

Source Materials on the Institute of Pacific Relations

Bibliographical Note

HAILED IN THE 1920s as “a lily in the barnyard of politics,” denounced in a Communist journal in the 1930s as an “Institute of Pirates and Robbers,” and accused in 1952 by the late U.S. Senator Pat McCarran of having caused the “loss” of China, the IPR in its thirty-five years of existence (1925–60) held thirteen international non-official conferences, published two reputable journals on Asian problems, carried out an extensive international research program in most of the Asian and Pacific countries, and published approximately 1,300 scholarly books and popular pamphlets. It prospered between 1928 and 1944, came under attack in the United States between 1947 and 1950, was the target of a highly publicized investigation by the U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security in 1951, lost most of its financial support from corporations and foundations after 1952, lost (and several years later regained) its tax-exempt status as a educational body, and dissolved itself (along with its American Council) at the end of 1960, when its quarterly journal (*Pacific Affairs*), its large stock of research publications and its few remaining financial assets were transferred to the University of British Columbia.

Because the IPR was not simply an American organization but consisted of fourteen autonomous national councils (in Japan, China, the Philippines, Indonesia, India, Pakistan, Australia, New Zealand, Canada, Great Britain, France, Netherlands, the United States, and [for a few years] the Soviet Union), and because it was not an association of like-minded persons such as the Rotary International or the international YMCA, any serious attempt to trace its history is beset with many obstacles. Like the proverbial elephant, it was many different things to different people and at different periods. To examine the changing ways in which it was seen by Chinese, Indians, Japanese, Australians, British and Americans is an immensely complex task, but it is to be hoped that within the next few years some such attempt will be made. This was indeed urged at an informal meeting of about a dozen IPR “survivors” (former staff members or officers) in New York on June 28, 1984. In accordance with their request, I have agreed to prepare some preliminary papers which may serve as raw materials to be used by the author of the eventual history.

Having served for thirty-one years (1929–60) as research assistant, international research director, secretary-general and editor of *Pacific*

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Affairs for the International Secretariat, and as executive officer and editor of *Far Eastern Survey* for the American IPR, I have been far too deeply involved in its triumphs and defeats to write the dispassionate analysis that is needed. However, I hope that the following survey of the source materials on which the history might be based may also be useful to other research workers investigating particular facets of the IPR's activities and accomplishments or failures. It does not pretend to be an exhaustive inventory, and I should be glad to receive comments from readers on possible additions and corrections. They may be addressed to me at the office of *Pacific Affairs*.

SOURCE MATERIALS: A PRELIMINARY GUIDE

Source materials on the Institute of Pacific Relations and its constituent National Councils are widely scattered in the United States and Canada and also in Britain, India, Japan, Australia, New Zealand, Pakistan, France and the Netherlands. This survey deals mainly with those available in North America.

Primary Sources. The two main repositories for the archives and files of the IPR International Secretariat and the American IPR are the Butler Library, Columbia University, New York, and the University of British Columbia Library, Vancouver, B.C., Canada. Both collections are now well indexed, and detailed guides are available to researchers. The guides to both collections may be found in both libraries.

The Columbia collection, consisting of some 475 library boxes, is housed in the Rare Books and Manuscripts Division (Room 801, Butler Library, Columbia University, 535 West 114th Street, New York, N.Y. 10027). For the most part it contains the correspondence files of the International Secretariat and the American IPR for the period 1929 to 1949 approximately, including the correspondence of Edward C. Carter (Executive Secretary of the American IPR, 1928–33, and Secretary-General of the International Secretariat, 1934–45); also of William L. Holland (International Research Secretary, 1933–44, and Secretary-General, 1946–60); also of the other executive secretaries of the American IPR (Joseph Barnes, Frederick V. Field, William W. Lockwood, Raymond Dennett, Harriet Moore, Clayton Lane, Antonio De Grassi, and Katrine Greene). In addition, there are numerous files consisting of correspondence to and from officers of the Pacific Council (the international governing body), the American IPR Executive Committee, the branch offices of the American IPR (in San Francisco, Honolulu, Seattle, Los Angeles, and Washington, D.C., at various periods), and members of the editorial and research staffs of both organizations.

As of October 1984, boxes 358–93 were not yet sorted or catalogued, but are expected to be processed by late 1985. They contained correspondence files seized by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee in 1951 and later returned in chaotic condition. The Starr East Asian Library at Columbia University has bound volumes of IPR conference papers and of *Far East Digest*. It is located in Kent Hall, Columbia University.

