I was the chief secretary of conferences.
Institute of Politics. The sixth session of the Institute of Politics at Williamstown in July–August broadly resembled its predecessors. It brought together as diverse a group as ever, and one which was more than usually dominated by experts within their respective fields. The membership was composed upon the plan, adopted in 1923, of providing each conference with a substantial group of experts, and, in addition, another group whose training made them capable of following the discussions without becoming active participants, and whose professional work afforded an opportunity for the dissemination of the points of view developed in the discussions. One significant modification in the structure of the program consisted in having two of the general conferences, open to associate members, upon the same general subjects as two of the round tables, open only to full members. This device made it possible to summarize in somewhat more popular form the technical discussions upon Mineral Resources in their Political Relations and Chemistry in World Affairs.
As in past years, the program dealt with subjects of current importance. Plans for the economic and disarmament conferences in Europe were reflected in round tables upon The Limitation of Armaments and New Aspects of the World Economic Situation. The international conferences on questions of extraterritoriality and the tariff in China, together with the anti-foreign movements, brought China conspicuously into the program, and the whole situation in the Far East was surveyed in a general conference. The breakdown of the Tacna-Arica negotiations and the development of a critical situation in Mexico made Inter-American Problems in the Foreign Policy of the United States an appropriate topic for discussion. The round table on Mineral Resources in their Political Relations, begun in the 1925 session, was continued, and this year Chemistry in World Affairs was given especial attention, having not only a round table and a general conference, but a lecture course. Public Opinion, which had only once before appeared upon the program of the Institute, was again discussed in a general conference.

The number of lectures was fewer than in past years. The opening address of Sir Frederick Whyte on the revolt of Asia, and his succeeding discussions of the Indian situation, set an unusually high standard. Sir James Irvine discussed chemistry in world progress in a series of six lectures with lucidity and humor, as well as authority. M. Nicholas Politis lectured upon disarmament and security from the point of view of an actual participant in the diplomatic discussions, who was in a position fully to appreciate the enormous complexity of the subject. Dr. A. Mendelssohn-Bartholdy analyzed the European situation in a series of lectures which reflected not only his practical experience but also his philosophical grasp of the problem. The restoration of Austria, under the direction of the League of Nations, was the topic of the chief actor in that fascinating episode, Dr. Alfred E. Zimmerman.

One of the interesting features of the Institute was the divergence of view between the experts in the round table and the general conference on mineral resources, and those whose principal interest was in chemistry. The round table and the general conference upon mineral resources were in charge of Dr. C. K. Leith, Dr. H. Foster Bain, and Mr. Charles H. MacDowell. They brought many specialists to the sessions to discuss special topics. There was a tendency on the part of the geologists, mineralogists, and mining engineers to view with alarm the tremendous waste of natural resources. The mining engineers argued that when present stocks of important materials are exhausted,
our civilization will be profoundly dislocated. The experts in chemistry, on the other hand, were pervaded with a striking optimism. Admitting possible temporary inconvenience, they looked forward with assurance to replacing exhausted materials with others equally suited to human needs. In much the same way, the mineralogists laid especial emphasis upon the fact that the natural distribution of resources is distinctly unequal, so that a condition approaching monopoly exists in many essential resources. The chemists, on the other hand, felt that synthetic products would, in many cases, break up national monopolies, and restore a really competitive situation. Both the round table and the general conferences on chemistry were directed by Mr. Harrison E. Howe, who mobilized a formidable group of experts upon various phases of chemistry bearing upon the problem of political relations.

