Saturday to take charge of arrangements here. Judging from the experience of running the conference the last time, I would suggest that you appoint one or two assistants to take charge of such details as registration, selling luncheon tickets, etc. With so large a group there is sure to be a great many matters of detail which will need to be settled at the last moment.

Have you and Mr. Sweetser made out the program of speakers for Sunday? I am not clear whether you expect to have the author of every chapter summarize his contribution or not. If we are to have so many speakers I suppose that we ought to fix a time limit for each one and insist upon it strongly.

I note that you expect a hundred people at the dinner and I am wondering whether the chances are not that we shall have an even larger group at lunch on Sunday. I suppose there will be some people who will not come until Sunday morning. Since shopping is such a complicated business these days, we shall be glad for any indications about the number expected whenever you are in a position to make them.

Yours sincerely,

FRANK AYDELOTTE

Mrs. Harrison Thomas League of Nations Association, Inc. 8 West 40th Street New York, N. Y. FA/MCE

December 3, 1943

Dear Mrs. Thomas:

Am I correct in thinking that Mr.

Sweetser gave you a copy of the enclosed list of names for invitations to the League of Nations conference? I am distressed to learn from Mrs. van Ittersum that none of the League of Nations people at the Institute whose names appear on this list have as yet received invitations. I notice that there are no addresses on this list and am wondering if there is any mistake in regard to it. Since time is so short I mail you my copy of the list and am asking Miss Bichelser to get in touch with you over the telephone tomorrow morning to make sure that there has been no slip.

My name is on the list and I received an invitation. It just so happens that my name is one of the few which has a usable address after it. Have you by any chance had difficulty in finding the addresses of any of the others? The members of the Economic, Financial, and Transit Section at Princeton, which I have marked, may be addressed at the Institute for Advanced Study.

Yours sincerely,

Frank Aydelotte

Mrs. Harrison Thomas League of Nations Association, Inc. 8 West 40th Street New York, N. Y.

FA/MCE

P.S. Since dictating this letter I have learned that Mr. Loveday has received an invitation, but not other members of the group.

How about wives? Are they expected or not?

F.A.

December 1, 1943

To Members of the Institute:

A conference on the relation of the League of Nations to future international organization will be held at the Institute for Advanced Study under the auspices of the League of Nations Association of the United States. The conference is primarily one for individuals who have in the past been officials of the League and the discussion will center around the possible contribution of the League of Nations to the post-war settlement. Any member of the Institute who is interested may secure an invitation by calling at my office.

FRANK AYDELOTTE

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December 1, 1943

To Members of the Institute:

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FRANK AYDELOTTE

November 30, 1943

Dear Mrs. Thomas:

I send you herewith Mr. Rosenborg's suggestions for invitations to the conference, which Dr. Aydelotte mentioned to you over the telephone yesterday. We thought it well to send this list to you, since Mr. Sweetser may have added some of these names to the previous list. I will be glad to send out the other invitations from here.

We are not sending individual invitations to all of our staff and members (only to the faculty), but are posting an invitation on each of our bulletin boards for their benefit. The beague group here is doing the same thing with their local staff. Do you have any extra return cards which could be used by any of the people who are interested in making reservations? If not, we can ask them to type their reservations on plain cards.

Yours sincerely,

MARIE C EICHELSER Secretary to Dr. Aydelotte

Mrs. Harrison Thomas League of Nations Association, Inc. 8 West 40th Street New York, N. Y.

November 29, 1943

Dear Arthur:

charge of this conference on the spot at Princeton to collect cards of admission, sell luncheon tickets, and in general run the conference? Will this be you or will it be Mrs. Harrison Thomas or will perhaps the two of you collaborate? I know by experience that there is always a good deal of arranging to be done and I consider it important that someone be officially in charge and have a few aides and assistants to make everything run smoothly. I think whoever does this ought to get down to Princeton early on Saturday and have all the arrangements carefully worked out. You will remember that last time the whole thing was done by Mrs. Crichton and BesseHoward.

Yours sincerely,

ours sincerely,

FRANK AYDELOTTE

Arthur Sweetser, Esq. 3060 Garrison Street, N. W. Washington, D. C.

FA/MCE

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

Marke Ton

- 1. Welcomes the Moscow Declaration calling for a "genera 1 international organization, etc., etc.
- 2. Welcomes the subsequent Smnate Resolution endorsing the Moscow Declaration as this endorsement promised to prevent a repetition of the deadlock which paralyzed kmx United States Government action in 1919 [Au.] totagent year
- 3. Supports the action of the United States Government in convening two special United Nations Conferences on Food and Agriculture and on Relief and ResksbikksksRehabilitation resulting in permanent international organizations.
- 4. Expresses the hope that as other needs develop other conferences will follow as rapidly as possible on such specific questions as currency stabilization, aviation, shipping, etc.
- 5. Urges the United States Government at the first opportunity to take steps to implement the Moscow Declaration and the Senate Resolution for a general international organization.

