

Just

Ministry of Economic Warfare,
Berkeley Square House,
Berkeley Square,
London, W.1.

29th March, 1945.

My Dear Win,

Thank you so much for your letter - I have been meaning to write to you for months.

Economic warfare still goes on. As you may have heard I have just spent a month in Berne, together with Lauchlin Currie, John Lovitt, David Gordon, Orvis Schmidt (of the U.S. Treasury) Bliss, Derrick Seebohm, Miss Solomon, Miss Lambe and Mrs. Woodward. It was a shame that you were not there to see the results of your own handiwork. Keller was sick, and so our old friend Professor Rappard, whom you may remember as one of the Sulzer party, presided over the discussions.

It was all great fun. The Swiss discovered a German plot to bump us off on arrival at the frontier. The result was that we were met by about half the Swiss Army and we never moved outside our doors without being shadowed by detectives. There was a German Delegation in the same hotel as ourselves, headed by our old antagonist Herr Schnurre. The management put the British on the first floor, the Americans on the second, the French on the third and the Germans on the fourth. I tried hard to identify the German Delegation but never succeeded, and in the end they took themselves off early in the morning before any of the Allies were awake.

Food was beginning to be rather short in Switzerland. But not drink. These were the most intemperate negotiations I have ever seen, and most of the British Delegation are only just beginning to recover. Even my American colleagues shewed occasional signs of strain.

Currie handled the negotiations exceedingly well. It was not all plain sailing, even at this stage of the war. The French had a number of requirements of their own unconnected

Professor W.W. Riefler.

with/

with economic warfare, and it was not always easy to keep in step with them. However, it all ended well. We succeeded in stopping the last remaining supplies to Kesselring on Swiss railways and reducing what was left of Swiss exports to Germany to a microscopic figure. This was really a mopping up operation. What really mattered was the Agreement we made in December 1943.

I went to Zurich and called on the Thurnheers. He has been sick for a long time and was too ill to see me or to be told that I was in Switzerland. But I had a long talk with Madame Thurnheer, who was obviously delighted to see anyone from London.

In Sweden, as you may have seen, we ended up with a complete embargo on all Swedish trade with Germany. Our chief preoccupation now is to prevent the concealment of German assets in the neutral countries and to try to smoke them out. It is all very well but I cannot feel nearly as excited as I used to do over our neutral trade operations.

I have been included in the British Delegation for San Francisco. Is there any chance of your being there? Also I may be visiting Washington for a few days in the middle of April, to discuss the last remaining economic warfare problems. If so, I will ring you up on arrival.

With greetings to you both from Dorothy and myself,

*Yours as ever,
Angela*

I enclose a copy of my family's latest published works.

Dundee Parliamentary Election, 1945



DINGLE M. FOOT
Liberal Candidate

To the Electors of Dundee

Ladies and Gentlemen,

NEARLY ten years ago you did me the honour of electing me for the second time to represent you in the House of Commons. Since then I have served you to the utmost of my ability. In particular my constant objective, both before and during the war, has been the establishment of new industries in Dundee. Our older industries will, I hope, revive and flourish; indeed, I have frequently brought their requirements to the attention of the Departments concerned. But a greater variety of occupations is essential if we are to secure the prosperity of our City and the employ-

ment of its people. Under the Distribution of Industry Bill, which is now before Parliament, Dundee, as a Development Area, will receive assistance for this purpose. This is a step which I have advocated on many occasions, both in Parliament and outside. Nevertheless, much remains to be done. If you again send me to Parliament I shall continue to do everything in my power to promote the industrial development of the City.

MY RECORD

But even more important than the service which a Member of Parliament renders to local interests is his attitude to the major issues of public policy which affect the whole nation. It is by this test that I ask you to judge my record. **As you know, I was against the Chamberlain Government's policy of appeasement.** I always believed, and frequently said at the time, that the long series of concessions to Fascist dictators, beginning with Abyssinia and ending with Munich, was bringing us to a situation of the utmost danger. At the same time the Liberal Opposition, of which I was a member, constantly drew attention to the gaps in our defences, and urged by every means in their power that more adequate preparations should be made. If our advice had been taken the country might well have been spared many of the reverses of 1940 and 1941.

From May 1940 until the end of the Coalition last month I served in the Government as Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Economic Warfare. Our task was to administer the blockade of Germany and Japan and to assist in planning not only the bomber offensive but all other operations designed to strike at the enemy's home front. **I ask for no other testimonial to my work than that given by the German Government themselves when, in November 1943, they announced that I had been placed on the German list of war criminals.**

WAR AND PEACE

The first objective in the new Parliament must be the utter defeat of Japan. We must continue to accept whatever war-time controls and sacrifices are necessary for this purpose. We should be failing not only

our Dominions and Allies but our own sailors, soldiers and airmen if, by relaxing our own war effort at home, we impaired in any way our striking power in the Far East. It is all one war. **Unconditional surrender is just as essential in Tokyo as it was in Berlin.**

Thereafter, in collaboration with our Allies, we must seek to build a lasting peace. I am writing this as I fly back from San Francisco where, as a member of the British Delegation, I helped to draw up the charter of the new World Organisation. I believe that this organisation will in many ways be stronger than the old League of Nations. Like the League, however, it is only an instrument and its success or failure will be determined by how it is used. Whether it will in fact succeed will, I believe, very largely depend upon the moral leadership and material strength of Britain. The aim of the Liberal Party is to create the one and maintain the other.

