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IN THE CITY OF NEW YORK

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[No. I

INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS
AND RELATIONS

A SERIES OF ADDRESSES AND PAPERS PRESENTED AT THE NATIONAL
CONFERENCE ON INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS AND RELATIONS,
HELD UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT
FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE WITH THE COOPERATION OF
THE ACADEMY OF POLITICAL SCIENCE IN THE CITY OF
NEW YORK, AT BRIARCLIFF LODGE, MAY 10-14, 1926

EDITED BY
JAMES THOMPSON SHOTWELL
SAMUEL McCUNE LINDSAY
AND
PARKER THOMAS MOON

THE ACADEMY OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

1926

PREFACE

A NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS AND RELATIONS UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE, WITH THE COOPERATION OF THE ACADEMY OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, BEING THE SEMI-ANNUAL MEETING OF THE ACADEMY (FORTY-SIXTH YEAR), HELD AT BRIARCLIFF LODGE, BRIARCLIFF MANOR, NEW YORK, MAY 10 TO 14, AND AT THE HOTEL ASTOR, NEW YORK CITY, MAY 14, 1926.

The Conference was planned along similar lines and under the same auspices as that on *The Foreign Relations of the United States*, held at Long Beach, New York, May 28 to June 1, 1917.¹ Its aim, like that of its predecessor, was to create and diffuse in America a wider knowledge of the facts and a broader and more sympathetic interest in international problems and international relations.

The officers and directors of the Carnegie Endowment and of the Academy thought that this aim and purpose could be most economically and best achieved by inviting, in addition to specialists and publicists identified with the outstanding problems of international affairs, a few distinguished representatives of public opinion in foreign countries and a small but thoroughly representative group of American editors and journalists, to be the guests of the Conference and to participate in the informal and more intimate discussion at Round Tables as well as in the program of the larger General Sessions. The response to a similar invitation to the Long Beach Conference in 1917 and the results as revealed in the character of the discussion during that Conference, and subsequently for weeks and months in the daily press and periodicals of the country, gave assurance that this unusual feature of a national conference would be appreciated by the moulders of public

¹ See PROCEEDINGS of The Academy of Political Science, Vol. VII, No. 2 and No. 3, New York, July, 1917.

opinion in America and render a practically useful service under present conditions.

This expectation has been fully realized at Briarcliff. The essential conditions to success were the scrupulous observance of impartiality and the scientific spirit in every aspect of the program and in the informal as well as the formal discussions; the openly declared purpose to avoid propaganda of any kind; the emphasis put on the economic and social rather than the political phases of international questions; and the opportunities which the comfortable and secluded surroundings of Briarcliff Lodge as a place of meeting afforded to the speakers, specially invited guests and many members of the Academy and attendants at the Conference, during several days spent together, for the most informal exchange of views and the formation and strengthening of personal ties and friendships.

The following Committee on Program and Arrangements was appointed under a resolution adopted by the Trustees of the Academy with the approval of the President of the Carnegie Endowment and Director of its Division of Intercourse and Education:

COMMITTEE ON PROGRAM AND ARRANGEMENTS

SAMUEL McCUNE LINDSAY, *Chairman*

ALFRED C. BOSSOM	OGDEN L. MILLS
NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER	PARKER THOMAS MOON
O. K. DAVIS	DWIGHT W. MORROW
STEPHEN P. DUGGAN	GEORGE A. PLIMPTON
JEROME D. GREENE	WILLIAM L. RANSOM
THOMAS W. LAMONT	L. S. ROWE
HENRY GODDARD LEACH	E. R. A. SELIGMAN
JAMES G. McDONALD	ALBERT SHAW
V. EVERIT MACY	JAMES T. SHOTWELL
HOWARD LEE MCBAIN	PAUL M. WARBURG

Messrs. BUTLER, LINDSAY, SHOTWELL and MOON served as an Executive Committee of the Committee on Program and Arrangements and arranged the program of the five General Sessions and nine Round Tables, as follows:

GENERAL SESSIONS

FIRST GENERAL SESSION

MONDAY, MAY 10, 8:15 P. M., BRIARCLIFF LODGE

TOPIC—Practical Ways and Means of Disarmament

NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER, *Presiding*

President, Columbia University; President, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

Address of Welcome on behalf of the Carnegie Endowment and the Academy of Political Science.