6. Also welcomes the action of the United Nations Relief and Mehabilitation Council in inviting the technical organizations of the League of Nations and the International Labor Organization to send representatives to participate in the Atlantic City Conference and in all other appropriate future work and conferences, thus developing effective coordination in the work of these international agencies. The group also notes with appreciation of the that the Interim Commission we Food and Agriculture Organization has invited representatives of the technical organizations of the League of Nations to participate in the work of the Interim Commission whenever appropriate.

The group also urges that the Government should give particular attention to the following consideration:

- 1. The positive support of League agencies continuing to function during the war, including those on American soil, such as the Economic and Financial Mission at Princeton, the Anti-Drug group in Washington, and the International Labor Office in Montreal.
- 2. Adherence to the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice with whatever modifications may be necessary to adapt the Court to present conditions in accordance with Secretary of State Cordell Hull's statement of September 12, 1943.

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

Director's Office: General Files: Box 38: League of Nations Conference, December 12, 1943
From the Shelby White and Leon Levy Archives Center, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, NJ, USA

marin - 3 -

international work.

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

November 22, 1943

Dear Arthur:

I am just back and glad to learn that the conference is going to be held at Princeton December 11 and 12. As I understand it, you begin with a dinner at the Inn on the evening of Saturday, the 11th, and come out to the Institute for the full day of the 12th, having luncheon here and ending with tea. We can arrange the luncheon for \$1.00 a head and there will be no charge for our simple Institute tea.

I have seen a draft of the invitation and it raised the question in my mind whether you would not be wise to follow the plan which you had last time of sending out a combined invitation and program. I think that is an excellent way of giving those invited some idea of the interest of the meeting. I hope the invitations will go out soon, since people will need I think at least two weeks notice.

I understand that Rosenborg is checking over your old invitation list and will send it down to me sometime today. I would like to suggest that the fifteen or twenty members of our Princeton Committee which is cooperating with the Universities Committee on Post War Settlement should be invited. I should also like to have such members of our Institute group as are interested attend. These two groups will contribute, I think, a great deal to the success of the conference.

Yours sincerely,

FRANK AYDELOTTE

Arthur Sweetser, Esq. 3060 Garrison Street, N. W. Washington, D. C.

FA/MCE

Director's Office: General Files: Box 38: League of Nations Conference, December 12, 1943
From the Shelby White and Leon Levy Archives Center, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, NJ, USA

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National Headquarters: 8 West 40th Street, New York, N. Y.

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FRANK G. BOUDREAU, M. D.
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HUGH MOORE
Chairman, Executive Committee
FREDERICK C. McKEE
Treasurer

CLARK M. EICHELBERGER
Director

November 22, 1943

You are cordially invited to attend a conference on the relation of the League of Nations to future international organization, to be held at the INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY, PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY, DECEMBER 11-12 through the courtesy of Dr. Frank Aydelotte.

The business of the conference will be consideration of a draft report on the present status of the League, the contribution which the League can make to the international organization which is emerging from this war and the general form that organization should take. The report has been under preparation since July, under the direction of a special Committee of Inquiry set up by the League of Nations Association and in consultation with American citizens who have been intimately associated with League work. It takes the form of a general statement supplemented by some seventeen individual papers, each prepared by an American who has been a member of the League Secretariat or of one of its associated agencies or committees. An outline of its contents is enclosed, and a copy of the report so far as completed will be sent you on your request.

A grant by the Woodrow Wilson Foundation makes possible the publication of the final report as well as the recommendations which will come out of the Princeton Conference.

You will of course realize the importance of this Inquiry. It is felt that its conclusions will be of service to our own government, to non-governmental bodies concerned with post-war planning, and to all persons interested in the organization of the world for peace.

Questions such as the following are of vital importance and should be discussed and answered at the conference:

- (1) What can be the contribution of the League of Nations to the next settlement?
- (2) What should be the place of the League and its associated bodies in that settlement?
- (3) What should be the ultimate form of that settlement: the League of Nations revised and strengthened? the United Nations expanded and formalized? a wholly new agency, or two agencies, one for security and one for other matters?

Important as this Inquiry seemed last July when it was started, recent events have given added importance to it, notably the Moscow agreements, the development of United Nations agencies on Food and Agriculture and on Relief and Rehabilitation, and the passage of the Connally and Fulbright Resolutions.

This conference will be in part a continuation of the conference of Americans associated with the League which was held in Princeton in 1941. While, however, that conference looked largely to the past, this conference will be concentrated upon the future.

The conference will open with a dinner at the Princeton Inn at 7:30 Saturday evening, December 11th. Discussion will begin immediately and will continue at the Institute through Sunday, December 12th, with a buffet luncheon served at the Institute.

Rooms for Saturday night, December 11th, will be available at the Princeton Inn, the Nassau Tavern, or elsewhere, in order of acceptance of this invitation. Use of double rooms will be necessary in most cases, because of crowded conditions. A card is enclosed for your convenience in replying. Please indicate whether you will be present at the opening dinner Saturday evening and the Sunday luncheon, and whether you wish a room reservation. Convenient trains leave New York at 5:08, reaching Princeton at 6:14, or Washington at 2:00, reaching Princeton at 5:58.