The causes of war are economic as well as political. Precisely the same measures are necessary to establish peace abroad and prosperity at home. First, we must make the largest possible contribution, even at some immediate sacrifice to ourselves, to the relief and economic reconstruction of the liberated but shattered countries of Europe. Second, we must do everything in our power to secure the general elimination of tariffs, quotas, and all other barriers to trade. Neither lasting peace nor full employment can be founded on a basis of national or imperial self-sufficiency.

THE STATE AND INDUSTRY

The stale and hoary controversy about the abstract virtues of public ownership and private enterprise has lost most of its meaning and merely obscures the real issues. The danger to individual enterprise is not so much State control as the steady growth of monopolies and cartels. Before this war the Government was constantly intervening in trade and industry on behalf of privileged economic groups. **If our Liberal views prevail it will intervene in a different manner — on behalf of the consumer and the man or woman threatened with unemployment.**

FULL EMPLOYMENT

The Liberal Party intends to use the powers of the State to prevent the tragedy of mass unemployment being enacted over again. Our policy is summed up in the words of Sir William Beveridge as **"full employment in a free society."** Of course, anyone can provide full employment in a regimented community where all the activities of men and women, including their personal expenditure, are directed for them by higher authority. We Liberals, however, are convinced that we can achieve it without interfering with fundamental liberties and without imposing a whole series of vexatious, bureaucratic controls. By such measures as increasing consumption through improved social services and children's allowances, collective outlay to secure adequate houses, food and fuel for all, improvements in our capital equipment and the encouragement and assistance of private investment through a National Investment Board it will, we believe, be possible to keep employed the whole productive resources of the country.

SCOTLAND

No policy of full employment can possibly succeed unless it takes account of the special requirements of Scotland. As long ago as 1937 I served on a Special Committee of the Scottish Liberal Federation which drew up a series of proposals designed to revitalise Scottish industry. This was the first enquiry of its kind undertaken by any political Party. That programme, most of which still awaits accomplishment, includes such capital projects as the Forth and Tay Road Bridges and measures for the planned location of industry designed to redress the balance between North and South. In addition, it is imperative that the claims of Scotland should be recognised in the development of civil aviation.

HOUSING

The grim and sordid housing conditions of Scotland reflect upon our civilisation. The provision of dwelling houses at rents which working class households can afford (and, in blitzed districts, the repair of bomb damage) is the most urgent of our

domestic needs. We must use every means of construction open to us, including pre-fabricated houses whether made at home or imported from abroad. No vested interest, whether of land-owners, capital or labour can be allowed to stand in the way. This problem cannot be satisfactorily solved until we secure to the community the increase in land values which is due to community action.

FREEDOM FROM WANT

I welcomed the Beveridge Plan as the logical culmination of Liberal achievements in the realm of social reform. Generally speaking I agree with the proposals for family allowances and the unification and improvement of the social services put forward by the late Coalition Government. I shall do everything I can to see that measures on these lines reach the Statute Book at the first possible moment. In particular I shall continue, as I have done in the past, to advocate the cause of the Old Age Pensioners.

HOW WE ARE GOVERNED

If we are to grapple successfully with the problems of the post-war world we must overhaul our machinery of government. In my opinion several of the permanent Government departments could learn a good deal in speed and efficiency from the temporary Ministries set up during the war. Even more important is the reform of the system by which Parliament is elected. The present system of single and double member seats offers only a narrow area of choice to the individual voter and grossly misrepresents the mind of the electorate as a whole. It is a denial of democratic principles that a party should have a majority in the House of Commons while representing only a minority of the voters.

A FREE COUNTRY

It would be one of the greatest ironies in history if, after defeating totalitarianism in Germany, we were gradually to build a totalitarian state of our own. Yet this is by no means inconceivable if present tendencies are allowed to proceed unchecked. Power and the means to exercise it must

ELECTION COMMUNICATION

With greetings to

all good wishes

from

Dingle + Dookey

Foot

exist in a modern community. But it need not be arbitrary power. The Liberal aim is to preserve and strengthen all those safeguards, such as democratic control, and the jurisdiction of the courts of law, which protect the ordinary citizen against any misuse of authority.

Yours sincerely,

Dinglefoot

"Skymaster K.L. 980,"
Mid-Atlantic,
2nd June 1945.

Printed and Published by PAUL & MATTHEW,
Murraygate, Dundee.

WWR

Essays in Government

Should Elections to the House be Staggered?

On the front page of the New York Times recently there appeared an appeal, taken verbatim from the German radio, seeking for Allied clemency; in close proximity the editor placed a second appeal, from President Roosevelt to the Congress for legislative action on the problem of civilian manpower. It may seem strange that a country like the United States which had gone "all out" for the war should still, in the very hour of triumph following years of effort, be haunted by apprehension that civilians at home would quit their war jobs before final victory.