1. What is Meant by Security and Disarmament.
JAMES T. SHOTWELL, Director, Division of Economics and History, Carnegie Endowment; Professor of History, Columbia University.
2. The Objects and Extent of Peace-Time Military Organization.
GEN. TASKER H. BLISS, Chief of Staff, U. S. A., 1917; Member of Supreme War Council in France; Member of American Commission to Negotiate Peace, Paris, 1919, Washington, D. C.
3. The Relation of American Policy to Disarmament Elsewhere, with Special Reference to the Arms Traffic.
DAVID HUNTER MILLER, New York, Legal Adviser to American Commission to Negotiate Peace.
4. British Policy and Disarmament.
H. WILSON HARRIS, Parliamentary Sec'y., League of Nations Union, London; Editor of *Headway*; Dipl. Cor., *Daily News*, London.
5. French Policy and Disarmament.
GEORGES LECHARTIER, Editor, *Journal des Débats*, Paris.

SECOND GENERAL SESSION

TUESDAY, MAY 11, 8:15 P. M., BRIARCLIFF LODGE

TOPIC—International Cooperation for the Promotion of Public Health and Social Welfare

ALFRED HOLMAN, *Presiding*

Editorial Writer, San Francisco, Cal.; Trustee, Carnegie Endowment

1. The International Public Health Service.
DR. F. G. BOUDREAU, American Member, Health Section, League of Nations, Geneva.
2. The Organization and Significance of the International Labor Office.
DR. WILLIAM MARTIN, Editor, *Journal de Genève*, Geneva, Switzerland.
3. International Transit Problems.
WALKER D. HINES, Late Director General of Railroads; Arbitrator under Peace Treaties of Questions of River Shipping.

4. The Relation of the United States to the World Court.
MANLEY O. HUDSON, Professor of International Law, Harvard University Law School, Cambridge, Mass.
5. International Child Welfare Problems.
DAME KATHARINE FURSE, G.B.E., Head of Sea Guides, The Girl Guides Association, London, Eng.

THIRD GENERAL SESSION

WEDNESDAY, MAY 12, 8:15 P. M., BRIARCLIFF LODGE

TOPIC—Relation of the Control of Raw Materials to Peace and Economic Prosperity

ROBERT S. BROOKINGS, *Presiding*

President, Institute of Economics, and Institute for Government Research, Washington, D. C.; Trustee, Carnegie Endowment

1. Theory and Practice of National Self-Sufficiency in Raw Materials.
GEORGE OTIS SMITH, Director, U. S. Geological Survey.
2. Economic Relations Between Raw Materials, Prices, and Standards of Living.
L. L. SUMMERS, Consulting Engineer, New York; Technical Adviser, American Commission to Negotiate Peace; Technical Adviser, War Industries Board, and Chairman, War Industries Board in Europe.
3. The World's Rubber Supply.
FRANZ SCHNEIDER, JR., Financial Editor, *N. Y. Sun*.
4. The Economic and Political Effects of Governmental Interference with the Free International Movement of Raw Materials.
DR. E. DANA DURAND, Chief, Statistical Research Division, Dep't. of Commerce, Washington, D. C.

FOURTH GENERAL SESSION

THURSDAY, MAY 13, 8:15 P. M., BRIARCLIFF LODGE

TOPIC—Economic Adjustments in Europe

DWIGHT W. MORROW, *Presiding*

of J. P. Morgan & Co., New York; Trustee of Carnegie Endowment

1. France's External Debt and Burden of Taxation.
ROBERT LACOUR-GAYET, Financial Attaché, French Embassy, Washington, D. C.
2. The Program and Cost of Post-War Reconstruction.
GEORGES LECHARTIER, Editor, *Journal des Débats*, Paris.
3. The Press and Social Safety.
EDWARD PRICE BELL, Newspaper Correspondent and Lecturer, Chicago, Ill.; Late Correspondent, London, of *Chicago Daily News*, and President, Association American Correspondents, London.

4. The Economic Resources of the Mohammedan World.¹
ISAIAH BOWMAN, Director, American Geographical Society, New York.

FIFTH GENERAL SESSION
CLOSING SESSION OF THE CONFERENCE
LUNCHEON MEETING

FRIDAY, MAY 14, 1 P. M., BELVEDERE ROOM, HOTEL ASTOR, NEW YORK CITY

TOPIC—America's Part in International Cooperation

ELIHU ROOT, *Presiding*

GEORGES LECHARTIER,
Editor, *Journal des Débats*.