<u>Please address your replies to</u>: Mrs. Harrison Thomas, secretary to the League Inquiry, League of Nations Association, 8 West 40th Street, New York 18, N. Y.

COMMITTEE FOR THE LEAGUE INQUIRY:

Frank G. Boudreau, M.D.

Malcolm Davis

Clark M. Eichelberger

Huntington Gilchrist

Carter Goodrich

James T. Shotwell

Arthur Sweetser

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- 1. THE PERMANENT COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE Manley O, Hudson, Judge of the Court
- 2. THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANIZATION

 Carter Goodrich, United States Government

 Representative and Chairman of the Governing Body
- 3. SECURITY

 James T. Shotwell
- 4. DISARMAMENT

Mary E. Woolley
Member of the American Delegation to the
Disarmament Conference in 1931
And Laura Puffer Morgan, Associate of the
Geneva Research Center

5. ECONOMICS

Henry F. Grady
Former Assistant Secretary of State and Chairman
of the League's Economic Committee

- 6. ECONOMIC STATISTICS

 Dana Durand, Member of the United States Tariff
 Commission
- 7. DOUBLE TAXATION

 Nitchell Carroll, Former Member of the League
 Secretariat
- 8. TRANSIT Consultant not yet selected

9. HEALTH

Dr. Frank G. Boudreau, Director of the Milbank Memorial Fund and Member of the League's Health Section

10, HOUSING

Dr, C-E, A, Winslow, Yale University, Member of the League's Housing Commission

11. DANGEROUS DRUGS

Herbert L. May Vice-Chairman of the Central Opium Board

12. MANDATES AND DEPENDENT AREAS

Huntington Gilchrist, Member of the Mandates Section of the League's Secretariat

13. SOCIAL QUESTIONS

Elsa Castendyck, of the Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor and Member of the League's Social Committee

14. REFUGEES

Consultant not yet selected

15. INTELLECTUAL AND CULTURAL MATTERS

Malcolm W. Davis, former Director of the Paris
Office of the Carnegie Endowment and Member of
various League Committees on Intellectual Cooperation

16. INTERNATIONAL ADMINISTRATION

Sarah Wambaugh

Technical Adviser in the Saar Plebiscite

17. TREATIES

Manley O. Hudson

November 20, 1943

Dear Mrs. Thomas:

Dr. Aydelotte has returned to Princeton today and he will be writing you in a few days about names to be added to your invitation list.

He would like to have invitations sent to the faculty of the Institute for Advanced Study and to the members as well if there is room for them. These total approximately fifty. He will doubtless think of several additional people whom he would like to have invited.

Yours sincerely,

MARIE C EICHELSER

Secretary to Dr. Aydelotte

Mrs. Harrison Thomas League of Nations Association, Inc. 8 West 40th Street New York, N. Y. Former members of the League Secretariat now residing in the United States (not included in the 1941 list)

Dr. L. Rajchman (former director of the Health Section) 1601 V Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

Mr. and Mrs. Hugh McKinnon-Wood (Legal Section of Secretariat) 1616 West 22nd Street, Minneapolis, Minnesota

Mr. and Mrs. N. Nizot (Legal Section of Secretariat) Beekman Tower, 3 Mitchell Place, New York City

Miss M. A. Craig McGeachy (Information Section of Secretariat) British Embassy, Washington, D. C.

Dr. Gertrude C. Dixon (Document Officer of Secretariat) British Information Service, New York City

Dr. E. R. Wertheimer (Information and Financial Sections) c/o American University, School of Social Science and Public Affairs, 1901 F Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

Mrs. Essy Lehman Key Rasmusen (Transit Section) 30 Fifth Avenue, New York City

Dr. R. Gautier, Acting Director of the Health Section of the Secretariat, now on mission to the United States.
Room 316, Office of Lend Lease Administration,
515 22nd Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

Additional names suggested by Mr. Rosenborg

Dr. Halbert L. Dunn (various committees of Health organization) U. S. Bureau of Census, Washington, D. C.

Dr. Stuart A. Rice, Executive Offices of the President, Bureau of the Budget, Washington, D. C.

Dr. Egon Glesinger (League Committee on Timber; Secr. Gen. of International Timber Committee) c/o Fortune Magazine, Time and Life Building, Rockefeller Center, New York City

Dr. Hermann M. Ppitzer (Scientific Management Inst., I.L.O.)
Region VII, Far East, Office of War Information,
Washington, D. C.

Mrs. Constance Greene, League Publications, Columbia University Press, New York City

Mr. Datus C. Smith, Jr.)
Mr. Norvel B. Samuels Princeton University Press, Princeton, N. J.