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The collection at the University of British Columbia (sixty-seven boxes) is housed in the Special Collections Division of the university library. It consists mainly—though not exclusively—of the IPR correspondence files for the years 1950–60 (thus including the extensive files relating to the years when the IPR was under investigation and attack by the U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security, the McCarran Committee). It also includes the Report and the fourteen volumes of Hearings of the Committee, together with the various rebuttal statements of the IPR officers, and the later statements concerning the IPR's tax-exemption case in the Federal District Court of New York.

A supplementary collection of IPR administrative documents is at present housed in the office of William L. Holland, in the Institute of Asian Research at the University of British Columbia, but will eventually be transferred to the IPR collection in the Special Collections Division of the UBC Library. It includes the Proceedings of the thirteen international IPR conferences, together with bound volumes of Pacific Council minutes, Secretariat reports, *IPR Notes*, American IPR annual reports, information bulletins, IPR conference papers, and catalogues of IPR publications.

Smaller collections of IPR correspondence and documents may be found in the Hoover Institution Library, Stanford University, California (including the files of the San Francisco branch of the American IPR, and correspondence of Dr. Ray Lyman Wilbur, twice chairman of the American IPR); also in the Bancroft Library in the University of California, Berkeley (including some papers of Dr. J.B. Condliffe, the first research director of the international IPR); and in the University of Hawaii library (a guide to this collection—145 boxes—is available in the Columbia and UBC libraries). A small collection (34 boxes) of Edward C. Carter's papers, relating partly to his work for the IPR and for Russian War Relief, is in the Bailey Howe Library of the University of Vermont (Burlington), and a guide to it is available in Columbia and University of British Columbia libraries.

A substantial collection of IPR materials (reports, minutes, correspondence) can also be found in the archives of the Canadian and Australian Institutes of International Affairs, in Toronto and Canberra, but I am not aware as to whether or not these are catalogued. The main bulk of Canadian Institute correspondence files is in the Public Archives of Canada (395 Wellington Street, Ottawa). They include the letters of Edgar Tarr, who was chairman of the IPR Pacific Council, 1942–45. Another major collection is in the library of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, Chatham House, St. James's Square, London. These are at present open up to the year 1954 (under a thirty-year rule).

Printed and mimeographed reports of the IPR also exist in major North American public libraries and university libraries, such as the New York Public Library, the Library of Congress, the Widener Library at Harvard University, and the National Library in Ottawa.

Accounts of the beginnings of the IPR and its early years may be found in the Introduction to the Proceedings of the first (1925)

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conference (Honolulu, 1925) and in J.B. Condliffe, *Reminiscences of the Institute of Pacific Relations* (Vancouver: Institute of Asian Research, University of British Columbia, 1981). One may also consult a pamphlet by J. Merle Davis, the first secretary-general, entitled *Notes from a Pacific Circuit* (Honolulu, 1927) and other reports on visits to various IPR National Councils by Davis and Condliffe, published in the *News Bulletin* of the IPR (Honolulu, 1927–28). This bulletin was the predecessor of the journal, *Pacific Affairs* (monthly, 1928–33, quarterly thereafter), and its back pages also contained news items on the national councils and the activities of the International Secretariat.

The proceedings of the 1927, 1929, 1931, 1933, 1936 and 1939 conferences, published as *Problems of the Pacific* (University of Chicago Press) also contain, in the introductions and appendices, materials on the administration and research programs of the IPR. The 1931 volume also includes a valuable "Handbook of the Institute of Pacific Relations," written by Condliffe, and providing an excellent account of the IPR's philosophy, methods and activities.

For the period 1934–38 a most useful source is *I.P.R. Notes* (nos. 1–11), published by the International Secretariat in Tokyo and New York, and providing rather detailed accounts of IPR research and publications and national councils' activities. Supplementing this is a special lengthy printed *Report of the International Secretariat to the Pacific Council for the Period 1933–36*, surveying the work of the national councils, the international IPR research and publications program. It was prepared for the Yosemite conference in 1936. Along with it was a pamphlet entitled *The Study of International Affairs in the Pacific Area*, giving a detailed account of the IPR international research program for the period 1928–36, and a comprehensive catalogue of IPR publications for that period. Both of these are also to be found in *I.P.R. Notes* (no. 5, June 1936).