H. WILSON HARRIS,
Diplomatic Correspondent, *Daily News*, London; Parliamentary Secretary, League of Nations Union, London, England; Editor, *Headway*.

DR. WILLIAM MARTIN,
Editor, *Journal de Genève*, Geneva, Switzerland; Member of the Directorate, and Liaison Officer with organizations of the League of Nations, of the International Labor Office.

FRITZ SCHOTTHOEFER,
Foreign Editor, *Frankfurter Zeitung*, Frankfurt a. M., Germany.

NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER.

ROUND TABLE CONFERENCES

ROUND TABLE No. 1: DISARMAMENT

TUESDAY, MAY 11, 11 A. M.—1 P. M., BRIARCLIFF LODGE

TOPIC—Practical Program of Reduction and Limitation of Armament

JAMES T. SHOTWELL, *Director of Discussion*

(a) Land Forces

GEN. JOHN F. O'RYAN, Lawyer, New York; late Maj. Gen., N. A., Comdr. 27 Div. U. S. A., A. E. F. in Belgium and France, 1917-19.

(b) Naval Forces

REAR ADMIRAL W. V. PRATT, U. S. N., President, Naval War College, Newport, R. I.

(c) Air Forces

EDWARD P. WARNER, Professor of Aeronautics, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

(d) Chemical and Industrial Mobilization

EDWIN E. SLOSSON, Director of Science Service, Washington, D. C.

¹ Omitted by reason of Dr. Bowman's unavoidable absence from the session on account of the arrival of dispatches on the North Pole air flight.

Open Discussion (under five minute rule).

ROUND TABLE No. 2: LATIN-AMERICAN RELATIONS

TUESDAY, MAY 11, 11 A. M.—1 P. M., BRIARCLIFF LODGE

TOPIC—International Problems of Latin-America

CHARLES W. HACKETT, *University of Texas, Director of Discussion*

1. Agrarian Reforms in Mexico.

CHARLES W. HACKETT, University of Texas; Visiting Lecturer on Latin-American History and Economics, Harvard University, 1925-26.

2. Latin-American Cooperation for International Peace.

ALFRED HOLMAN, Trustee of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace; Late Editor, *The Argonaut*, San Francisco, Cal.

3. Our Relations with Cuba.

DWIGHT W. MORROW, of J. P. Morgan & Co., New York.¹

Open Discussion (under five minute rule).

ROUND TABLE No. 3: INTERNATIONAL SOCIAL WELFARE PROBLEMS

TUESDAY, MAY 11, 11 A. M.—1 P. M., BRIARCLIFF LODGE

TOPIC—The Promotion of Public Health and the Protection of Women and Children

SAMUEL McCUNE LINDSAY, *Director of Discussion*

1. The Program of the League of Nations Advisory Committee on the Traffic in Women and the Protection and Welfare of Children and Young People.

COL. WM. F. SNOW, M. D., Gen. Dir., Amer. Social Hygiene Assn.; Member, Special Body of Experts appointed by the Council, League of Nations, Enquiry into the Traffic in Women and Children.

2. Child Welfare Questions.

MISS JULIA C. LATHROP, Formerly Chief, Children's Bureau, U. S. Dep't. of Labor, Washington, D. C.; Assessor of the Committee on Traffic in Women and Protection of Children, League of Nations, Geneva, Switzerland.

3. Practical Aspects of International Health Problems.

DR. FRANK G. BOUDREAU, Member, Health Section, League of Nations, Geneva, Switzerland.

Open Discussion (under five minute rule).

¹ Unavoidably detained by business engagement in New York; Vernon Munroe, of J. P. Morgan & Co. substituted with address on same topic.

ROUND TABLE No. 4: DISARMAMENT

WEDNESDAY, MAY 12, 11 A. M.—1 P. M., BRIARCLIFF LODGE

TOPIC—Sanctions and American PolicyDAVID HUNTER MILLER, *Director of Discussion*¹**1. The New Arrangements in Europe.**FRITZ SCHOTTHOEFER, Foreign Editor, *Frankfurter Zeitung*, Frankfurt a. M., Germany.DR. WILLIAM MARTIN, Editor, *Journal de Genève*, Geneva, Switzerland.**2. Adjustment of American Policy to the New Situation.**

JAMES G. McDONALD, Chairman, Executive Board, Foreign Policy Association, New York.

