

Graduate Faculty of Political
& Social Sciences
Holt
K. Shaw
N.Y. Files
35
MAY 3 1934

SPECIAL RESEARCH AID FUND - EUROPEAN SCHOLARS

The Graduate Faculty of Political
and Social Sciences University

Fund for Professor Erich Hule

1. At its meeting of May 12, 1933, the Executive Committee of the Foundation took the following action:

RESOLVED that the sum of One hundred forty thousand dollars RF 33055 (\$140,000) be, and it is hereby, appropriated for allocation by the officers as a Special Research Aid Fund for European scholars, of which approximately \$50,000 shall be for the Social Sciences, \$50,000 for the Natural Sciences, \$30,000 for the Medical Sciences, and \$10,000 for the Humanities.*

Graduate Faculty of Political and

2. ~~The University of Social Science~~ wishes to invite Dr. Erich Hule, previously of Cologne Inst. of Int. Law, to join its faculty for the academic year 1934-35, and requests that the Foundation contribute \$ 1,500 toward his total salary of \$ 1,000.

3. Acting under the above authority the officers hereby approved the payment of not more than \$ 1,500 to the University of Graduate Faculty of Political and Soc. Science in support of Prof. Erich Hule during the one year period beginning approximately July 1, 1934.

Edmund E. Day
Director

Clayton
Comptroller

Thomas B. Affliget
Vice President

Approved: May 2, 1934

After taking this grant into account, there will be a balance available for commitment by the New York Office of \$ 17,500.

* Additional appropriations October 4, 1933, February 16, 1934, March 16, 1934.

*Graduate Faculty of Political
and Social Science
Simon*

*copy filed:
2005
Graduate Faculty of
Political + SS
Simon*

September 20, 1934

Monday, September 17th, 1934

Telephone conversation - SHW with Dr. Alvin Johnson, Graduate Faculty of
Political and Social Science

Dr. Johnson stated that he has had word from Eric Hula for whose salary a grant was made to the Graduate Faculty under the Special Research Aid Fund in the Social Sciences that he would like to postpone coming to America for a few months. Dr. Johnson cabled him that he would have to be here by October first in order to accept the appointment which was offered him. Hula then cabled declining the appointment.

Dr. Johnson would like to appoint Hans Simons to the Graduate Faculty to take the position left vacant by Hula's decision to remain in Europe. SHW indicated that the Foundation would be willing to contribute up to \$2,000 to his salary provided that an equal amount was raised from other sources. Dr. Johnson said that the Graduate Faculty would be unable to raise more than the \$1,500 which was made available for Hula, but that Simons should be offered a salary of \$4,000. Dr. Johnson thinks that if the Foundation appropriated \$1,500 to add to an equal amount raised by the Faculty, the remaining \$1,000 could be raised among friends of Simons in Europe. No action by the Foundation is in order until Dr. Johnson hears from Simons as to whether or not he will accept such an appointment.

210
Refugee scholarship
SOCIAL SCIENCES
GRANT-IN-AID NO. RA SS 4028
FRITZ BURCHARDT

AUG 16 1940

GRANT-IN-AID, NEW YORK

OBJECT: To permit the New School for Social Research to invite Dr. Fritz Burchardt, research assistant at All Souls College, Oxford, and a member of the staff of the Institute of Statistics to come to the United States.

AMOUNT: \$4,500

PAYMENT: As requested by the New School for Social Research

PERIOD: Two years beginning approximately September 1, 1940

ACCOUNT: To be charged to RF 39118 leaving a balance available of \$51,505

Additional information - see attached page

A grant of \$4,500, or as much thereof as may be necessary, to the New School for Social Research to enable it to invite Dr. Fritz Burchardt to come to the United States is hereby approved. This grant is to be available for a period of two years beginning approximately September 1, 1940.

Joseph H. Willets
Director for the Social Sciences

J. M. Gellert
Comptroller

Thomas B. S. S. S.
Vice-President

Approved: August 9, 1940.

DETAIL OF INFORMATION

Dr. Fritz Burchardt; about 35 years of age, unmarried; of German nationality; is Protestant and non-jewish economist. Trained at the University of Kiel (Doctor's Degree, 1928), was later the economic editor of the Frankfurter Zeitung and has been since 1935 the holder of a research assistanceship at All Souls College, Oxford, and a member of the staff of the Institute of Statistics.

Dr. Burchardt speaks German, French and English. He has lectured in English at Oxford

Dr. Burchardt is a young economist who has had both practical and academic experience in dealing with business cycle problems. When at Kiel he was considered the best of his generation of economic students. Later he was assistant to Professor Adolph Loewe in the business cycle section of Kiel Institute. He later became Privat Dozent at Frankfurter. He was dismissed from his position there in 1933 as his professor and chief, Loewe, was of Jewish origin. He has since 1935 been one of the most brilliant collaborators in the Oxford Trade Cycle Research Program.

Members of his group at Oxford, notably Mr. Redvers Opie (Magdalen College, Oxford, now attached to British Embassy, Washington) and Dr. J. Marschak (formerly director, Institute of Statistics, Oxford, now holding a position in the United States) have recommended that Burchardt be brought to the United States. He may now be interned in England as he is of German origin, but if he were to have an opportunity to come to the United States, the British Authorities would probably be prepared to permit his departure. He could be reached through the Warden of All Souls College, Oxford.