Mr. Dudley Kirk
Mr. Wilbert E. Moore) Office of Population Research, 20 Nassau Street, Princeton, New Jersey

Rt Hon Missourt Lord Cecil 16 2 Caton Pe

Lord Hailey 16 yarde Harres, Kensing Fondhurch St. W. 8
Lord Astor, 9 Babmas st

Winfield Riefler, 40 Renkeley 29., W (

David Mitrany

Margery Fry

Weybright, American Embassy

\ Herbert Agar

Secretary, Chatham House

Sir Francis Wylie

Mr. Amery, Secretary of State for India Judia office, Philadel

W. G. S. Adams

Mrs. Fiske Warren

President John Nason

F. P. Griffiths

S. K. Hornbeck

Dr. Edwin G. Conklin

Dean Eisenhart

Mr. and Mrs. Samuel Fels, 39th & Walnut Street

Claude Smith, Swarthmore

Charles F. Jenkins, 232 So. 7th Street

Morris Leeds

Ellen Gowan Hood

His Excellency Dr. C. K. Allen

Director's Office: General Files: Box 38: League of Nations Conference, December 12, 1943 From the Shelby White and Leon Levy Archives Center, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, NJ, USA

> FRANK G. BOUDREAU, M.D. President

CLARK M. EICHELBERGER Director

VICTOR FLTING Chairman, Executive Committee FREDERICK C. MCKEE Treasurer

LEAGUE OF NATIONS ASSOCIATION, Inc.

National Headquarters:

Educational Committee

8 WEST 40TH STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y.

Telephone: LOngacre 5-2100 Cable: "LEAGONAT"

MRS. DANA CONVERSE BACKUS Chairman

HARRY J. CARMAN MRS. HARVEY N. DAVIS STEPHEN P. DUGGAN CLYDE EAGLETON WILLIAM A. HAMM ERLING HUNT WALTER KOTSCHNIG QUINCY WRIGHT

November 15, 1943

Mrs. Harrison Thomas Secretary

> Miss Marie C. Eichelser The Institute for Advanced Study Princeton. New Jersey

Dear Miss Eichelser:

Thank you for your note of Friday. I am glad you told me about the luncheon for I did not know the details. I will arrange the invitation in such a way that I will get returns on luncheon reservations as well as rooms and dinner.

In addition to the list of League people which Mr. Sweetser made up for the 1941 Princeton conference, we are inviting members of the Boards of the Woodrow Wilson Foundation and this Association. I wonder if you can think of anyone else whom Dr. Aydelette would like to have included? Have you any definite word as yet as to when Dr. Aydelotte will return?

With many thanks for your help,

Sincerely yours.

recence thousen

FAT:sc

November 12, 1943

Dear Mrs. Thomas:

I wonder if Mr. Sweetser made it clear to you that our lunchroom here is run not by the Institute but by an outside caterer and that each individual would be expected to pay for his luncheon. Mrs. Dilks, our caterer, says that she can supply a good buffet luncheon for \$1.00 a plate, but, on account of food difficulties, she will need to know pretty accurately the number of people expected. Would it not be well to so word your invitation and the return card that you will get luncheon reservations along with the dinner and room reservations?

Yours sincerely,

MARIE C. EICHELSER

Secretary to Dr. Aydelotte

Mrs. Harrison Thomas League of Nations Association, Inc. 8 West 40th Street New York, N. Y. Director's Office: General Files: Box 38: League of Nations Conference, December 12, 1943
From the Shelby White and Leon Levy Archives Center, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, NJ, USA

Frank G. Boudreau, M.D. President

CLARK M. EICHELBERGER

VICTOR ELTING
Chairman, Executive Committee

Frederick C. McKee
Treasurer

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ERLING HUNT
WALTER KOTSCHNIG
QUINCY WRIGHT

Mrs. Harrison Thomas
Secretary

November 8, 1943

Miss Marie C. Eichelser
The Institute for Advanced Study
Princeton, New Jersey

Dear Miss Eichelser:

Thank you very much for your letter of Saturday. How careless of us to get the dates mixed. Yes, we have had December 11th and 12th in mind for the conference all the time, because it would be just impossible for so many of the people whom we want to come to Princeton to do so on a week day, when they are busy with their own work. I realize that having the conference on Sunday puts an added burden on you but it just could not be done any other way I am afraid. I know that Mr. Sweetser hasn't had any other date in mind.

Thank you very much for all the information, and I will await the letter from the Princeton Inn. I think the invitation can still be improved a little, and we'll work it over as soon as possible and send you a final draft. Meanwhile we are getting our lists ready for the mailing of the invitations.

Again with many thanks,

Sincerely yours,

France a. Thornes

FAT:sc

November 6, 1943

Dear Mrs. Thomas:

I have your letter of November 5th, enclosing a rough draft of the letter of invitation which you expect to send out for the proposed conference here in December. Your letter indicates quite clearly that you mean to have the conference on Saturday evening and Sunday, December 11 and 12, but your letter of invitation gives the dates as December 10 and 11. I assume that the 11th and 12th are the correct dates, though I must say that I had understood from Mr. Sweetser that the plan was to hold the meeting here at the Institute on Saturday, December 11th. We will be glad to make the facilities of the Institute available on December 12th if that is the date that best suits your plans, and we can arrange to serve a simple buffet luncheon on that day.