Open Discussion (under five minute rule).**ROUND TABLE No. 5: THE FAR EAST**

WEDNESDAY, MAY 12, 11 A. M.—1 P. M., BRIARCLIFF LODGE

TOPIC—International Problems of the Powers Facing the Pacific OceanCHARLES C. BATCHELDER, *Lecturer on International Relations, New York University, Sec'y., American Asiatic Association, Director of Discussion***1. The Situation in China.**

J. S. OIESEN, Late Danish Minister to China, and Dean of the Diplomatic Corps at Peking.

H. WILSON HARRIS, *Daily News*, London.

PAUL PELLIER, Professor of Languages, History and Civilizations of Central Asia, Collège de France, Paris.

2. Economic Resources and Conflicts.

HENRY K. NORTON, New York.

CHARLES C. BATCHELDER, Lecturer on International Relations, New York University; Secretary, American Asiatic Association.

Open Discussion (under five minute rule).**ROUND TABLE No. 6: CONTROL OF RAW MATERIALS**

WEDNESDAY, MAY 12, 11 A. M.—1 P. M., BRIARCLIFF LODGE

TOPIC—The Situation as Regards Raw MaterialsISAAH BOWMAN, *Director, American Geographical Society, New York, Director of Discussion***1. General Statement.**

DR. BOWMAN.

¹ Mr. Miller was called away by the death of his former law partner, Hon. Alton B. Parker, and Dr. James G. McDonald presided in his stead.

2. Resources and Deficiencies of the United States.
3. Special Problems.
 - (a) Wood Pulp.—FREDERIC W. HUMÉ, Director of Public Relations, New York.
 - (b) Cotton.—DR. E. DANA DURAND.
 - (c) Oil.—L. C. SNIDER, Consulting Geologist, H. L. Doherty & Co., New York.

Open Discussion (under five minute rule).

ROUND TABLE No. 7: THE DANUBIAN AND BALKAN STATES

THURSDAY, MAY 13, 11 A. M.—1 P. M., BRIARCLIFF LODGE

TOPIC—Problems of Eastern Europe

EDWARD M. EARLE, *Columbia University, Director of Discussion*¹

1. The Economic and Financial Prospects of Austria.
PROF. L. MISES, Professor of Economics, University of Vienna, and Secretary, Vienna Chamber of Commerce.
2. The Economic Frontiers in the Balkan and Danubian States.
ZDENEK FIERLINGER, Minister to the United States from Czechoslovakia.
SIMEON RADEFF, Minister to the United States from Bulgaria.
H. WILSON HARRIS, *Daily News*, London.
A. TH. POLYZOIDES, Editor, *Atlantis*, New York.

Open Discussion (under five minute rule).

ROUND TABLE No. 8: ECONOMIC ADJUSTMENTS

THURSDAY, MAY 13, 11 A. M.—1 P. M., BRIARCLIFF LODGE

TOPIC—The Economic Problem of France

JAMES W. ANGELL, *Columbia University, Director of Discussion*

1. French Taxation and Economic Reconstruction.
ROBERT LACOUR-GAYET, Financial Attaché, French Embassy, Washington, D. C.
2. The French Budget Problem.
HAROLD G. MOULTON, Director, Institute of Economics, Washington, D. C.
3. The French Treasury Problem.
J. A. M. DE SANCHEZ, New York.
4. Tariffs and Trade Barriers as Obstacles to International Goodwill.
HERBERT C. PELL, JR., Former Congressman from N. Y.

Open Discussion (under five minute rule).

¹ Professor Earle opened this session with an introductory address and then left to participate at another Round Table at the same hour. Mr. H. Wilson Harris, of London, presided in his stead.

ROUND TABLE No. 9: RAW MATERIALS

TOPIC—Political and Financial Control of Raw Materials in War and Peace

PARKER THOMAS MOON, *Columbia University, Director of Discussion*

1. Raw Materials and Imperialism.

PARKER THOMAS MOON, Associate Professor of International Relations, Columbia University.

2. Political Control of Raw Materials in War and Peace.

L. L. SUMMERS, Consulting Engineer, New York; Technical Adviser, American Commission to Negotiate Peace; Technical Adviser, War Industries Board, and Chairman, War Industries Board in Europe.