The round table on The New Aspects of the World Economic Situation, led by Dr. Moritz J. Bonn, was not devoted to a statistical review of economic facts, nor to the pros and cons of the cancellation of the Allied debts. The approach was from a more philosophical point of view. Discussions centered upon new economic conceptions which have grown out of the World War, particularly the economic philosophy of bolshevism upon the one hand and of fascism upon the other; the one founded upon the conception that the facts of life dominate the will, the other arising from the belief that will power can be made to determine destiny. The rise of private competitors of the state in the field of economic power furnished another topic of significant interest. The manner in which the power of ultimate decision has tended to pass from governments to economic groups has been one of the striking phenomena of the war's aftermath. Thus at critical times in the last few years the normal balance of power in sensitive areas has been upset so completely that the substance of control was in private hands rather than in those of public officials. The manner in which governments have effectively lost their financial independence and gone into receiverships furnishes a strange and disturbing application to important states of devices hitherto reserved for backward countries and governments whose tax administrations were lax or corrupt. The break-up of Europe into fractions, and the realignment of frontiers upon economic bases other than those which had developed before the war, raised problems which were actively discussed. The debtor's revolt against overburdensome obligations, which has furnished some of the striking passages in American history, has been again exemplified in recent European experience. Nations have palmed off manufactured currency upon their creditors as though it were
real money. This effective confiscation by that agency which has stood as the bulwark of property causes people to lose faith in their governments. Between socialistic confiscation of private property and confiscation through inflation on the part of capitalistic countries there is little material difference. Thus the consequences of inflation, which seemed an easy way of getting rid of inconvenient debts, have proved disastrous socially, politically, and economically.

International Problems Arising from the Diversity of Legal Systems was a new subject at the Institute, and was discussed in a round table led by Mr. Arthur K. Kuhn. Starting from a survey of the divergent laws of nationality, and the complications which have arisen out of the divergence, the round table considered in succession international problems arising from the diversity of national constitutions, the divergence of laws for the protection of individual and minority rights, and various systems of exercising criminal jurisdiction over aliens. The discussions revealed the growing importance of this field as the number of contacts among nations have multiplied. The problem of adjustment is now more acute than ever before. The conclusion was that uniformity of law could not be hoped for, that diversity of national legal systems is of the very essence of international life, and that the only solution is in a process of coordinating the several national legal structures. Coordination may be achieved through an understanding and appreciation of the character, nature, and extent of the diversities, and through a process of give and take among the states concerned. It was emphasized that where the diversity of legal principles is too great, the possibility of international relations is destroyed. It was as a bridge between nations with fundamental diversities in their legal outlook that the system of extraterritoriality was developed. As that device disappears it is essential that legal systems be brought more and more into harmony.

The round table on The Chinese Republic and the Powers, led by Mr. Henry K. Norton, was overwhelmed with material for discussion. The maelstrom of events in China, with its turbulent surface of civil wars and boycotts, and its tremendous undercurrent of change in the social and economic structure of Chinese life, furnished abundant discussion. The anomaly of the Chinese situation was emphasized. Though there is, and has been, no government capable of exercising authority over any significant part of China, the successive masters of Peking have been recognized by the powers and have been treated as though they were established governments. Ephemeral governments, founded upon paper constitutions, with unenacted codes of law and courts often
corrupt, overwhelmed in debt, represent an interesting effort to establish republican institutions where there is no citizenry trained for that type of state. The round table considered, in succession, the interests of Great Britain, Japan, Russia, and the United States. British interests, so long dominant in China, have been injured by the recent clashes with the Chinese. The reorientation of Japanese policy since the Washington Conference was described and particular attention paid to the present situation in South Manchuria, and to the growth of Japanese trade and commerce. The revival of American trade with the Far East, together with the growth of American influence and activity, were noted. Emphasis was laid upon the return, at the Washington Conference and since, to the old fundamental policy of a strong united China, in place of merely insisting upon the open door. The aggressive character of the contact of Bolshevist Russia was discussed, as were the effects of the recent Sino-Russian treaty upon the current situation. After an analysis of the changes taking place within the domestic life of China, it appeared to be the consensus of opinion that it is manifestly impossible to grant all the demands of the Chinese. To do so would simply increase the chaos by putting responsibilities upon those who are in no condition to assume them. On the other hand, the policy of force is equally futile. Pressure cannot be brought to bear upon the whole people, and there is no government which can be influenced in that manner. The statesmanlike policy is to refrain from aggression and maintain relations upon as good a basis as possible, giving China time and opportunity to work out a stable political structure.