I have telephoned the Princeton Inn, putting all of your questions to them. I judge from what they told me that they will be able to take care of the group with dinner on Saturday night and with rooms. They are writing you in detail about these matters.

I do not know what Mr. Sweetser had in mind in saying that some people could be entertained over night "elsewhere" unless he meant that some of the people attending the conference would be staying with friends.

Yes, Dr. Meritt is the Benjamin Meritt whom you know. I have conferred with him about your letter and he approves the form of the invitation, but agrees with you that it would be well to mention the fact that Dr. Aydelotte will preside at the conference. Dr. Meritt has also suggested, in regard to the Washington-Princeton connections that the best train from Washington is the one at two o'clock, which would get the members to Princeton at 5:32 or 5:58, according to the connection they are able to make at Trenton.

Yours sincerely,

Mrs. Harrison Thomas League of Nations Association New York, N. Y.

MARIE C. EICHELSER

FRANK G. BOUDREAU, M.D. President

CLARK M. EICHELBERGER

VICTOR ELTING
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ERLING HUNT
WALTER KOTSCHNIG
QUINCY WRIGHT

November 5. 1943

Mrs. Harrison Thomas Secretary

Miss Marie C. Eichelser The Institute for Advanced Study Princeton, New Jersey

Dear Miss Eichelser:

First I must introduce myself as the person here in the Association office who has been acting as secretary to the Inquiry on the Future of the League about which you have talked with Mr. Sweetser. It is most hospitable of Dr. Aydelotte and the Institute to invite us to have our conference at Princeton and we are all delighted.

Now with Dr. Aydelotte in London and Mr. Sweetser in Atlantic City most of the month, it appears to be you and I who will be looking after the detailed arrangements. Mr. Sweetser said he felt sure I could count on your help. By the way, is Dr. Meritt Dr. Benjamin Meritt? I know him, for we worked together in the Committee to Defend America.

I am enclosing a rough draft of the letter of invitation which we expect to send to some two hundred people. It still needs some polishing, but this will give you the general idea.

The date, I understand, is all right. One main point on which it will be very helpful if you can check for us, is the matter of rooms at the inn and the tavern. Can you telephone to or see the people at the inn about the Saturday night dinner? I am not sure whether Mr. Sweetser checked with them at all. - Could you find out if they can have from fifty to one hundred people for dinner that Saturday night, December 10th and what the charge would be? Of course, it would need a private room. Then the other point I need to know about is how many rooms they could hold in reserve for us there and in the tavern. Everybody is so busy these days that I could not expect there to be much more than fifty people there over night. Perhaps I need to know what the charge would be for rooms at the inn and the tavern. Mr. Sweetser seemed to think that some people could be entertained over night "elsewhere". I don't know just what he meant by that, but perhaps you do?

Miss Marie C. Eichelser

-2- November 5, 1943

Dr. Aydelotte generously said that the members of the conference could be entertained at the Institute at a simple buffet luncheon, Sunday, and that of course would be very nice indeed.

I know that you must be very busy in Dr. Aydelotte's absence, but if you could check on these various points for us and send us the necessary information quite soon, it would help us a lot in getting our letters ready. If necessary, of course, I can come down to Princeton, but I thought perhaps we could manage for the present at least, without my doing that.

We think now that the conference will not divide into smaller groups on Sunday, so all that will be necessary on Sunday will be one large room.

If you have any suggestions about the invitation or any other point, please do not hesitate to make them. One thing I want to do in the invitation which I see has not been done is to mention Dr. Aydelotte's name. We are hoping that he will preside at the conference session on Sunday. I understand you expect him back before that time.

With our thanks for your very helpful cooperation,

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Harrison Thomas

FAT:sc Encl. Director's Office: General Files: Box 38: League of Nations Conference, December 12, 1943
From the Shelby White and Leon Levy Archives Center, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, NJ, USA

League of Nations Association, Inc.

National Headquarters: 8 West 40th Street, New York, N. Y.

> Telephone LOngacre 5-2100 Cable "Leagonat"

FRANK G. BOUDREAU, M.D.
President

HUGH MOORE
Chairman, Executive Committee

FREDERICK C. McKEE
Treasurer

CLARK M. EICHELBERGER
Director

You are cordially invited to attend a conference on future international organization, to be held at the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, New Jersey, December 10-11/ /1-/2 (?)

The business of the conference will be consideration of a draft report on the present status of the League, the contribution which the League can make to the international organization which is emerging from this war and the general form that organization should take. The report has been under preparation since July, under the direction of a special committee set up by the League of Nations Association and in consultation with American citizens who have been intimately associated with League work. It takes the form of a general statement supplemented by some eighteen individual papers, each prepared by an American who has been a member of the League Secretariat or of one of its associated agencies or committees. An outline of its contents is enclosed, and a copy of the full report will be sent you on special request. A generous grant by the Woodrow Wilson Foundation makes possible the publication of the final report and recommendations of the conference.