Opportunities for work in the United States might be available through the National Bureau of Economic Research, Brookings Institution or Cowles Commission, Colorado Springs.

*Approved by the Board of Directors
7-10-40*

SOCIAL SCIENCES
GRANT IN AID
No RA SS 4073
PROF. B. MIRKINE-
GUETZEVITCH

GRANT IN AID, New York

OBJECT: To permit the New School for Social Research to invite
Prof. B. Mirkine-Guetzevitch to come to this country

PERIOD: Two years beginning approximately December 15, 1940

PAYMENT: As requested by the New School for Social Research

AMOUNT: \$5,000

ACCOUNT: To be charged to RF 40101 leaving a balance of \$ 28,175.00

Additional information - see attached page

A grant of \$5,000, or as much thereof as may be necessary, to permit the New School for Social Research to invite Professor B. Mirkine-Guetzevitch to come to this country for a period of two years beginning approximately December 15, 1940, is hereby approved.

Joseph H. Willets
Director for the Social Sciences

J. M. [unclear]
Controller

[Signature]
Vice-President

APPROVED: December 18, 1940

Detail of Information

Professor B. Mirkine-Guetzevitch; born Russian, naturalized French; 48 years of age; married, with one married daughter. MG had been Assistant Professor of the Law Faculty at Petrograd, but took refuge in France in 1920 and became a French citizen and General Secretary of the Institute of Comparative Government and Law at the University of Paris, as well as Lecturer at the Law Faculty and at the Institute of Higher International Studies of the University of Paris. Because of his well known democratic and liberal tendencies expressed in a large number of books and articles he has been discharged from his positions in France and is in actual danger as he appears to be on the Gestapo list.

Professor Mirkine-Guetzevitch was responsible for the initiation in Paris of programs of teaching and research related not only to political theory but to the actual functioning of constitutional and parliamentary governments. He was largely responsible for the creation of the Institute of Comparative Government (Institut de Droit Compare). The program of this Institute received financial aid from Foundation grants and appropriations from 1932 to 1940. MG has lectured in nearly all the European countries and has been an officer of many international organizations of scholars, including such positions as Vice-President of the International Institute of Political and Constitutional History, Secretary General of the International Institute of Public Law, Vice-President of the International Institute of the History of the French Revolution, Corresponding Member of the Spanish, Yugoslav, Rumanian, and Bohemian Academies of Science.

One of his special interests has always been a comparative study of the development of federal systems of government, particularly those on the American continent and those within the British Empire. He has written at least ten important books on newer government tendencies in these regions and in the world as a whole in the past fifteen years. He has also edited or directed a half dozen series of publications which total more than 100 volumes. He is one of the scholars in Europe best informed as to the processes of government in Latin America and his presence in the United States at the present time might be particularly useful for this reason. A grant in his favor is therefore recommended.

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Refugee Scholars
New School for Social Research

Please record me as voting for this resolution. Walter W. Stewart

PROPOSED ACTION

RESOLVED that the plan herewith presented for aiding not more than one hundred outstanding European refugee scholars over a period of two years in this country be, and it hereby is, approved.

European Refugee Program

RESOLVED that the sum of Thirty-five thousand dollars (\$35,000), or as much thereof as may be necessary, be, and it hereby is, appropriated to the New School for Social Research for the expenses, during the two-year period August 1, 1940, to July 31, 1942, of administering grants to European refugee scholars.

CONSIDERATIONS

Informal approval of these actions has been secured from members of the Executive Committee.

Previous Interest: From 1933 to 1940, the Foundation appropriated \$775,000 for placing, upon application from academic institutions, deposed scholars, principally from Germany, Austria, and Italy. The majority of these scholars were Jewish.

\$67,000 of the above \$775,000 was allotted to the New School for placing 11 deposed scholars; and in addition the Foundation in 1940 made two appropriations to the School for projects in which refugee scholars have important parts.

General Description: The Foundation is now facing a new type of appeal for help, largely from non-Jewish scholars in France, England, Spain, and Portugal. Typically, these appeals take the form of a cablegram from someone known to the officers, stating that the sender must leave Europe at once. But he either lacks means to do so, or exchange restrictions prohibit his taking with him enough money to provide for himself and perhaps his family in the United States. He is, therefore, not eligible for a quota visa, nor can he be granted a visitor's visa without assurance of his ability to return to the country he is leaving. Will the Foundation help? If it will, an immediate report of its decision is essential. Prolonged negotiation, such as was often necessary to secure placement for the scholars aided earlier, is clearly out of the question. Action to be effective must be taken at once.

In some instances, the senders of these appeals are of such scholarly or public eminence that there can be no question of their usefulness in this country. Their liability is that they have not favored the type of government now coming into power on the continent; or that, if they are in England, they are nationals of an enemy country and necessarily subject to internment. As a group, they represent the best of pre-war European intellectual tradition. Aid would certainly have been recommended for them under the earlier program for aid to deposed scholars.

On the basis of experience and contacts, there is no organization as well prepared as the Foundation to select these scholars. Except to a limited degree in public health, however, the Foundation is not an operating agency; and it is not ordinarily equipped to plan for their residence and work once they arrive in this country. It is believed that in the laboratory sciences the Foundation can, in many cases, operate directly; in the social sciences and the humanities an intermediary agency is indicated.