To the politically initiate, however, there was nothing strange in this contrast. They know that while our democracy is capable of making great decisions, it will frequently procrastinate almost to the limit of disaster in providing adequate implementation. Those of us who happen to be familiar with the history of the efforts to mobilize civilian manpower know that the government long ago appreciated the importance of more adequate legislation and requested Congress to deal with the problem adequately. We also know that this request was not pressed in 1944 when action would have been most appropriate, because a Congressional election was approaching. Congressmen have learned from long experience that their constituents are likely to react unfavorably to a specific vote for legislation that steps on local toes. Cases in which the voters punish an individual Congressman for failure to press needed legislation are much more rare. The Congressman has learned that election to the House is determined primarily by "local" issues. Under these circumstances, he is inclined

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to play safe, particularly in even-numbered years, when he must leave Washington to campaign for reelection. If the Administration comes forward with legislation of the type of the manpower bill which touches intimately most of his constituents, he will seek to have consideration postponed to an odd year, i.e., the session of Congress coming just after elections. If it is passed in an odd year, the people have a longer time to become adjusted to it, or may have forgotten its inconveniences by the time election comes around. This illustration given above, of the manpower bill, is not unique. It can be paralleled in every recent session of Congress. In 1943, for example, the Trade Agreements Act was renewed for two years instead of three so that its next renewal would fall in 1945 just following the election of 1944 rather than in 1946 just preceding a new appeal to the electorate.

The timing of legislation, however, not with reference to its occasion or necessity, but rather to the approach of elections, does not express itself solely in postponement. The ever recurring biennial election may have the effect of hastening legislative action, if such action appeals to the wishes of broad pressure groups. The Railroad Retirement Act of 1934 is a case in point. I remember vividly the frantic efforts of the proponents of this Act to get it reported for a vote on the last day of Congress in June of that year, a vote which they were confident would be favorable because of the impending elections. In this case the general purpose of the Act was warmly endorsed by the Administration but there was some desire to postpone action on separate retirement legislation for the railroads until the next session when the more general provision for old age pensions then being formulated would come up. The Frasier-Lemke Bill of 1934,

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dealing with farm bankruptcies, which was also passed in the closing hours of that same Congress, constituted another example of this same practice. It was generally recognized that this piece of legislation was badly drawn, but when Senator Huey Long managed to get it reported out of Committee, the favorable vote of both Houses was certainly affected by the impending elections. It was rumored that many who supported the bill expected that it would be invalidated by the Supreme Court. It is significant that there was relatively little outcry when this happened.

The above cases could be multiplied many fold. The history of the Soldiers' Bonus constitutes another case in point. In fact, an illuminating analysis of legislative action could be made, purely from the point of view of its timing with reference to impending elections. It would be found, I think, that legislative enactments that are clearly in the broad national interest but which at the same time are likely to waken resentment on the part of special pressure groups, tend to be passed in the odd years between elections. Legislation to which there is legitimate objection but which is popular with such groups, on the other hand, is either smothered in Committee, or is likely to be passed in the session immediately preceding an appeal to the voters. Frequently this is done in confidence that the legislation will be thrown out by the Supreme Court.

Clearly this is a situation which cannot be allowed to persist. In the recurring crises of recent years there have been too many occasions when the national interest required immediate Congressional consideration and action. We cannot afford to wait for odd years when such consideration is more convenient to the individual member of the House. It is not in the broad interest of

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democratic procedure, likewise, for Congress to come to regard the Supreme Court as a lightning rod. This is a situation, therefore, that requires remedy.

Unlike many other problems of democracy, where reform is essentially a matter of spirit and attitude rather than of machinery, this particular problem can be remedied by a Constitutional amendment since it arises purely out of a defect in the mechanics of our Constitution. It reflects the fact that members of the lower House of Congress are elected practically simultaneously in the autumn of even-numbered years. Being purely mechanical in origin, it lends itself to mechanical solution. The remainder of this memorandum is devoted to an exploration of one mechanical device by which this defect could be corrected, namely, an amendment to the Constitution to provide for a system of staggered election for members of the House of Representatives.

A System of Staggered Elections to the House of Representatives

The proposal in its essence is that members of the House of Representatives continue to be elected for two year terms, but that these elections be held at staggered intervals. At present Congressmen in all states except Maine are elected in early November of even-numbered years, to take office at noon on the third of January of the following odd-numbered years. Under the system of staggered elections here proposed, members of the House would be elected throughout the year, so that the House would be a truly continuing body in which a handful of members were always up for immediate reelection, but in which the great majority of members would be secure in their terms for a considerable period. Under this system no period would be more favorable than any other for the consideration of any particular piece of legislation, from the purely mechanical

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standpoint of its timing.

To make the proposal concrete, and as simple as possible in exposition, let us suppose that the present membership of the House of Representatives were raised by five seats from its present limit of 435 constituencies. This would provide 440 seats, a number evenly divisible by 22. If this were done, it would be possible to maintain the two year term and at the same time to hold elections for 20 members of the House continuously in every month of the year except November when the great national and state elections are held. This would mean that in each district where an election for the House was held, the selection of the new representative would be the sole or main order of business of the voters. Attention would not be distracted from the election, its issues, or the relative fitness of the candidates by the competition of simultaneous Presidential, Senatorial or Governatorial elections. The twenty seats in which elections were to be held each month (excepting November) would be scattered geographically so as to provide that each month some elections would be held in the South, some in the East, some in the Middle West and some in the Far West. They would also be so scattered that a certain proportion would be held in urban and in rural constituencies respectively.