You will of course realize the importance of this Inquiry. It is felt that its conclusions will be of service to our own government, to non-governmental bodies concerned with post-war planning, and to all persons interested in the organization of the world for peace.

Important as this Inquiry seemed last July when it was started, recent events have given added importance to it, notably the Moscow agreements, the development of United Nations agencies on Food and Agriculture and on Relief and Rehabilitation, and the discussion of the Connally and Fulbright Resolutions.

This conference will be in part a continuation of the conference of mericans associated with the League which was held in Princeton in 1940. While, however, that conference looked largely to the past, this conference will be concentrated upon the future.

The conference will open with a dinner at the Princeton Inn at 7:30 Saturday evening, December 10th. Discussion will begin immediately after and will continue at the Institute through Sunday, Depember 11th, /Z with a buffet luncheon served at the Institute.

Dec. 11

Questions such as the following are of vital importance and must be discussed and asswered at the earliest possible moment:

- (1) What can be the contribution of the League of Nations to the next settlement?
- (2) What should be the place of the League and its associated bodies in that settlement?
- (3) What should be the ultimate form of that settlement: the League of Nations revised and strengthened? the United Nations expanded and formalized? a wholly new agency, or two agencies, one for security and one for other matters?

Rooms for evernight will be available at the Princeton Inn, the Nassau Ta vern, or elsewhere Worder of acceptance of the invitation. A card is enclosed for your convenience in replying. Please indicate whether you will be present at the opening dinner Saturday evening and whether you wish a room reservation. Convenient trains leave New York at 5:08, reaching Princeton at 6:14, or Washington at , reaching Princeton at

no City

3060 Garrison Street, N. W. Washington, D. C. October 20, 1943

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

Dear Frank:

Very much thanks for yours of the 15th with its cordial invitation for the League Inquiry to meet in Princeton, and especially at the Institute. Nothing has yet been decided but it rather looks, as I wrote before, that, in view of the congested conditions in Princeton and the coincidence of the UNRRA Conference at Atlantic City, the choice will fall to the latter. In any event, I imagine the decision will be made at the Board meeting on the 29th.

Cordially yours,

A.S.

Arthur Sweetser

AS: CMC

Washington, D. C. 3060 Garrison Street, N. W. October 8, 1943

Mrs. Harrison Thomas League of Nations Association, Inc. 8 West 40th Street New York City

Dear Mrs. Thomas:

The editorial in the United States News which is now being reprinted as a page advertisement in the metropolitan press throughout the country strikes me as the most interesting unofficial event which has occurred in your particular interests for a very long time.

David Lawrence telephoned me yesterday to find out where he could obtain the most recent official text of the Covenant, with all its amendments, which he is preparing to reprint in full in the forthcoming issue,

I took advantage of the opportunity to ask him a few details about his project and learned that this is not just a single action but part of a project which has been distilling in his mind for some time.

The advertisement, it seems, is appearing in no less than 27 metropolitan newspapers located in all the principal cities and including even such opposition papers as the Chicago Tribune. It should, consequently, have a far-reaching effect,

Already, Lawrence says, he has had many inquiries and has decided to reprint both the original editorial and the page advertisement in a special pamphlet form. He is only too happy to provide copies in bulk without charge and would, he said, be glad to let the Association have several thousand if it so desires.

Moreover, he intends to follow this editorial with as much material as he can get, particularly in his own column which he says appears in some 130 newspapers. Finally, as you know, he is in close touch with a good many leaders in Washington, particularly on the Hill.

What now most interests him is to see how much reaction this widely printed editorial will have. He has put it out somewhat as a test of opinion and is carefully watching the response.

Having picked up this information by chance, I thought it was interesting enough to send on to you, of course entirely personally and privately, and for your information as well. I am sure it will interest you as it did me and I imagine there are ways in which you can pass it on or otherwise use it, I should think, for instance, that the Association members would be interested to know of it and have copies, and also the high school debate contest people. In any event, it is certainly an interesting and unexpected development. Cordially yours,

League Conf. Dec. 11-12,1943

October 15, 1943

Dear Arthur:

I have discussed your proposed conference on the League with our Standing Committee and I am authorized to say that if it proves to be possible to hold it in Princeton you would be most heartily welcome to meet at the Institute. What you say about congestion in Princeton is certainly true and I think it would be necessary to make reservations at the Inn and the Tavern, but there would be no difficulty about a meeting place in Fuld Hall.

If the conference were here, would the delegates want to have their lunch here also? When you get far enough along to know how many there would be, let me know and I will take that question up with Mrs. Dilks. There would be no difficulty about it provided she can obtain the food.

Yours sincerely,

Arthur Sweetser, Esq. 3060 Garrison Street, N. W. Washington, D. C.

FA/MCE

OFFICE OF WAR INFORMATION

WASHINGTON

October 2, 1943

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

Dear Frank:

Just a line to send you a couple of things before getting off tomorrow for the first three days of next week in New York.