The officers have discussed the situation among themselves and with others familiar with the problems involved. Dr. Alvin Johnson, the Director of the New School for Social Research, who organized there the so-called University in Exile, has submitted a memorandum summing up the situation as he sees it and outlining what seems to the officers a feasible plan for meeting it. This plan involves the New School's extending its activities to add a fairly indefinite number of foreign scholars, but not more than one hundred, to its staff of instructors on two-year terms, with salaries calculated at the minimum that will satisfy the immigration authorities, namely, \$1,500 for single men, \$2,000 for man and wife, and \$2,500 for man, wife, and children. The School would assume no responsibility for the employment of such additional refugee scholars after two years, although a certain number would no doubt make themselves so useful that it would wish to keep them. But the School would join with other interested organizations in making a thorough survey of possibilities of employment throughout the country; it would seek to interest other educational institutions in lectures and courses by individuals offered without expense or commitments to the institution; and it would set up lecture centers in various cities with a succession of refugee personnel. The Institute of International Education has agreed to cooperate with the School in arranging lectures.

The New School would be prepared to accept such scholars as the ~~Rockefeller~~ Foundation would nominate; it would ask the privilege of recommending to the Foundation additional scholars of worth not on the Foundation list.

The New School now has more than fifty refugee scholars on its lecturing staff, many of whom were earlier aided by the Foundation. Its curriculum covers the whole range of educational subjects. In some fields, notably the social sciences and the Dramatic Workshop, it has already developed curricula of high professional standing. Even in these fields it has room for many additional scholars. In other fields, philosophy and psychology, natural sciences, history, anthropology and archaeology, public health, physiology and hygiene, art, architecture, music, its personnel represents only a skeleton file that could be readily extended. Attendance at New School classes amounts to as much as three thousand weekly. The School could accommodate an additional three thousand in its present building by developing morning and early afternoon courses. It could draw additional students if it had funds for publicity.

Dr. Johnson has discussed his proposal informally with officials of the State Department and understands that, if the plan is put into effect, it will not only have general State Department approval, but that the State

Department will further cooperate in facilitating passport arrangements for those selected.

The officers present this plan as the most practical means yet discovered of meeting this new type of need. In general, the interests of those likely to be selected for assistance will probably fall within the social sciences and the humanities. The need for laboratory facilities to provide for the continuation of the work of scholars aided in the field of medical and natural sciences will probably make it desirable for the Foundation to negotiate their placement directly with other academic institutions.

Finances: It is proposed for the present to provide aid for those selected for assistance by individual grants in aid from funds already set up in the Foundation. Aid will include travel expense and subsistence for not more than two years, ordinarily at the minimum scale suggested by Dr. Johnson. It is understood that the number of persons to be helped in this way is to be strictly limited. In no case will the total exceed one hundred.

The present recommendation is for a grant of \$35,000 to meet overhead expenses incurred by the School over a two-year period beginning August 1, 1940, payments under this grant to be made as needed on approval by the officers of budgets submitted by the School. The estimated annual expenses are as follows:

Executive salary	\$4,000
Office expense	4,500
Travel	7,000
General	<u>2,000</u>
	\$17,500

The adoption of this plan necessarily carries with it an implied approval of the expenditure for this purpose of grant in aid funds amounting to \$150,000 to \$200,000.

Future Implications: No one assisted in this way will have any assurance of help from the Foundation beyond the period of two years. During that period, at least a good proportion of them will undoubtedly find placement in the United States. Absorption in the larger academic institutions may not be easy, but it is believed that a number of smaller institutions which have not earlier appointed deposed scholars to their faculties may now recognize the chance of strengthening their work by making places for persons assisted under this arrangement.

Comment: The Foundation is not attempting to face up to the whole problem which Europe presents; it is simply trying to save a small part of what it considers to be the most productive and potentially useful section of the population. It is appropriate that the Foundation do this because it has worked with such men in Europe for many years, and also because the Foundation has a big stake in the preservation of international scholarship. Fortunately in the New School for Social Research a mechanism has been found for preserving the Foundation's usual anonymity.

JUN 20 1941
JUN 25 1941

W. J. H. Tilgner
Zion School for Social Res.

Copy of letter from Dr. Johnson to TBA

January 2, 1940.

H refugees underlined

Dear Mr. Appleget:

At the suggestion of Mr. Kittredge I have gone over all appointees who have grants from you in order to see whether any of the grants should be cancelled as were those of the seven scholars who eventually discovered that they could not or would not come. Of the existing grantees, fourteen are now here. Five are en route or have made all arrangements to begin the trip. Eleven have accepted the grant and are delayed while they seek their papers. I do not think that any question of cancellation can arise for any of these cases at this time. Such a question might arise only for such of the eleven as might eventually conclude that they cannot get the necessary papers. We are checking the development of each case with a view to this point.

Six grantees who have accepted asked for delays. One is Burchardt, who was undecided about beginning his trip, but we have reason to believe that we will shortly hear from him in a positive sense. The second is Kotarbinski, who has asked for time to consider the matter since he has a family situation which is hard to solve. We have given him until March first. The third is Paul Mantoux, who was recently operated on and is now recuperating; presumably he will come over as soon as he is well. The fourth is Ordning, whose plans are obscure, but who has asked us to wait for the arrival here of Sommerfelt, who will bring a message from him (Sommerfelt is now awaiting passage). The fifth is Roepke, whose grant we will ask you to cancel if we do not get an acceptance within the next few days. The sixth is Walzer. By arrangement with him, his appointment was to lapse unless we received an acceptance by January first.