3. International Financial Control of Raw Materials.

EDWARD M. EARLE, Associate Professor of History, Columbia University.

Open Discussion (under five minute rule).

The following persons served as Honorary Secretaries of the Round Tables and as Liaison Officers for the Round Tables meeting at the same hour each day, and likewise for the Press and Publicity Bureau of the Conference:

CHARLES C. BAUER, Editor, *League of Nations News*, and Director, League of Nations Non-Partisan Association, Inc., New York.

Dr. STEPHEN P. DUGGAN, Director, Institute of International Education, New York.

PHILIP C. JESSUP, Lecturer in International Law, Columbia University.

Miss AMY H. JONES, Division of Intercourse and Education, Carnegie Endowment.

Dr. JAMES G. McDONALD, Chairman, Executive Board, Foreign Policy Association, New York.

WILLIAM F. STONE, Editorial and Publicity Dept., Foreign Policy Association, New York.

Miss ELEANOR WOLFE, New York.

The special competency and the wide range of experience and public service of many if not all of those who took part in the Conference is only partially revealed by the necessarily

abbreviated designations and official connections given with the names that appear on the program.

The names and connections of those who took part informally in the discussions do not appear on the program but will be found, with the exception of a few who did not wish to be reported, in the stenographic report of discussions, together with the leading papers and addresses, grouped under nine general topical divisions, in the following pages of the PROCEEDINGS of the Conference.

The metropolitan dailies and the Associated Press, and also the Press Associations, were represented by correspondents and reporters in attendance throughout the Conference and very full daily reports of the proceedings were sent out to the press of the country. Mr. Bennett E. Tousley, Publicity Manager of Briarcliff Lodge, both before and during the Conference, prepared news releases and acted as host to the newspaper correspondents for the dissemination of information concerning the Conference. The Publicity Committee was also greatly indebted to Mr. Edward L. Bernays of New York for valuable advice and assistance, and to Miss Kathleen Goldsmith of his staff.

The wider representation in the deliberations of the Conference of the daily press and of magazines and periodicals in which the proceedings of the Conference are finding a continuing publicity and comment, may be indicated by the following partial list of editors and journalists who participated:

ADAMS, J. H.	<i>Baltimore Sun</i> , Baltimore, Maryland.
ANDERSON, W. T.	<i>Macon Daily Telegraph</i> , Macon, Georgia.
BELL, EDWARD PRICE	<i>Chicago Daily News</i> , Chicago, Ill.
BLANSHARD, PAUL	<i>The Nation</i> , N. Y.
BLOOM, HARRY	<i>Herald Post</i> , Louisville, Ky.
CARTER, J. A.	<i>News Leader</i> , Richmond, Va.
CLAUS, HENRY T.	<i>Boston Transcript</i> , Boston, Mass.
FERGUSON, MELVILLE F.	<i>Philadelphia Record</i> , Philadelphia, Pa.
GANNETT, FRANK E.	<i>Rochester Times Union</i> , Rochester, N. Y.
GLASS, POWELL	<i>The News</i> , Lynchburg, Va.
GONZALES, WILLIAM E.	<i>The Columbia State</i> , Columbia, S. C.
HARRIS, JULIAN	<i>The Enquirer-Sun</i> , Columbia, Ga.
HOWE, ARTHUR M.	<i>Brooklyn Daily Eagle</i> , Brooklyn, N. Y.
JARRELL, BOYD	<i>Herald-Dispatch</i> , Huntington, W. Va.
JONES, WILL OWEN	<i>Nebraska State Journal</i> , Lincoln, Neb.
KALTENBORN, HANS	<i>Brooklyn Daily Eagle</i> , Brooklyn, N. Y.