Between 1929 and 1946 the American IPR published printed annual reports on its own activities in research, publications, meetings, educational work and finances. They often contain sections on some of the activities of the International Secretariat. For the wartime and postwar years, there are two specially detailed reports, one entitled *IPR in Wartime (1941–43)*, and the other *Windows on the Pacific (1944–46)*. Bound volumes of all these annual reports are available at Columbia University and the University of British Columbia. Annual reports were also published by many of the other national councils, notably by those in Canada, Britain, Australia, India and Pakistan. Some of these (though not for all years) are available at Columbia University and the University of British Columbia.

In the 1948–50 period, the American IPR issued an occasional mimeographed bulletin called *News of the IPR*. This included the annual reports for 1948, 1949 and 1950. In this same period the International Secretariat issued at irregular intervals the *I.P.R. Bulletin* (mimeographed), a successor to the prewar *I.P.R. Notes*. Regional news bulletins on current activities were also issued from time to time by branch offices

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of the American IPR—for example, *Pacific News Letter* (1944–47) and *Inparel* (both from the San Francisco office), and *Hawaii I.P.R. Notes* (from the Honolulu office).

IPR Publications. The best guide to the many publications (over 1,300 titles) produced or sponsored by the IPR is the comprehensive catalogue entitled *Publications on the Pacific, 1925–1952* (New York, 1953), containing a useful index of authors. No such catalogue is available for the last seven years of the IPR's life, and for that period (1954–60) one must refer to lists and announcements of recent and forthcoming publications in the back pages of *Pacific Affairs*.

The two principal periodicals of the IPR were the *Far Eastern Survey* (monthly) of the American IPR and *Pacific Affairs* (quarterly from 1934) of the International Secretariat. Bound volumes of both journals, including annual indexes, are available in many libraries. There is also a consolidated *Fifty-Year Index to Pacific Affairs*, available from the editorial office at the University of British Columbia, Vancouver. It is a convenient means of reference to persons and events in the early years of the IPR, especially for 1928–33, as well as to authors and titles of articles and books reviewed in the period 1928–78.

Other national councils also published their own journals and files of some of these are available in the Columbia University and University of British Columbia libraries. Among them are the *India Quarterly*, *Pakistan Horizon*, *Austral-Asiatic Bulletin*, *Australian Outlook*, *International Journal* (Canada), *International Affairs* (Britain), *Politique Etrangère* (France), *Tikii Okean* [*Pacific Ocean*] (U.S.S.R.), and *Taiheiyo Mondai Shiryo* [*Materials on Pacific Problems*] (Tokyo). The last two ceased publication about 1940, but all the others except the third are still in existence.

Secondary Sources. The principal published work on the IPR is John N. Thomas, *The Institute of Pacific Relations: Asian Scholars and American Politics* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1974). As its subtitle suggests, and as the author acknowledges in his preface, it is not a history of the IPR, contains very little on the international aspects of the organization, and concentrates largely on the period (1947–53) when the American IPR and International Secretariat were under attack by Senator Joseph McCarthy and the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee. Nevertheless, it is a valuable scholarly study and has a very useful bibliography listing primary and secondary sources, including dissertations, articles and interviews. It was developed from a Ph.D. dissertation.

The most massive published collection of documentation on the IPR (along with vast amounts of irrelevant material, and an extremely biased and hostile report) consists of the fourteen large volumes (over five thousand pages) of the Hearings of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee (Washington, 1952). These contain a huge quantity of letters and other papers from the files of the American and international IPR, and, though the selection of them is grossly biased, the fact that they are printed makes them more readily accessible to researchers than are the original files. Thus volume 14 consists largely of such letters, together with statements submitted by Edward C. Carter, W.L. Holland, Owen

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Lattimore, and other IPR employees. Each volume is indexed, and there is also an index volume for the whole set.

The principal IPR rebuttal statements are to be found in a 94-page mimeographed *Commentary on the McCarran Report on the IPR* (New York, 1953), and a pamphlet, *Truth and Fancy about the Institute of Pacific Relations* by W.L. Holland, reprinted from the Hearings of the McCarran Subcommittee.