The cases of Ehrenberg, Koyre, Moricard and Vaucher are not entirely clear, but I do not see how we could think of cancelling without getting further information from them.

There are seven cases in which we have never had a reply to our invitation, but I do not think that we can move on any of these cases at this point. One case is that of Bikerman, who has not received our contract, which was sent on October 16th. We have just sent a new one and he must be given time to reply. The remaining six in this group - Borowy, Ehrlich, Honigmann, Lewis, Saks and Ungebaum - were invited subsequent to the middle of November and it is entirely possible that their replies are now in the mail (Honigmann's invitation was mailed in October, but he is still in a concentration camp and will be unable to reply until he gets out). At this time therefore, I want to ask you to cancel only one grant - that of Walzer.

NR
RT H

We will watch this aspect carefully, and let you know whenever we think a cancellation is called for.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) Alvin Johnson

Copy of letter from Dr. Johnson to TBA

Approved by [Signature] TBK -TBK
7-1-40
JMP

SS refugees underlined

January 2, 1940.

Dear Mr. Appleget:

At the suggestion of Mr. Kittredge I have gone over all appointees who have grants from you in order to see whether any of the grants should be cancelled as were those of the seven scholars who eventually discovered that they could not or would not come. Of the existing grantees, fourteen are now here. Five are en route or have made all arrangements to begin the trip. Eleven have accepted the grant and are delayed while they seek their papers. I do not think that any question of cancellation can arise for any of these cases at this time. Such a question might arise only for such of the eleven as might eventually conclude that they cannot get the necessary papers. We are checking the development of each case with a view to this point.

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We will watch this aspect carefully, and let you know whenever we think a cancellation is called for.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed)

Alvin Johnson

thousand weekly during the Fall term. The School could accommodate an additional three thousand in its present building by developing morning and early afternoon courses. It could draw additional students if it had ample funds for publicity.

With a greatly increased personnel of instruction, however, it would be desirable to rent temporary centers in Brooklyn, the Bronx and Queens to accommodate students for whom West Twelfth Street is inaccessible.

(5) It is understood that the New School assumes no responsibility for the employment of such additional refugee scholars after the end of two years, although a certain number would no doubt make themselves so useful that the New School would wish to keep them. But the New School would join with other interested organizations in making a thorough survey of possibilities of employment throughout the country.

It would seek to interest other educational institutions in individual lectures and courses offered without expense to the institution and without commitments.

It would set up lecture centers in various cities to be manned by a succession of our refugee personnel. The New School has already carried on correspondence looking to the establishment of such centers with groups in Pittsburg, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Chicago, San Francisco.

(6) The New School would be prepared to accept such scholars as the Rockefeller Foundation would nominate, since the criteria of worth of the Foundation and the School are identical. It would ask the privilege of recommending to the Foundation additional scholars of worth not on the Foundation list.

(7) The New School is not at present able to assume the additional overhead involved, such as the cost of publicity, of additional office space and secretarial and editorial assistance, of additional premises, and travelling expenses for lecturers and groups of lecturers. It would have to appeal to the Foundation for assistance in this direction. It will be noted that the amount involved would not be large.

(8) If this plan is accepted by the Foundation it is understood that the Foundation would send a representative along with the Director of the New School to confer with the Department of State with a view to securing the approval of the Department and to facilitating the granting of non-quota visas.

I may conclude by quoting from a telegram from London received yesterday by Erich Hula of our Faculty:

"POSITION REFUGEE SCHOLARS VERY DIFFICULT. MANY DIS-
MISSED. AUTHORITIES MAGNANIMOUSLY ALLOW SUPPORT
EQUAL TO DOLE BUT MUCH DISTRESS."

Egon Wertheimer, of the League of Nations staff, came in to see me yesterday afternoon, having just come from England. He tells me that the situation of the refugee scholars is desperate. The English can not distinguish between refugee and Fifth Column, and require all the refugees to remain in their domiciles in case of raids. There they will be trapped like rats if the Germans succeed even temporarily in seizing London.

Time is of the essence.

Sincerely,



Alvin Johnson
Director

Mr. Thomas Baird Appleget
The Rockefeller Foundation
49 West 49th Street
New York, N. Y.

THE NEW SCHOOL
FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH
66 W TWELFTH ST NEW YORK

200
Refugee Relocation
New School for Social Research
Roc

July 25, 1940

Dear Mr. Appleget:

I have your letters with details as to scholars.

7/30
1. Professor Paul Schrecker. I am getting in touch with Mr. Hermann Broch, and as soon as I find out how I can reach Professor Schrecker I shall invite him to join us. I think he should be offered \$2000. If necessary, the price of a ticket for himself and his wife. 5000

2. Mr. Fritz Donker Duyvis. He would be invaluable here. The detail does not indicate whether he would be eligible for the non-quota professorial visa. I am consulting the State Department on this point.