KELLOGG, PAUL U.	<i>The Survey and Survey Graphic</i> , N. Y.
LEACH, HENRY GODDARD	<i>The Forum</i> , N. Y.
LOCKWOOD, BRUCE	The Associated Press.
M McNALLY, WILLIAM J.	<i>Minneapolis Tribune</i> , Minneapolis, Minn.
MONTUSIER, ROBERT H.	<i>New York Sun-Globe</i> , N. Y.
NOVER, BARNET	<i>Buffalo Evening News</i> , Buffalo, N. Y.
O'CONNER, HUGH	<i>The World</i> , New York.
OPIE, CAPT. E. WALTON	<i>The Leader Publishing Co.</i> , Staunton, Va.
PETERSON, ELMER T.	<i>The Wichita Beacon</i> , Wichita, Kansas.
POLYZOIDES, A. TH.	<i>Atlantis</i> , N. Y.
PORTER, RUSSELL	<i>The Times</i> , New York.
PORTER, ROBERT	<i>New York Evening Post</i> , N. Y.
ROSS, T. W.	{ <i>Philadelphia Public Ledger</i> , Philadelphia, Pa.
	<i>The Gazette and The Telegraph</i> , Colorado Springs, Colo.
SCOTT, CHARLES F.	<i>Iola Register</i> , Iola, Kansas.
SHAW, ALBERT	<i>Review of Reviews</i> .
SKEWES, JAMES H.	<i>The Star</i> , Meridian, Miss.
SPAULDING, H. G.	<i>Shawnee Morning News</i> , Shawnee, Okla.
STEEP, THOMAS	<i>The Herald-Tribune</i> , New York.
STONE, WILLIAM F.	<i>Information Service</i> , Foreign Policy Ass'n.
SWOPE, HERBERT BAYARD	<i>The New York World</i> , N. Y.
WALLACE, TOM	<i>Louisville Times</i> , Louisville, Ky.
WAYMACK, W. W.	<i>Des Moines Register and Evening Tribune</i> , Des Moines, Iowa.
WEINBAUM, M.	<i>Novoye Russkoye Slovo</i> , N. Y.
HOLMAN, ALFRED	(Formerly editor) <i>The Argonaut</i> , San Francisco, Cal.
MOON, PARKER T.	<i>Political Science Quarterly</i> , Columbia University, N. Y.
SCHNEIDER, FRANZ, JR.	<i>New York Sun</i> , N. Y.
SNYDER, FREDERICK M. T.	Press Congress of the World.
VAN KIRK, WALTER W.	<i>The Christian Science Monitor</i> , Boston.
VAN SAND, ALBERT	<i>Danish Newspaper</i> , N. Y.

FOREIGN REPRESENTATIVES

BOUDREAU, DR. FRANK G.	Associate Chief of Epidemiological Intelligence Service of the Health Organization of the League of Nations, Geneva, Switzerland, and formerly Director, Bureau of Communicable Diseases, Ohio Department of Health.
DRECHSLER, DR. R. W.	Press Department, Foreign Office, Berlin.
FREYRE, DR. GILBERTO DE MELLO	<i>Diario de Pernambuco</i> , Brazil.
HARRIS, H. WILSON	<i>Daily News</i> , London; <i>Headway</i> , London.
LLANO, RODRIGO DE	<i>Excelsior</i> , Mexico City, Mexico.
LECHARTIER, GEORGES	<i>Journal des Débats</i> , Paris.
MARTIN, DR. WILLIAM	<i>Journal de Genève</i> , Geneva, Switzerland.
SCHOTTHOEFER, FRITZ	<i>Frankfurter Zeitung</i> , Frankfurt a. M., Germany.
SCHWEDLER, WILHELM	German Press Association, Berlin.

The invitations to editors and journalists in the United States were sent upon the nomination of a special committee composed of ROSCOE C. E. BROWN, Columbia University School of Journalism, Chairman; CASPER S. YOST, Editor of the *Globe-Democrat*, St. Louis, Mo., and former President, American Society of Newspaper Editors; JOHN STEWART BRYAN, Editor and Publisher, *News-Leader*, Richmond, Va.; MAURICE S. SHERMAN, Editor, *Springfield Republican*; and EDWARD PRICE BELL of the *Chicago Daily News*, and former President of the Association of American Correspondents in London.

The following is a partial list of persons who participated, in addition to the editors and journalists and the speakers whose names appear on the formal program:

Judge ANTONIO SANCHEZ DE BUSTAMANTE Y SIRVEN,
Havana, Cuba, Judge of the Permanent Court of International Justice.

Sig. LUIGI EINAUDI, Senator of Italy, and Director of the Bureau of Economic Research, Turin, Italy.

Baron PAUL D'ESTOURNELLES DE CONSTANT, New York.

AUSTEN G. FOX, Trustee, Carnegie Endowment.