First, a letter from Goodrich in reply to mine which you may be interested to glance at and return.

Second, the announcement of the League of Nations Inquiry, which I think gives the details you wanted to have, for consideration in connection with the possible meeting in Princeton.

If you are to be in New York before Wednesday night, do let me know either at the Gotham or the United Nations Information Office.

Cordially yours,

A.S.

Arthur Sweetser

AS: CMC

Enc .



OFFICE OF WAR INFORMATION

WASHINGTON

October 8, 1943

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

Dear Frank:

Thanks very much for returning Goodrich's letter.

I am delighted that the idea of the Conference is appealing to you more and more; I think it has been given quite an impetus by developing events, and particularly by the page advertisement appearing in twenty-seven newspapers across the country. Just for your own entirely personal and confidential information I enclose a carbon of the letter I have just written on this subject, Which I am sure you will be interested to see.

The question of the Conference will come up at a meeting of the Board of the Woodrow Wilson Foundation on Tuesday, when I hope a small grant may be made, and at the annual meeting of the League of Nations Association on October 29, when plans will be finally approved. The principal recent development is to consider holding the meeting near the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Conference which, as you know, will take place at Atlantic City for several weeks beginning November 10. It is thought that it might be very interesting to members to have a week-end near the UNRRA Conference. Moreover, the conditions at Princeton seem very crowded. Nothing, however, has yet been finally decided, and I will keep you in touch with plans as they develop.

I had a sneaking hope, with this beautiful weather, that I might be able to stop off again at Princeton, particularly as I had to be in New York the first days of this week and the first days of next week, but there are some matters on the fire that I have had to keep moving pretty rapidly.

Cordially yours,

LS.

Arthur Sweetser



November 2, 1943

Dear Mr. Sweetser:

I have talked with Mrs. Aydelotte and also with Professor Meritt, who is acting in an administrative capacity in Dr. Aydelotte's absence, about the date for the League conference. They both expressed the opinion that December 11th would be entirely satisfactory and that you might go ahead with the arrangements without waiting for approval of the date by Dr. Aydelotte. Mrs. Aydelotte will mention it in her cablegram, but she feels sure that Dr. Aydelotte will approve.

Yours sincerely,

Arthur Sweetser, Esq. 3060 Garrison Street, N. W. Washington, D. C.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ment and disarmantant

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

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

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

Director's Office: General Files: Box 38: League of Nations Conference, December 12, 1943
From the Shelby White and Leon Levy Archives Center, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, NJ, USA

League of Nations Association, Inc.

National Headquarters: 8 West 40th Street, New York, N. Y.

> Telephone LOngacre 5-2100 Cable "Leagonat"

FRANK G. BOUDREAU, M.D.
President

HUGH MOORE
Chairman, Executive Committee

FREDERICK C. McKEE
Treasurer

CLARK M. EICHELBERGER
Director

November 22, 1943

You are cordially invited to attend a conference on the relation of the League of Nations to future international organization, to be held at the INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY, PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY, DECEMBER 11-12 through the courtesy of Dr. Frank Aydelotte.

The business of the conference will be consideration of a draft report on the present status of the League, the contribution which the League can make to the international organization which is emerging from this war and the general form that organization should take. The report has been under preparation since July, under the direction of a special Committee of Inquiry set up by the League of Nations Association and in consultation with American citizens who have been intimately associated with League work. It takes the form of a general statement supplemented by some seventeen individual papers, each prepared by an American who has been a member of the League Secretariat or of one of its associated agencies or committees. An outline of its contents is enclosed, and a copy of the report so far as completed will be sent you on your request.

A grant by the Woodrow Wilson Foundation makes possible the publication of the final report as well as the recommendations which will come out of the Princeton Conference.

You will of course realize the importance of this Inquiry. It is felt that its conclusions will be of service to our own government, to non-governmental bodies concerned with post-war planning, and to all persons interested in the organization of the world for peace.

Questions such as the following are of vital importance and should be discussed and answered at the conference:

- (1) What can be the contribution of the League of Nations to the next settlement?
- (2) What should be the place of the League and its associated bodies in that settlement?
- (3) What should be the ultimate form of that settlement: the League of Nations revised and strengthened? the United Nations expanded and formalized? a wholly new agency, or two agencies, one for security and one for other matters?

Important as this Inquiry seemed last July when it was started, recent events have given added importance to it, notably the Moscow agreements, the development of United Nations agencies on Food and Agriculture and on Relief and Rehabilitation, and the passage of the Connally and Fulbright Resolutions.

This conference will be in part a continuation of the conference of Americans associated with the League which was held in Princeton in 1941. While, however, that conference looked largely to the past, this conference will be concentrated upon the future.

The conference will open with a dinner at the Princeton Inn at 7:30 Saturday evening, December 11th. Discussion will begin immediately and will continue at the Institute through Sunday, December 12th, with a buffet luncheon served at the Institute.