~~7/30~~
3. Professor Louis Cazemian. I shall make inquiries about him, discreetly. From other sources I learn that he is in peril. Since he is 63, and eminent, I would recommend a grant of \$2000.

4. Professor Duyvendak. I shall make inquiries about him. If he is in peril we should have him.

5. Dr. Wilhelm Munthe. I shall cable Dr. Colijn. I should gladly bring Dr. Munthe over. There is again the question whether he qualifies for non-quota visa as a teacher.

I am negotiating with a friend who is willing to go to Lisbon, and Marseilles and where else he might be useful to get track of people we can't locate.

Sincerely,

Alvin Johnson
Director

Mr. Thomas B. Appleget
The Rockefeller Foundation
49 West 49 Street
New York, N. Y.

rd
to Faculty of Medical
1933

SPECIAL RESEARCH AID FUND - EUROPEAN SCHOLARS

Univ. in Exile University Fund for Professor Max Ascoli*

- At its meeting of May 12, 1933, the Executive Committee of the Foundation took the following action:
RESOLVED that the sum of One hundred forty thousand dollars RF 33055 (\$140,000) be, and it is hereby, appropriated for allocation by the officers as a Special Research Aid Fund for European scholars, of which approximately \$50,000 shall be for the Social Sciences, \$50,000 for the Natural Sciences, \$30,000 for the Medical Sciences, and \$10,000 for the Humanities.
- The University of Univ. in Exile wishes to invite Dr. Max Ascoli, previously of Royal Univ. of Cagliari, to join its faculty for the academic year 1933 - 1934 and 1934 - 1935 and requests that the Foundation contribute \$ 2,000 (\$1,500 each year) toward his total salary of \$ 8,000 (\$6,000 each year).
- Acting under the above authority the officers hereby approved the payment of not more than \$ 25,000 to the University of Univ. in Exile in support of Dr. Max Ascoli during the 2 year period beginning approximately Oct. 1, 1933.

Edmund P. Day
Director

Ch. Paul
Comptroller

Shirley B. Cepha
Vice President

Approved: Sept. 21, 1933

After taking this grant into account, there will be a balance available for commitment by the New York Office of \$ 3,000.

* Columbia University is also considering a three-year appointment in the Law School for Mr. Ascoli. The University itself will raise half of the amount required. Alvin Johnson has agreed to release Ascoli for this appointment if the Columbia offer is formally made. As Mr. Ascoli will be required to leave the country unless he has an appointment by October 4th, it seems wise to take immediate action on the offer from the University in Exile.

Taking the budgets of this world
the Am. Coordinating Com. into consideration, I am
struck by the fact that European order
comes cheaper than American, S.M.

SHW

THE GRADUATE FACULTY OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE

copy filed 200
3/1/55

The series of researches on the future peace that the Graduate Faculty has planned is an attempt to investigate some of the main causes of the present international situation and to visualize their outcome in the foreseeable future.

The researches will be oriented in four directions:

1. Analysis of the economic resources of the European nations and of their impact on international trade.
2. Analysis of the fiscal and economic policies of the main belligerent countries, with the attempt of finding out to what extent these policies are going to alter permanently the social and economic structures.
3. Study of all the various attempts which have been made for the organization of peace since Versailles, and of the causes that have determined their failures.
4. Drawing the blueprints of a political and economic order where the forces and the interests which are at present conflicting may be reciprocally coordinated in the interest of peace.

The first group of researches is predominantly of a fact-finding character. It requires an extensive comparative survey of the present European distribution of population, raw materials, agricultural and industrial production, of the various export markets, and of the actual and potential demand for import goods. The problem will be discussed of how far such forces and trends can be reciprocally integrated or modified in a Federal European structure. The analysis will be particularly directed to see how the danger can be avoided that a politically and economically unified Europe may be

dominated by the German nation that could become prevalent because of superior technical equipment and trained skill. In testing the instruments that can bring about an increased economic cooperation, the role and function of existing structures like international cartels will be subjected to special scrutiny.

The second study consists in a close analysis of the measures that the governments of Germany, France and England are taking in order to face the war. The attempt will be made to see to what extent governments that represent and defend different ideologies, are following similar economic policies and possibly are laying down the foundations of more or less similar social structures. If it should be found that the war intensifies the similarities of objective social trends in the leading European countries, this might indicate a degree of uniformity in structures and policies that could pave the way to a federal organization of Europe.

The third order of researches is mainly of an historic and political character. It aims at putting in shape and order the record of the last 20 years, so as to see to what extent a federal reconstruction of Europe can use as materials and as indications of dangers to avoid, the organisms that have been created in and around Geneva.

Obviously, all the researches previously mentioned will to a very large extent be summarized in what we have previously called the drawing of blueprints. Of course it cannot be stated in advance what the particular features of these blueprints will be. The men who are engaged in this last order of researches will be guided not by glib imagination or by moralistic wishes, but by the objective analysis of the concrete situation. They are aware of starting from definite presuppositions and of aiming at definite

goals. The first presupposition is the defeat of totalitarianism, as it is particularly exemplified in Hitlerism, in the course of the present war. From this viewpoint, the men engaged in this investigation are taking their chance; they may hope to offer their suggestions to those who believe in democracy, and know that Hitler will never be one of their customers. They also assume that limitations have to be imposed on the full enjoyment of sovereignty on the part of all the European nations, big and small, and that the form of government of a nation is the legitimate concern of the other nations.