From the national point of view, this simple mechanical device would completely eliminate any defect in our elective system for the House which tends to periodicity in procedure. It would end the practice of considering "unpopular" bills in odd-numbered years and "popular" bills in even-numbered years. It would also bring about a very considerable change in the organization and functioning of Congress. From the local point of view of an individual constituency, there would be much less change from the present system. In each constituency an election for the House would still be held regularly every two years. It would not,

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however, be held simultaneously with other, frequently more important elections, in November. This would be its chief difference. The main local objection to the change might well be concentrated on the additional cost that would ensue if elections for the House were held separately from those for other offices.

Would Staggered Elections have other effects?

We may take it for granted, I think, that this device, if adopted, would eliminate, so far as the House is concerned, any and all effects now resulting from its system of simultaneous biennial elections. That it would do so is a truism, since it would eliminate their cause. What, however, would be its other effects? Our Federal government is a delicate instrument, the result of long evolution under a written Constitution as well as under unwritten but equally compelling customs and practices. It could easily be thrown out of balance in ways never suspected by proponents of reform. It is essential, consequently, to explore the proposed device, not primarily from the point of view of the defects which it is designed to eliminate (its efficacy in that field may in this instance be taken for granted) but rather from the point of view of its collateral effects on the quality and competence of our Federal government. Before proceeding to consider these effects in detail, it should be noted that this proposal would accentuate further one basic difference between our system and the Parliamentary system as practiced in Great Britain. There elections are never timed in advance, but are held on a specific issue arising out of a government defeat in the Commons and its appeal to the country for vindication. Here elections are held regularly as provided in the Constitution. Much has been made of the success of the British system in focussing attention ^{on} ~~of~~ real issues, but faith in this advantage has been tempered considerably by the inter-war experience when elections

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frequently occurred on issues trumped up by the Government ^{as the basis for} ~~on which to~~ appeal to the country for a renewal of its mandate. It is debatable whether the American system, insisting on recurrent elections, does not in general secure more continuous contact with the public. In any case, there is little chance that we will depart from the present system of recurring elections timed in advance.

(a) Continuing Popular Referendum

If elections to the House were staggered as is here proposed, the possibility arises that they ^{might} ~~will~~ constitute a continuing barometer of electoral sentiment, much more precise from a purely political standpoint than existing devices for maintaining popular contact, such as the representations of pressure groups, editorial comment, and public opinion polls. This would be a highly desirable achievement. No problem tests more basically the political instinct of the incumbent in Congress or the candidate for election thereto than that of distinguishing coldly and clearly between voting sentiment, on the one hand, and popular preferences and political propaganda, on the other. Examples could be cited indefinitely to prove the non-identity of these concepts. The candidate for reelection, for example, cannot take the press at its face value, since scarcely an election passes without a considerable number of candidates ^{proving} ~~who were~~ successful despite opposition by all or a preponderant part of the press. Nor can the Congressman afford to take public opinion as his sole guide. The history of the public opinion poll is short, but it has already furnished a multitude of instances where dominant popular attitudes within a constituency have been consistently at variance with the majority vote of its representation in Congress. These representatives, moreover, have continued to be reelected.

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Anyone familiar with Congress can cite numerous cases, likewise, of instances where pressure groups, despite their great and obvious power, have failed to prevent the reelection of an incumbent who had defied them, or even seriously to affect his popular majority. These instances are not cited to indicate that press sentiment is unimportant, that public opinion polls are inaccurate, or that pressure groups and lobbies lack political strength. The attention paid to all three of these devices by experienced politicians belies such an inference. What they do show is that all three are highly fallible as indications, not of how voters feel about particular issues, but of how far these feelings will govern their votes at the next election.

This is the decisive factor in a democracy. Every Congressman, including those that are deeply conscientious as well as those who are primarily opportunist, must take into account, in every action of ^{his} public life, its effect on ^{his} chances for reelection. It is important that ^{he} they know how the various elements in ^{his} their constituencies feel about pending public issues, but it is even more important, in fact it is crucial to ^{his} their political existence, to know how these same elements will react at the polls.

It may be that regularly staggered elections will help to solve this problem. Under such a system, all Congressmen could observe each month the actual reaction at the polls of voters in twenty widely scattered election districts. These twenty districts could not possibly constitute a scientific balanced sample of the United States, but they would comprise a good rough sample, and, moreover, a cumulative one, as elections went on from month to month while crucial public issues were up for debate and decision. Under these circumstances the skilled politician would be in a position to read political trends more accurately, to

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see where the preferences of voters as expressed in public opinion polls were sufficiently intense to affect their voting attitudes and where they were not, to distinguish between lobbies genuinely representing the outraged feelings of minority groups and lobbies engaged merely in the process of capitalizing political apprehensions, to discern when editorial opinion was in tune with its community and when it was diverse. It is generally thought that the occasional bye-elections held in Great Britain to fill vacancies to the House of Commons perform this function. It may be that it would be much more adequately performed in this country by staggered elections. If this should eventuate, it would contribute greatly to the revitalization of the democratic process, for representative bodies cannot be expected to perform responsibly and courageously when they are unsure of their mandate.