Dr. SIDNEY L. GULICK, Secretary, National Committee on American-Japanese Relations, New York.

Dr. KARL VON LEWINSKI, German Consul-General, New York.

FREDERICK H. MOORE, Counselor, Japanese Embassy, Washington, D. C.

Miss RUTH MORGAN, League of Nations Non-Partisan Association.

His Excellency, MARC PETER, Swiss Minister to U. S.; Washington, D. C.

GEORGE A. PLIMPTON, President of the Trustees of Amherst College, and Director of World Peace Foundation.

WALTER S. ROGERS, New York.

Dr. JAMES BROWN SCOTT, Secretary, Carnegie Endowment of International Peace.

VINCENTE VILLAMIN, formerly Manila, P. R.; Attorney at law, New York City.

Dr. JACOB S. WORM-MUELLER, Economic Historian, King Frederick's University, Oslo, Norway, and Counsellor to the Norwegian Nobel Institute.

The general sessions of the Conference, five in number, were attended by 200 to 500 persons each, the average attendance being approximately 300, while that at the nine sessions of the Round Tables varied from 20 to 100 each and averaged approximately 50.

If space permitted and this volume of Proceedings had not already attained proportions that threaten to tax the patience of its readers, it would be interesting to close this preface with a resume of the discussions at the Conference and a who's-who sketch of the fifty speakers who took part, many of them more than once, on the formal program. Approximately fifty more persons with interesting records of authorship and public service could be added to this list from among the editors, journalists, specially invited guests and members of the Academy who attended most of the sessions and participated informally in the life and work of the Conference.

It was a notable company throughout that constituted the nucleus of the Conference, spending four eventful days together amid the picturesque surroundings and comfortable appointments of Briarcliff Lodge in the Westchester hills. Two such royal spirits as Dr. JAMES BROWN SCOTT of Washington and Dr. CHARLES FREDERICK SCOTT of Iola, Kansas, alone, neither of whom took any formal part on the program, would have been sufficient to give any conference distinction and to insure a high standard of purpose and intellectual achievement. Dr. JAMES BROWN SCOTT is the Secretary of the Carnegie Endowment and Director of its Division on International Law. He is the author of a notable volume entitled *Peace through Justice* and many other works dealing with the juridical aspects of international relations, and was Solicitor of the State Department when ELIHU ROOT was Secretary of State. He was Technical Delegate to the Peace Conference in Paris in 1919 and has been for years President of the American Institute of International Law, Secretary of the American Society of International Law, and Editor-in-Chief of the

American Journal of International Law. Dr. CHARLES FREDERICK SCOTT, for nearly forty years the editor and publisher of the *Iola Daily Register*, Iola, Allen Co., Kansas, represented his district and was Congressman-at-Large from Kansas for ten years. He was a Regent of the University of Kansas and is Acting President of the College of Emporia, as well as the author of a volume of *Letters* written in Mexico and Europe, a history of Allen and Woodson counties in Kansas, and of another work entitled *In the Far East*. With the trained journalist's power of observation and interpretation, combined with wide travel and good reading and a long experience in public affairs, Dr. SCOTT brought an unusually alert and practical mind to bear on the subjects discussed at the Conference. So we might continue to describe one after another of the personalities of those who brought so much to the Conference that made it worth while and enabled many of us to take so much away.

Both in the editorial comment and newspaper reports of the Conference as well as in scores of letters received from those who participated, have come warm words of appreciation and recognition of the far-reaching beneficial results of such a Conference; also the expression of a hope, such as characterized the post-comment of the press after the Long Beach Conference nine years ago, that periodic conferences of this sort might be held at not too infrequent intervals.

We cannot refrain from quoting, in closing, a few comments from both public and private sources.

DR. CHAS. F. SCOTT, in a signed two-column editorial in *The Iola Daily Register* of May 18, entitled "Voices in the Wilderness," says:

The men whose addresses and papers made up the programs at Briarcliff were Idealists in a way but they never lost their contact with the solid ground of common sense and practicability. On the question of disarmament for example, . . . not one of the speakers minimized the difficulties of the project or the obstacles in the way, nor ventured to assert that disarmament in itself, however far-reaching it might be made, would put an end to war. They presented rather the point of view of the various governments represented and spoke of the things that might be accomplished and the results that might follow.

And the tone and temper of the disarmament program was characteristic of all the discussions that followed. . . .