Finally, they assume that all those interests and passions at present bundled around the fact of national existence have to be unraveled and rearranged -- if Western civilization is going to survive.

The goal of the researches is dictated by the belief in Western civilization. Which means the belief that institutions of all kinds, whether political or economic or social, have their test, and the justification for their existence, when and if they guarantee to the individual a reliable protection, a sphere of freedom, and the chance of growth.

Starting from these positions, and aiming at these goals, the members of the Graduate Faculty are facing their task with a mind that they want to be as free of dogmatic biases as is humanly possible. So, for instance, they don't assume that there is any inherent advantage in internationalism or in federalism per se. A supernational structure is useful only in those spheres where the strictly national organization is incapable of bringing about an adequate order. In the same way, they do not believe in the advisability of international organizations that pretend to embrace the whole earth. They believe that once the goals are clearly set and constantly kept in mind, their application to reality should be carried through with flexible minds. To conduct the whole series of investigations the members of the Graduate Faculty will require the cooperation of from five to six research assistants for one year with an average

salary of \$1,200 a year. On the whole, the completion of the project, including clerical and secretarial expenses, will not cost more than \$10,000.

No decision has so far been made about the way in which the researches will be presented to the public. According to the development of events and to the results achieved, the researches may be summarized in a series of pamphlets, or in a book, or in an academic symposium. If the final results, as it is to be hoped, are of such a character as to be summarized in a comprehensive program of action, the Graduate Faculty will be happy to offer its investigation to those men who may bring them to the attention of public opinion.

By the end of March, 1940, the Graduate Faculty intends to present its supporters and friends with a first aperçu of its findings.

The Graduate Faculty, as a whole, is at present conducting this series of researches. The Steering Committee is composed of the following members:

Dr. Ascoli, chairman

Dr. Lehmann,

Dr. Riezler

Dr. Speier

SEP 20 1933

2015
Sydney S. Faculty of
Political Science
Ascoli

"The University in Exile"

A FACULTY IN POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE ORGANIZED UNDER
THE NEW SCHOOL FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH

Alvin Johnson · Chairman

66 WEST 12TH STREET · NEW YORK · ALGONQUIN 4-2567

September 22, 1933

SP	SEP 23 '33	JM
SHW	SEP 25 '33	SHW

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*Professor Emeritus of Political
Economy, Columbia University*

HERBERT BAYARD SWOPE
Journalist

Dear Dr. May:

I deeply appreciate your letter of
the 22nd. If you think it best I will make Ascoli
a formal offer at once so that he can proceed with
his visa.

It will give me the greatest pleas-
ure to have lunch with you. Would Tuesday or
Thursday of next week be convenient for you?

Sincerely

Chairman

Dr. Stacy May
The Rockefeller Foundation
49 West 49th Street
New York, N. Y.

Columbia University
in the City of New York

FACULTY OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

2005
F. School for Special
Rec.
Graduate Faculty of
Pol. & Soc Sci.

	April 27, 1933	
950	APR 28 '33	800
700	MAY -2 33	1717

Dear Day:

This is the matter about which
I spoke. I sent out 50 letters, & am awaiting developments.

Yours faithfully,

Edwin R. Seligman
Edwin R. A. Seligman

Dr. Edmund E. Day
The Rockefeller Foundation
New York, N. Y.

ERAS/t

April 27, 1955

Dear Mr: —

The enclosed letter will explain itself. Dr. Alvin Johnson is an old student and former academic colleague of mine, and is at present associated with me in the editorship of the Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences. He has been for several years the successful Director of the New School for Social Research, with whose achievement you are no doubt acquainted. Virtually all the men to whom he refers are scholars of international reputation who have also made distinguished contributions to our Encyclopaedia.

I am well aware of the fact that it would scarcely have been possible to choose a more unfavorable time for an appeal of any kind, but the reaction of a few personal friends to whom I have mentioned the matter has been so enthusiastic and generous that I feel emboldened to turn to you in this unprecedented emergency in the hope that it may elicit some measure of interest. I have carefully considered an alternative plan of seeking to have these scholars placed two by two in some of our leading universities, but that plan would require much time and effort, and above all would forego the great advantage of an organized and continuous protest.

I need not add that any evidence, however slight, of your interest in this project will be most gratefully appreciated. I am not entirely without hope that if this plan should be realized it might lead to a wider movement in other fields of artistic, scientific and professional activities.

Faithfully yours,

ERAS/t

Edwin R. A. Seligman

THE NEW SCHOOL
FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH
66 W 12th St. New York

C O P Y

April 24, 1933

Dear Professor Seligman:

I am writing to ask for your help in a matter which deeply concerns both of us and the whole world in so far as it appreciates the value of academic freedom and scholarly dignity. I refer to the case of the German university professors who have been ruthlessly dismissed in the mad anti-Semitic rage of the present German government. You have seen some of the letters that are coming in to the Encyclopaedia from them - Bonn, Salz, Lederer, Kuczynski, Heller and others. It is still incredible to me that any government, however fanatic, would cashier men like these whom all the world regards as among the ablest and most creative scholars anywhere to be found.