Quality of Memberships

The factors determining American political vitality lie very deep, so deep that wide reaching mechanical reforms such as the direct primary, the popular referendum, and even woman suffrage have exerted only minor effects upon the level of political activity or the quality of its personnel. It may well be that a minor mechanical change in the timing of elections such as is here proposed, would be equally unnoticeable so far as these two factors are concerned. The special elections now held from time to time to finish out the term of a deceased Congressman have certainly not differed greatly from the regular elections with respect either to the level of the local debate or the quality of the aspirants. There is a possibility on the other hand that if elections to the House were regularly staggered, the importance of "national" as contrasted with "local" issues in Congressional campaigns would be increased and also that membership in the House would gain

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prestige. This would tend to come about if the national leaders, aware that the existing organization of the House was not immune from upset at the polls, undertook actively to play a role in the twenty local elections held each month.

I would be willing to wager that if a Gallup poll were taken today throughout the United States it would be found that more than 70 percent of the voters would be unable to give the name of their representative in the House of Representatives, that more than 50 percent would be unable to name his leading opponent at the last Congressional elections, and that more than 90 percent would fail dismally if they were asked to give his stand on important but controversial national issues now up for consideration in Congress. It is obvious that staggered elections would not of themselves reverse this situation. It is possible, however, that they could be made a vehicle, and a very effective one, in its amelioration.

This fortunate result would ensue to the extent that our responsible national leaders were forced by the exigencies of politics,--the necessity on the part of the majority party, to maintain control of the House,--to interest ^{itself} themselves personally and directly in the twenty scattered elections being held each month. If this compulsion were in operation, and it is difficult to see how it could be avoided, the voters in each constituency would experience the feeling once every two years that their choice had a national as well as a local significance. It might be that national leaders would come to speak and to participate personally in each local campaign. The national party organization might be forced to organize definitely to cover this field. If the reform took this direction, it would almost inevitably follow that national issues would be stressed to a far greater extent than at present in each local campaign. Relatively obscure constituencies, placed

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for a moment in the spotlight of national affairs and basking in the headlines of the metropolitan press, might achieve a new realization of their importance to the nation.

It is equally conceivable that this same process might tend to raise the quality of Congressional aspirants. It would certainly serve to increase the dignity of membership in the House and to eliminate in some measure its present anonymity.

Repercussions in the Party Organization of Congress

In Washington itself, the effects of staggered elections to the House would be direct as well as indirect. At present a new Congress is organized biennially in January to take account of the new elections. It is then that the majority take over, that the Speaker is chosen, and the all-powerful committees are elected. Clearly a system of staggered elections would force a drastic change in this procedure, since the party that organizes the House does so because it controls the votes of a majority of its members. Under a system of staggered elections there would be no sudden shifts in this majority, there would be no predetermined date such as January of odd-numbered years requiring a new organization of the House. It would be necessary on the other hand, to undertake reorganization of the House whenever the majority actually shifted, as a result of elections in the preceding month. Such a reorganization would clearly constitute a major event in our political life in some sense analogous to the quadrennial election of the President.

It is impossible to forecast how this problem would be solved. It is possible to speculate that it would not be worked out constructively in such a way as to increase the authority and responsibility of the House. It might, for example, have the unfortunate effect of increasing the individualism and factionalism of

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national issues might become so important in the continuing elections to the House as to increase its responsibility for initiating public policy. In other words, it might induce a shift toward parliamentary government. In this case, the majority party would be forced to insist that the Speaker, the Committee chairmen, the power^{ful} Rules Committee and the Ways and Means Committee consist of the outstanding membership with less emphasis on seniority.

Amendment to Constitution

Prior to the adoption of the XX Amendment to the Constitution in 1933 it would probably have been possible to adopt a system of staggered elections without a constitutional amendment. The original Constitution provides only that members of the House of Representatives be elected for two-year terms. The Fathers undoubtedly envisioned simultaneous elections at two-year intervals, but there is nothing in the original written document to preclude the procedure here proposed. The XX Amendment, however, which provides for inauguration of a new President on January 20 instead of March 4, is specific in stating that the terms of members of the House shall begin on January 3rd. The actual adoption of a system of staggered elections to the House, therefore, would require a formal amendment to the Constitution.

Virgil W. Riefler
April 1945

430 *Island Club*
Sarasota

Shelton

CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE

DIVISION OF ECONOMICS AND HISTORY

405 WEST 117TH STREET, NEW YORK 27, N. Y.

JAMES T. SHOTWELL, DIRECTOR

5 November 1945

Dear Professor Riefler:

I enclose a revised text of your memorandum which was discussed at the meeting of the group which met at the invitation of the Carnegie Endowment on October 26. This memorandum will come up for discussion at the meeting on Wednesday evening, November 7, along with a further consideration of the memorandum on the problem of Security under the Charter.

I also enclose for purposes of ready reference two extracts from President Truman's Navy Day speech.

Faithfully yours,

James T. Shotwell

Professor Winfield W. Riefler
Princeton University
Princeton, New Jersey

P.S. Will you please bring the enclosed material with you for consideration at the meeting Wednesday evening.

MEMORANDUM by PROFESSOR WINFIELD W. RIEFLER

November 5, 1945

The most serious impact of the discovery of nuclear fission has been the tendency to drive the world further into two blocs, centering on the one side around the United States, and, on the other, around Russia. This cannot be allowed to continue. Current tensions must be alleviated and each step which we take as a nation toward the international control of this new and completely revolutionary force must be considered from the point of view of the probable actual effect on the current international scene as well as from the point of view of the intention to promote closer ties between the nations. It is essential, for example, that our approach to the problem be as constructive as possible. To this end we must prepare the American people to give sympathetic consideration to the acceptance of international commitments that may go far beyond the current limitations of the United Nations Charter. At the same time it is the sine quo non of the current situation that we do not fix on a particular international solution which we put up to other peoples for acceptance or rejection. We must not put the Russians, or any other country, in a position where they acquire odium in the eyes of other people by appearing to turn down a program which we advance in good faith. For, given the current state of tension and suspicion, such reluctance, no matter how understandable, would add fuel to flames already dangerously high.