All in all the four days of programs brought together a very remarkable group of thoughtful and scholarly men, each speaking as an authority upon the subject to which he addressed himself, and assembled to hear them men of importance from practically every State east of the Rocky Mountains. From beginning to end the Conference was eminently successful.

DR. SCOTT in another and more personal comment on the Conference says:

The more I have thought it over, the more admiration I have felt for the symmetrically built program and the more I have realized the inspiration I received from it and from the many able men who participated in the discussions.

HARRY BLOOM, *The Herald-Post*, Louisville, Ky.:

The Conference itself was intensely interesting and instructive, and I cannot conceive how you could have selected a more appropriate setting for it.

ROBERT S. BROOKINGS, President, Institute of Economics, Washington, D. C.:

We are to be congratulated on the successful outcome of our Briarcliff experiment.

HON. WILLIAM E. GONZALES, Former Minister to Cuba and First American Ambassador to Peru, Editor and Proprietor of *The State*, Columbia, S. C., in an editorial in *The State* of May 18 entitled, "An Englishman 'Thinks Aloud,'" says, speaking of the Luncheon Meeting at the Hotel Astor on May 14 which brought the Conference to a close:

The principal speakers were the foreigners—Swiss, French, German and English—and the key-noter, Toastmaster Elihu Root. And while no word of what those foreigners said was recorded in the New York newspapers, most significant words were uttered and questions propounded.

Whatever may be said of armaments, resources for war and competition for raw materials as principal factors to be considered when discussing world peace, the chief agency for the avoidance of conflict between nations, as between individuals is understanding. Get understanding, get the frank viewpoints of others, and there must be a lessening of those suspicions and fears out of which wars are bred. Those foreigners invited to speak at the concluding session of the recent conference were asked to give their viewpoint of how the United States could, under present government and with present disposition, best aid Europe in regaining stability and security—a condition from which the United States must profit to large degree.

Contrary to our national disposition in such circumstances, these foreigners, who were guests in this country, were all shy of "offering advice" or making suggestions. Yet they did give opportunity to get a look into their minds. In point of interest and insight, honors were carried off by H. Wilson Harris of London, parliamentary secretary of the League of Nations Union, editor of *Headway* and diplomatic correspondent of the London *Daily News*. The full effectiveness of a League of Nations can not be expected without the United States, is Mr. Harris' natural view. They would not press this country to enter; they would not wish it to enter the league without the support of two-thirds, at least, of our people. But the League is going on, making what headway is possible, without the United States; going on with a fight against unjust, illegal wars.

But, said Mr. Harris, even if it be true, as he had heard, that the people of this country sympathize with the efforts of the League, what really concerns the League members is what would be the attitude of Washington in certain contingencies. What would the government of this country do in the event the League of Nations condemned a country for criminal aggression and attempted to enforce punishment? Would the United States continue to furnish the outlaw with food and munitions? Would the United States hamper and weaken the League's mandates by ignoring blockades; would it give aid, comfort and sustenance to the enemy of peace?

Those were questions Mr. Harris said he was asking himself; and as he had been requested to speak frankly he just for the moment indulged in a little "thinking aloud." And are not those questions which we might profitably ponder, and find the answers before they are forced upon us? Who knows the answer? Have we a policy; if so what is it?

WILL OWEN JONES, *Nebraska State Journal*, Lincoln, Nebraska, in an editorial, May 18, entitled "Seeking the Cause," says:

The final meeting of the conference took the form of a luncheon at the Astor hotel, presided over by Elihu Root. Half a dozen of the foreign visitors gave their impressions of the results of the meeting. President Nicholas Murray Butler summed up the meeting as the most striking demonstration yet given of the shift of the center of gravity of all effective discussions over disarmament, security and peace. When men formerly met to promote peace their talk ran to schemes for reducing the number of men under arms, the weight and number of guns, and so forth. At this Conference but little time was spent on such futilities. The talk went straight to the causes of war and means of promoting international justice to such a degree that no sane man or nation will want to fight. When peoples understand each other and appreciate their problems and do everything they can for mutual adjustment there will be no need for agreements as to the size of armies or weight of fortifications. All of these things will disappear as naturally as fog disappears under the rays of the sun.

This conference on international problems, promoted by the Peace Foundation, therefore gave itself over almost wholly to questions relating to