A number of books and magazine articles on the IPR and the McCarran Hearings and Report appeared in the years 1951–60. Many of these are listed in the bibliography of John N. Thomas's book. Copies of some are available in the IPR materials at UBC. As an example of several hostile discussions of the IPR, one may refer to Anthony Kubek, *How the Far East Was Lost* (Chicago: Regnery, 1963). References to the IPR also appear in Owen Lattimore's book, *Ordeal by Slander* (Boston, Massachusetts: Little, Brown & Co., 1950), and in Frederick V. Field's autobiography, *From Right to Left* (Westport, Connecticut: Lawrence Hill & Co., 1983), the latter containing valuable chapters on the early years of the American IPR. The *Memoirs of Ray Lyman Wilbur* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1960) include two illuminating chapters on the IPR in its early years and 1950s. *The Autobiography of James T. Shotwell* (New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1961) contains (in chapter 14) his impressions of the IPR Kyoto conference in 1929. Some of the essays in Yasaka Takagi, *Toward International Understanding* (Tokyo: Kenkyusha, 1954) deal with the IPR and Dr. Inazo Nitobe's role in it. The papers of Sir Frederic Eggleston, in the Australian National Library, Canberra, also contain material on the Australian Institute and on the IPR conferences which he attended. References to the IPR and to the role of the Royal Institute (Chatham House, London) will be found in Christopher Thorne, *Allies of a Kind* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978); also in his article, "Chatham House, Whitehall and Far Eastern Issues: 1941–45" (*International Affairs*, January 1978), an excellent example of the effective use of Chatham House and Foreign Office sources.

The prewar archives of the Japan IPR were destroyed in a fire-bombing in May 1945. The postwar files (1946–59) are now housed in the Institute of Korean Studies, Tokyo. They have been utilized by Mrs. Mari Nakami in preparing a paper, "International Thought of the Japanese Intellectuals within the Institute of Pacific Relations" for the 31st International Congress of Human Sciences in Asia and North Africa, Tokyo and Kyoto, Section 13, August–September 1983. A history of the Japan IPR is now in preparation by Genji Okubo, a former research associate of the JIPR.

Brief descriptions of the organization and work of the IPR National Councils and the International Secretariat are to be found in *Institutes of International Affairs* (New York: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1953).

A number of unpublished doctoral dissertations exist on various aspects of the IPR. Among them are George H. Davis, "The Dissolution of the Institute of Pacific Relations, 1944–61" (University of Chicago,

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1966); Thomas Carpenter, "The Institute of Pacific Relations" (Tufts University, Fletcher School, 1968); Edna M. McGlynn, "The Institute of Pacific Relations" (Georgetown University, 1959). Probably others have been written in more recent years and could be found listed in the annual volumes on U.S. and Canadian dissertations.

References to the IPR can be found in various biographical works, such as Keith Sinclair, *Walter Nash* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1976); Joseph S. Davis, ed., *Carl Alsberg: Scientist at Large* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1948); *Memoirs of Hugh L. Keenleyside* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1981); also in the Philip C. Jessup papers (Library of Congress, Washington, DC). There is a collection of "Papers Concerning the IPR" in the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Tokyo. Similar files on the IPR exist in the archives of the British Foreign Office (noted on pages 21 and 23 of Christopher Thorne's article cited above).

Four unpublished essays on the first decade of the IPR (1925–36) are available in W.L. Holland's office at UBC and in the Butler Library at Columbia. They were prepared for a never-completed ten-year history of the institute, and consist of a general survey of the IPR by Galen Fisher, an essay on Sino-Japanese relations by Sir Frederic Whyte, one on industrialization in Pacific countries by J.B. Condliffe, and one on cultural relations in the Pacific area by J.H. Boeke of Leyden University. The UBC Special Collections Division possesses a two-hour taped interview with W.L. Holland by John F. Howes, outlining the history and demise of the IPR. A typed transcript of this is available also at Columbia University, along with three other transcripts by Holland: one on recollections of the American IPR, one on the other national councils, and one on impressions of Edward C. Carter. These have been prepared as raw materials for an eventual history of the IPR and will be supplemented by other papers on the IPR international research program and publications and on the IPR conferences.

I have not attempted here to survey relevant "oral histories" (taped recollections) in various libraries by former IPR staff members, or officers (for example, parts of Bruno Lasker's recollections, at Columbia University). This is a field for enterprising researchers to explore.

It is my earnest hope that other people familiar with the Institute of Pacific Relations, especially those outside the United States, will supply me with additional source materials and personal recollections to supplement my own preliminary papers. Only with recollections and documentary references from a wide range of persons and countries can a satisfactory history of this far-flung and protean organization be written.

University of British Columbia, October 1984

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