President Truman has taken the first step in the direction of alleviation of tensions by announcing that he regards our current custody of the atomic bomb as a "sacred trust." If we hope to achieve a constructive solution of our common problem and at the same time prevent the emergence of a catastrophe out of our efforts to avoid one, it is suggested that the following steps be taken:

- 1) The United States Government might well announce that it will suggest to the forthcoming meeting of the UNO that it consider the establishment of a special commission on nuclear energy with the purpose (a) of providing an immediate and continuing forum for investigation and report on the many new aspects of this problem that are constantly arising, and (b) of creating a potential agency of the United Nations Organization for administration of international controls, should such controls be subsequently decided upon.
- 2) Simultaneously, there should be a statement of United States policy with reference to the custody of the bomb. The Government should announce that it will refrain from coming to a decision with respect to any particular program for international treatment of atomic energy until it has canvassed to the fullest extent possible the opinions of the other nations of the world. In making this announcement the Government might make it clear that it is fully cognizant of the contributions of scientists the world over to the solution of the problem of nuclear fission and realizes that the peculiar position of power and responsibility which we now hold is due in part to fortune and circumstance and is not exclusively the result of the energy, ingenuity and will with which we pursued the goal.

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- 3) The Government should immediately request each of the other friendly Governments of the world to express their views with respect to the treatment of this urgent problem. The invitation should be as generous as possible and should indicate that the United States holds an open mind and is prepared to receive the most far-reaching recommendations.
- 4) In view of the fact that the United Nations Charter was prepared prior to the use of the atom bomb, it is suggested that this negotiation be carried on directly between the United States and the individual Governments, so that the views expressed would not be limited either directly or indirectly by the procedure indicated in the Charter of the UNO.
- 5) The Government should indicate that it would be disposed to adopt as its own policy the most constructive international approach that will appear to be reasonably feasible of attainment in the light of suggestions which other Governments submit. By pursuing this approach we would at the same time stimulate a constructive response and make clear our own position of desire for such a response without accentuation of existing tensions.
- 6) The replies from other Governments should be submitted not later than, say, March 1946, and the United States Government should be prepared to make its position clear and to begin the necessary steps to effectuate agreements in conformity with the spirit of the Charter not later than, say, June 1946.

PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S NAVY DAY SPEECH

October 28, 1945
New York Times

I. The Twelve Points

1. We seek no territorial expansion or selfish advantage. We have no plans for aggression against any other state, large or small. We have no objectives which need clash with the peaceful aims of any other nations.

2. We believe in the eventual return of sovereign rights and self-government to all peoples who have been deprived of them by force.

3. We shall approve no territorial changes in any friendly part of the world unless they accord with the freely expressed wishes of the people concerned.

4. We believe that all peoples who are prepared for self-government should be permitted to choose their own form of government by their own freely expressed choice, without interference from any foreign source. That is true in Europe, in Asia, in Africa, as well as in the Western Hemisphere.

5. By the combined and cooperative action of our war allies, we shall help the defeated enemy states establish peaceful democratic governments of their own free choice. And we shall try to attain a world in which nazism, fascism and military aggression cannot exist.

6. We shall refuse to recognize any government imposed upon any nation by the force of any foreign power. In some cases it may be impossible to prevent forceful imposition of such a government. But the United States will not recognize any such government.

7. We believe that all nations should have the freedom of the seas and equal rights to the navigation of boundary rivers and waterways and of rivers and waterways which pass through more than one country.

8. We believe that all states which are accepted in the society of nations should have access on equal terms to the trade and the raw materials of the world.

9. We believe that the sovereign states of the Western Hemisphere, without interference from outside the Western Hemisphere, must work together as good neighbors in the solution of their common problems.

10. We believe that full economic collaboration between all nations, great and small, is essential to the improvement of living conditions all over the world, and to the establishment of freedom from fear and freedom from want.

11. We shall continue to strive to promote freedom of expression and freedom of religion throughout the peace-loving areas of the world.

12. We are convinced that the preservation of peace between nations requires a united nations organization composed of all the peace-loving nations of the world who are willing jointly to use force if necessary to insure peace.

II. The Atomic Bomb

The atomic bomb does not alter the basic foreign policy of the United States. It makes the development and application of our policy more urgent than we could have dreamed six months ago. It means that we must be prepared to approach international problems with greater speed, with greater determination, with greater ingenuity, in order to meet a situation for which there is no precedent.

We must find the answer to the problems created by the release of atomic energy—we must find the answers to the many other problems of peace—in partnership with all the peoples of the United Nations. For their stake in world peace is as great as our own.

As I said in my message to the Congress, discussion of the atomic bomb with Great Britain and Canada and later with other nations cannot wait upon the formal organization of the United Nations. These discussions, looking toward a free exchange of fundamental scientific information, will be begun in the near future. But I emphasize again, as I have before, that these discussions will not be concerned with the processes of manufacturing the atomic bomb or any other instruments of war.