But to the point. Merely vocal protest will help these men little if at all. I therefore propose a protest which will arrest the attention of every person interested in scholarship, namely, the prompt establishment of an institution to be known as The University in Exile. Because everything turns on prompt action, if the protest is really to count, I propose to confine it to the social sciences - broadly interpreted - a field which is also the center of the battle. I have asked the Board of the New School to grant me authority to set up such an institution in the New School, and have their enthusiastic authorization and support.

I propose to invite fifteen of the proscribed professors to the New School. They will select their own Dean, arrange their own curriculum, and establish here a center where German university methods may be taught as efficiently as they ever were in any German university. With all the resources we have on the Encyclopaedia staff, we can select as brilliant a group as were ever brought together in any institution. There is no question about their accepting, because they are now appealing to us for whatever aid we can give them. There is no question about getting them out of Germany because most of them are going out now. Heller is in Vienna; I have heard that Kelsen is probably there; Kuczynski is in Geneva; Palyi in London, Marcus in Paris, Feiler I've heard is in Prague. Today I had a letter from Bonn, who has been Rector of the University of Berlin, suggesting that he is open to an invitation from America. If there are any who find difficulty in getting out I'd go to our good friend Moley in the State Department and to a member of the New School Advisory Committee, Mrs. Franklin Roosevelt. We would get them or raise a noise that even Hitler would hear.

You and the scholars of your generation brought back to America the splendid tradition of academic liberty and the republic of scholarship. In my period of academic apprenticeship I worked under you and

enjoyed in the faculty your brave principle, one man, one vote, and no distinctions of rank in the world of scholarship. The whole worth of life to me has been bound up in the serene consciousness of a scholarly world in which nothing counts but clarity and honesty and force of thought. If I am subjecting myself to the anguish of fighting for a difficult cause it is because I want to make what return I can for liberties I have enjoyed.

It must be done promptly. The world is quick to forgive invasions of academic liberty by a forceful government. It long ago forgave Mussolini. It will never forgive Hitler so long as we have a working University in Exile.

But to put this through we must have money. Not so tremendously much - \$4,000 a year each for fifteen scholars, \$60,000 a year for two years. Tuition earnings would be enough to cover publicity and administration. I know certainly that there is \$120,000 to be found for the cause of academic liberty. The question is, how to find it, and promptly?

You know many people, Professor Seligman, who are generous in many causes. You can convince them that this cause is one of the most important of our time.

I am not asking for money for the project unconditionally. Unless we can have enough to put the whole program through, fifteen men at \$4,000, I do not want any money at all. The project must be big enough to stand out from obscurity, or there is nothing in it. What I want are pledges contingent upon the whole \$60,000 a year being raised. Even a sceptic in point of practicability could afford to subscribe on these terms.

Sincerely

ALVIN JOHNSON (signed)

Director

Professor E. R. A. Seligman
145 Central Park West
New York, N. Y.

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<i>John</i>	JAN 34	1717
EB	JAN 34	

INTERVIEWS: SHW

2000
~~John Johnson~~
 Johnson
 Graduate Faculty of Political
 and Social Sciences

Friday, December 29, 1933

Dr. Alvin Johnson

Dr. Johnson understands that the Foundation can assist in appointing deposed German scholars under 35 only when they are men of unusual promise. The list that he submitted was intended to be illustrative and did not include all those that he would wish considered. I explained that it was unlikely that the Foundation could assist in sharing the expenses of appointing more than two or three men and that for the present it would be best to submit a list indicating his first two choices. The appointments will be made for the academic year 1934-35, but Dr. Johnson would like to take the preliminary steps at once. I asked him to send us a list with as complete data as he can obtain upon each man. We shall then secure a European rating and reach a decision.

In general Mr. Johnson is entirely satisfied with the developments of the Graduate Faculty in Political and Social Science (he is trying to get away from the term "University in Exile"). There are 125 - 150 students taking some work in this division, but there are not many full-time students. As the announcement of this special division of the New School was not made until September, the response seems remarkable. Mr. Johnson finds that it is a well-integrated, harmonious group, remarkably free from evidences of insecurity and discontent. Most of the men have found houses at Spuyten Duyvil and their wives and children are happy and well-adjusted.

SHW

SHW:JMP

Copy sent to JVS

APR 11 1935

Graduate Faculty
of Political & Soc

220-8920 4/15/35
SNW
J.V. Shaw
Richard
Schwartz

THE GRADUATE FACULTY OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE

ORGANIZED UNDER THE NEW SCHOOL FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH

66 WEST 12 STREET • NEW YORK • ALGONQUIN 4-2567

March 25, 1935

COMMITTEE

ALVIN JOHNSON, *Chairman*
CHARLES C. BURLINGHAM
WILBUR L. CROSS
JOHN DEWEY
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OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES
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ROBERT M. MACIVER
WILLIAM A. NEILSON
GEORGE A. PLIMPTON
EDWIN R. A. SELIGMAN
HERBERT BAYARD SWOPE

Dr. Edmund Day
The Rockefeller Foundation
49 West 49th Street
New York, N. Y.

My dear Dr. Day:

In behalf of the Graduate Faculty of Political and Social Science in the New School for Social Research, I am herewith submitting a petition for a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation.

The preliminary period for which the institution has been financed comes to an end July 1, 1935. We are undertaking to raise a fund of \$375,000 to continue the life of the institution for another five years.