Rooms for Saturday night, December 11th, will be available at the Princeton Inn, the Nassau Tavern, or elsewhere, in order of acceptance of this invitation. Use of double rooms will be necessary in most cases, because of crowded conditions. A card is enclosed for your convenience in replying. Please indicate whether you will be present at the opening dinner Saturday evening and the Sunday luncheon, and whether you wish a room reservation. Convenient trains leave New York at 5:08, reaching Princeton at 6:14, or Washington at 2:00, reaching Princeton at 5:58.

Please address your replies to: Mrs. Harrison Thomas, secretary to the League Inquiry, League of Nations Association, 8 West 40th Street, New York 18, N. Y.

COMMITTEE FOR THE LEAGUE INQUIRY:

Frank G. Boudreau, M.D.

Malcolm Davis

Clark M. Eichelberger

Huntington Gilchrist

Carter Goodrich

James T. Shotwell

Arthur Sweetser

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- 2, THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANIZATION

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 Representative and Chairman of the Governing Body
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- 4. DISARMAMENT

Mary E. Woolley
Member of the American Delegation to the
Disarmament Conference in 1931
And Laura Puffer Morgan, Associate of the
Geneva Research Center

5. ECONOMICS

Henry F. Grady
Former Assistant Secretary of State and Chairman
of the League's Economic Committee

- 6. ECONOMIC STATISTICS
 Dana Durand, Member of the United States Tariff
 Commission
- 7, DOUBLE TAXATION
 Mitchell Carroll, Former Member of the League
 Secretariat
- 8. TRANSIT

 Consultant not yet selected

9. HEALTH

Dr. Frank G. Boudreau, Director of the Milbank Memorial Fund and Member of the League's Health Section

10. HOUSING

Dr. C-E. A. Winslow, Yale University, Member of the League's Housing Commission

11. DANGEROUS DRUGS

Herbert L. May Vice-Chairman of the Central Opium Board

12. MANDATES AND DEPENDENT AREAS
Huntington Gilchrist, Member of the Mandates
Section of the League's Secretariat

13. SOCIAL QUESTIONS

Elsa Castendyck, of the Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor and Member of the League's Social Committee

14. REFUGEES

Consultant not yet selected

15. INTELLECTUAL AND CULTURAL MATTERS

Malcolm W. Davis, former Director of the Paris

Office of the Carnegie Endowment and Member of

various League Committees on Intellectual Cooperation

16. INTERNATIONAL ADMINISTRATION
Sarah Wambaugh
Technical Adviser in the Saar Plebiscite

17. TREATIES

Manley O. Hudson

Director's Office: General Files: Box 38: League of Nations Conference, December 12, 1943
From the Shelby White and Leon Levy Archives Center, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, NJ, USA

()	I shall attend the Princeton Conference.
()	I shall be present at the dinner Dec. 11th. (cover \$2.50)
()	Please reserve a room Sat. night, Dec. 11th. (\$5.00 per person with breakfast)
()	I shall be present at luncheon Dec. 12th. (cover \$1.00)
()	I wish a copy of the Inquiry report.
N	AME	
ΑI	DDR	ESS

The League of Nations and Post-War Settlement

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

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

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

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

TEXT OF RESOLUTIONS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- A. As regards international organization and administration
 - That the nations of the world have reached the point where a cooperative organization is not only desirable but essential for a host of activities which have reached the international stage.
 - 2. That that organization should be universal in character and built around one central authority as representative of the broad interests of the whole community of nations.
 - 3. That that organization may have affiliated agencies organized either (a) on a regional basis, or (b) on a subject basis.
 - 4. That any such affiliated agencies should be fully autonomous within their particular fields but should operate within the cooperative framework of the central organization, with proper allocation of funds, and documentation between themselves and the central organization.
 - 5. That independent or uncorrelated agencies tend to build up a separatist attitude which militates against the free cooperation which should exist between all agencies seeking peace and progress amongst nations.
 - 6. That, on the contrary, closely coordinated agencies can often pool their experience or facilities to the greatest advantage.
- B. As regards security, prevention of war, sanctions, peaceful settlement and disarmament
 - 1. That problems of security and prevention of aggression have an urgency and compulsion which put them in a different category from other, more normal and more slow-moving international problems and thus offer the possibility of a different or even separate method of treatment.
 - 2. That such problems depend primarily on the Great Powers and their willingness to take a positive position, and that, unless all the principal military powers agree on concerted measures, any really effective action in a major crisis is extremely difficult, if not impossible.
 - 3. That, contrary to a wide-spread view, the smaller powers also have great importance in this basic problem, whether as areas of conflict or as support for the principle of collective security and also for specific action.
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COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY

DR. FRANK G. BOUDREAU, Chairman

MALCOLM DAVIS

CLARK M. EICHELBERGER

HUNTINGTON GILCHRIST

CARTER GOODRICH

JAMES T. SHOTWELL

ARTHUR SWEETSER

MRS. HARRISON THOMAS, Secretary

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS ASSOCIATION

8 West 40th Street

New York 18, New York