In our possession of this weapon, as in our possession of other new weapons, there is no threat to any nation. The world, which has seen the United States in two great recent wars, knows that full well. The possession in our hands of this new power of destruction we regard as a sacred trust. Because of our love of peace, the thoughtful people of the world know that that trust will not be violated, that it will be faithfully executed.

LAW OFFICES OF
CLARK, PRYOR, HALE AND PLOCK
408-416 TAMA BUILDING
BURLINGTON, IOWA
TELEPHONE 252

November 2, 1945

CHARLES C. CLARK
JOHN CARLISLE PRYOR
JOHN HALE
RICHARD H. PLOCK
JOHN C. RILEY

Hon. Winfield Riefler
School of Advanced Studies
Princeton University
Princeton, New Jersey

Dear Mr. Riefler:

I suppose I should address you as "Professor", since I have read of your present connection in the note under your picture in the "New World Magazine". However, my acquaintance with you was related to your position as U. S. Minister in London.

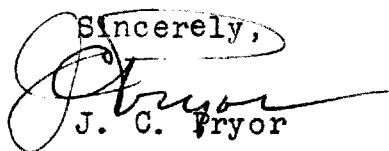
I was gratified to learn of your interest in a world government. I am convinced that only by such an instrumentality can enduring Peace be assured. This must be true now that we have Atomic Energy to either bless or destroy us.

I am well acquainted with Clarence Streit and have been much impressed by his theory of the application of the American plan of dual sovereignty to the family of nations. However, he has, in my opinion, made a great mistake in thinking that there could be left out of such an organization great powers whose ideologies differ from our own. Long before the genesis of the U.N.O. Charter,--the Dumbarton Oaks Conference,-- he could have made great advances with this idea, if he had been able to see that there could be a Union of nations with different forms of government, so long as they were not obsessed with the idea of world domination and possessed of the "master race" notion. Because of his attitude, I have lost interest in his organization, as has Mrs. Pryor, who was for some time one of the directors.

The pious idea of the President that the use of Atomic Energy in warfare can be outlawed is too much like the Kellogg-Briand Pact. It is really meaningless.

Is there, in your opinion, any chance for a world government at this time, either through revision of the U.N.O. Charter or otherwise? What I have in mind, of course, is a central government of limited powers, related solely to international affairs, with the several members otherwise reserving their full autonomy.

I would be pleased to hear from you.

Sincerely,

J. C. Pryor

jcp;ljj

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Over against this possible course of action, there is the probability that the U.S.S.R. will seek to escape from the situation in which it found itself at San Francisco when the Latin-American states lined up as a unit on the question of Argentina. Molotoff yielded gracefully, but it is now evident that neither he nor "Stalin" has forgotten. This situation obviously is not one to be dealt with through the UNO, but by preliminary negotiations, as was pointed out by Professor Riefler in his memorandum. Both London and Washington are cautious in any public reference to these negotiations. The impression which I gained in Washington, however, was that success would largely depend upon the nature of the proposal for control of atomic energy, and especially the extent of its reach.

This brings us at once back to the problem of inspection. I learned that no formal steps have been taken by the State Department to deal with the scientific or industrial aspects of this problem. Secretary Byrnes was not in Washington when I was there, but Ben Cohen said that in his opinion it would be very helpful indeed if we could set about clarifying the issue and that it would be especially valuable if we could analyze the problem along the lines laid down in the communique. This, it may be recalled, was along the line of the program which we are now attempting to carry out.

I had hoped that Professor Peardon would serve as an executive secretary to pull things together, but he finds it impossible to do so. Senator McMahon had a suggestion which seems to me very promising. It is that Mr. Newman, who is his research secretary, serve as liason directly with us to keep the work of our committee in touch with the progress which the Senate Committee may be making. It is going to begin holding hearings on the 26th.

Turning now to our own work: I had a long talk with Professor Milliken at the Philadelphia meeting and found him strongly of the opinion that inspection need not be very difficult. He bases this conclusion upon the theory that we need only watch the uses being made of uranium. He discounted any further investigations at the present time. I asked him to set his point of view forth in a memorandum for our group and he consented to do so. Evidently Mr. Hoover has consulted Professor Milliken, for he has been equally emphatic along the same lines. Professor Urey's article in the Herald Tribune of November 19, a copy of which is being sent you, largely agrees with the point of view of Professor Milliken.

On the other hand, Professor Wheeler's paper at the Saturday meeting opened a much wider field by the hypothetical consideration of conquest of atomic energy in other elements. In conversation with Professor Riefler I therefore suggested drawing Wheeler in a Princeton group which could point up the problem of inspection from a different angle.

LIST OF THOSE ATTENDING INFORMAL DINNER ON ATOMIC ENERGY
THURSDAY NIGHT, NOVEMBER 29, 1945
THE MAYFLOWER HOTEL, WASHINGTON, D. C.

Senator Brien McMahon, Chairman, Special Committee on Atomic Energy, United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

Mr. Christopher T. Boland, Staff Director, Special Committee on Atomic Energy, United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

Mr. James Newman, Special Assistant, Special Committee on Atomic Energy, United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

Dr. Edward U. Condon, Scientific Adviser, Special Committee on Atomic Energy, United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

Mr. Sam Bledsoe, National Association of Manufacturers, Room 623 Investment Building, Washington, D. C.