Our reasons for determining on a five year period are two-fold:

First, to function satisfactorily a faculty must attract students; and in an organizing period it is necessary to give the students some assurance that the institution will not be closed up before it has had time to establish its repute. We have at present a satisfactory number of students, as the enclosed report will show; but we need considerably more time to establish the cooperative relation with universities throughout the country which we conceive to be the educational function of a graduate faculty of this character.

Second, if our hope of permanence should prove illusory and the membership of the Faculty were destined for distribution through the institutions of the country, it would be extremely undesirable to attempt any such distribution short of five years. The condition of university finance is at present unfavorable to the absorption of any considerable number of foreign professors, and nothing more can be expected in the next two or three years than the absorption of the political and social scientists who have already been distributed among the universities on temporary appointments, financed in large proportion by your Foundation. To add to the number needing permanent placement the seventeen German scholars in our Faculty would virtually double the pressure for positions in this field.

FACULTY

EMIL LEDERER, *Dean*
MAX ASCOLI
KARL BRANDT
ARNOLD BRECHT
GERHARD COLM
ARTHUR FEILER
EDUARD HEIMANN
E. VON HORNPOSTEL
ALVIN JOHNSON
HORACE M. KALLEN
ALBERT SALOMON
HANS SIMONS
HANS SPEIER
HANS STAUDINGER
MAX WERTHEIMER
FRIEDA WUNDERLICH

I feel certain that you will agree that in the general interest of scholarship the Graduate Faculty must be maintained for this additional period of five years. The only open question is whether we are justified in appealing to you for any support except that which you are already giving, in assuming temporarily half the salary of Drs. Ascoli, Simons, Kähler and Lehmann. This is a question you alone can answer, but you will permit me to argue the point.

First, a substantial grant by you would exert an enormous influence upon other possible contributors. It is difficult for the layman to escape the suggestion of Nazi propaganda that there must be something doctrinally the matter with men dismissed from German universities, or in other words, that they must be affected by a communist taint. If all our Faculty members were Jews this delusion could be easily removed; but eight out of our seventeen Germans are "Aryans." Because of the great emphasis that has been placed on the Jewish question the fact has been overlooked that an independent liberal is just as much an object of suspicion to the present German government as a Jew or a communist.

You have won such a reputation for sanity of judgment that your support would at once remove the unfounded suspicion of the scientific heterodoxy of our Faculty. On the other hand, our failure to enlist your support would be interpreted as confirmation of the suspicion.

Second, we have depended almost entirely on Jewish support for the last two years, and shall have to draw heavily upon the same source for the next five years. But the problem of academic liberty is not a Jewish problem. It seems to me particularly unfair to place the whole burden of our Graduate Faculty on Jewish shoulders, when nearly half the membership is "Aryan," and when we proclaim, as we have from the beginning, that we can give not the slightest preference on account of race. A grant from you would help to redress this wrong.

If this petition is entertained you will of course determine yourselves the amount of support you can afford to give. I make bold, however, to put my request in concrete form by asking for \$50,000. I should prefer, for strategic reasons, that the sum were granted conditionally upon our completing the \$375,000. Beyond this it is immaterial whether the grant were put in the form of a lump sum, or in the form of \$10,000 a year for five years. It might even be made payable in its entirety not the first year, but any later year.

Dr. Edmund Day

Page Three.

I am enclosing a statement of the receipts and expenditures of the last two years; also a catalogue containing the curriculum of the current year. I shall of course be happy to supply any further information you may require.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Alvin Johnson". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned above the typed name.

Chairman

AJ.t
Enclosures

GRADUATE FACULTY OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE

Budget for First Two Years

<u>Income</u>	<u>Statement</u> <u>for</u> <u>1933-34</u>	<u>Budget</u> <u>for</u> <u>1934-35</u>
Cash on hand.....	-	218.72
Tuition.....	5,468.78	6,100.00
Subscriptions to Social Research Quarterly.....	1,421.48	1,500.00
Contributions and guaranty.....	60,110.00	60,000.00
Special fund against possible deficits..	2,000.00	1,500.00
Rockefeller Foundation:		
Toward half salary of Dr. Ascoli.....	1,500.00	1,500.00
Toward half salary of Drs. Kähler, Lehmann, and Simons.....	-	3,750.00
Littauer Fund:		
Toward full salary of Dr. Littauer....	1,500.00	1,500.00
Brand Fund:		
Toward full salary of Dr. Mayer.....	-	2,000.00
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	\$72,000.26	\$78,068.72
	<hr/>	<hr/>
 <u>Expenditures</u>		
Faculty salaries.....	55,333.28	62,750.00
Secretarial and maintenance salaries....	3,827.40	3,000.00
Organization expenses.....	1,852.77	-
Freight and duty on professors' books...	1,837.10	400.00
Publicity and promotion.....	1,952.97	4,150.00*
Office rental and maintenance (35 W. 12)	2,649.94	2,750.00
Stationery, printing, postage.....	702.54	500.00
Library.....	37.56	500.00
Furniture and equipment.....	300.44	150.00
Social Research Quarterly.....	3,134.44	4,700.00
Miscellaneous.....	148.10	150.00
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	\$71,781.54	\$79,050.00
	<hr/>	<hr/>

*Includes half salary of financial secretary and assistant; other half is paid by the New School.