Right Reverend Howard J. Carroll, National Catholic Welfare Conference, 1312 Massachusetts Avenue, Washington, D. C.

Dr. James B. Conant, President, Harvard University, 11 Quincy Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Dr. L. A. DuBridge, Radiation Laboratory, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
(represented National Academy of Sciences)

Mr. Nathaniel Dyke, Industry Member, Advisory Board, Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion, Washington 25, D. C.

Reverend Richard M. Fogley, The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York Ci

M r. Carlyle Fraser, Genuine Parts Company, Atlanta, Georgia; Vice-President, U. S. Chamber of Commerce, Washington, D. C.
(represented Mr. Eric Johnston, President)

Rabbi Norman Gerstenfeld, 822 Eighth Street, N. W. Washington D. C.; American Jewish Committee, 386 Fourth Avenue, New York City.

M r. Gardner Jackson, National Farmers' Union, 300 B Street, S. E., Washington, D. C.

Dr. Irving Langmuir, Associate Director, Research Laboratory General Electric Company, Schenectady, New York.
(attended as individual)

M r. R. F. Leonard, Federal Reserve Board, Washington, D. C.
(represented Honorable Chester Davis)

Mr. C. K. Leith, Chief, Metals and Minerals Branch, Office of Production Research, Washington, D. C.

Mr. A. E. Lyon, Executive Secretary, Railway Labor Executives' Association, 10 Independence Avenue, S. W., Washington, D. C. (represented Mr. T. C. Casher)

Mrs. Laura Puffer Morgan, Commission to Study the Organization of Peace, 1749 Gorcoran Street, N. W., Washington, D.C.

Mr. Edgar A. Mowrer, 3301 Garfield Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. (represented Mrs. Anna Rosenberg)

Mr. Don Parel, American Farm Bureau Federation, Munsey Building, Washington, D. C. (represented Mr. Edward O'Neal)

Mr. Robert Redfield, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois. (attended as individual)

Mr. Winfield W. Riefler, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, New Jersey.

Mr. Harold Schor, McGraw-Hill Publishing Company, 330 West 42nd Street, New York 18, New York.

Dr. John A. Simpson, Atomic Scientists of Chicago, Post Office Box 5207, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.

Dr. Henry DeWolf Smyth, Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey.

Miss Anna Lord Strauss, National League of Women Voters, 726 Jackson Place, Washington 6, D. C.

Mr. Edgar Turlington, Commission to Study the Organization of Peace, Transportation Building, Washington, D. C.

Dr. Harold C. Urey, Institute of Nuclear Studies, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois.

Mr. Roy Veatch, 1314 - 34th Street, N. W., Washington 7, D. C. (represented Honorable O. Max Gardner)

Mr. Louis H. Wilson, The National Grange, 744 Jackson Place, N. W., Washington 6, D. C.

December 1, 1945-6

Members

Advisory Committee on Atomic Energy

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

Dr. Frank Aydelotte, Director, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton

Mr. Arthur A. Ballantine, Trustee, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

Professor Joseph P. Chamberlain, International Law, Columbia University

Dr. Karl Compton, President, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Dr. James B. Conant, President, Harvard University

Professor J. B. Condliffe, Department of Economics, University of California;
Associate Director, Division of Economics and History, Carnegie
Endowment for International Peace

Mr. John W. Davis, Vice-President, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

Dr. Harvey N. Davis, President, Stevens Institute of Technology

Mr. Malcolm W. Davis, Associate Director, Division of Intercourse and Education,
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Mr. Huntington Gilchrist, American Cyanamid Company; Consultant to State
Department on International organization; Member, American Delegation
to the U.N.O. London Preparatory Conference

Dr. Reuben G. Gustavson, President, Institute of Nuclear Research, Chicago
University

Professor Philip C. Jessup, Trustee, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace;
International Law, Columbia University

- Dr. Warren Johnson, Chairman, Department of Chemistry, Chicago University;
Director, Oak Ridge Laboratories
- Mr. Frederick C. McKee, Treasurer, American Association for the United Nations
- Dr. Robert A. Millikan, Chairman, Executive Council, California Institute of
Technology
- Dr. William Allan Neilson, Vice-President, Commission to Study the Organization
of Peace
- Dr. George B. Pegram, Dean of the Graduate Faculties, Columbia University
(Manhattan Project)
- Professor Ralph Barton Perry, Harvard University; President, Universities
Committee on Post-War International Problems
- Dr. Winfield W. Riefler, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton
- General David Sarnoff, President, Radio Corporation of America
- Mr. Maurice S. Sherman, Trustee, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace;
Editor, Hartford Courant
- Dr. James T. Shotwell
- Professor Henry B. Smyth, Princeton University (Manhattan Project)
- Captain Harold E. Stassen, United States Navy; formerly Governor of Minnesota
- Professor Harold Urey, Institute of Nuclear Research, Chicago University
(Manhattan Project)
- Mr. Eliot Wadsworth, Trustee and Treasurer, Carnegie Endowment for International
Peace; formerly Chairman, American Section, International Chamber of
Commerce
- Mr. Thomas J. Watson, Trustee, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace;
President, International Business Machines Corporation; formerly
President, International Chamber of Commerce
- Dr. Joseph H. Willits, Director, Division of Social Sciences, Rockefeller
Foundation