The round table on The Limitation of Armaments, conducted by Dr. Jesse S. Reeves, founded its discussion upon the premise that armaments can be reduced only in proportion as fear is banished, that there can be no disarmament upon a great scale until there is a mood of moral disarmament, and that the attempt to achieve a diplomatic formula relating to disarmament, while states are still dominated by fear of national disaster, is futile. Disarmament and the sense of security are indissolubly linked. The problems of disarmament, as they affect land forces and naval forces, are dissimilar. The question of the reduction of land forces is infinitely the more complicated. A nation’s naval policy is developed out of relatively few factors, which may be ascertained, though not without difficulty. In land warfare the problem is one of the effective mobilization of entire populations. There are so many factors lurking in the formula for the equation of land armaments that the more it is studied the more the problem becomes complicated.
After discussing the difficulties arising from differences in population, strategic frontiers, and other physical factors, the conference approached the question of the definition of disarmament, which proved so difficult for the Preparatory Commission for the Limitation of Armaments at Geneva. The attempt of the American group to harmonize the conflict between those who would interpret armaments in the material sense, and those, on the other hand, who would include all potentialities, was described. And there was discussion of the reasons why the American suggestion to consider as armaments the effective peace-time strength of a country, and such peace-time stocks of materials as may be made available immediately upon the outbreak of war or very soon thereafter, made very little headway.

The discussion of Inter-American Problems in the Foreign Policy of the United States, under the direction of Dr. Leo S. Rowe, was predicated upon the assumption that the two continents must be regarded in the same light as Europe, namely, as composed of states with diverse interests and aims, whose contact must always be the subject of careful calculation if it is not to develop friction. The naive assumption that mere geographic propinquity will make cordial its relationship with the countries of South America must be abandoned by the United States. The era of good feeling, which arose in the early period of independence, speedily gave way to an era of distrust, which was dispelled only in the twentieth century. The new period of satisfactory relations was short-lived because of events associated with American policy during the war. At the close of the war, therefore, Latin America turned with satisfaction to the League of Nations, which recognized its world position and which the United States abstained from joining. This affiliation was the more natural because the cultural relations of most of the Latin American countries are with Europe, and there is, therefore, a natural tendency for the nations of Latin America to be drawn into the European system. The feeling that the United States is an overwhelmingly large and powerful state led many South American leaders to feel that the League offered a remarkable opportunity for a counter-balance against the United States. The new lines of economic relationship between the United States and the South American countries give them more reason for such an affiliation, because they wish to avoid the political dependence upon the United States which might flow from economic dependence. The League has been careful to give ample recognition to Latin America and at the same time has not intervened in Latin American disputes in a way to involve the United States. There is no
occasion to expect difficulty from the relationship of Latin America with the League if the situation is wisely managed, but neglect might well result in a situation wherein the United States would appear to represent one unit of power and the League of Nations an entirely different one. The repercussions upon American policy would inevitably be unfortunate. The consensus of opinion seemed to be that the United States should make a constant effort toward better understanding of Latin America—an understanding founded upon an appreciation of the culture and institutions which have developed among our neighbors. It is altogether likely that the conviction that self-government can be taught must be abandoned, for it involves an attitude of mind certain to be resented, and suggests policies which smaller and weaker states inevitably misunderstand. The United States must be watchful to discourage the formation of a balance of power in this hemisphere. Because of its tremendous strength, the United States must avoid even the appearance of a desire to dominate her southern neighbors, and should be prepared to settle all inter-American disputes, whatever may be their character, by conciliation or by arbitration. This would involve a much broader and more liberal policy with reference to arbitration treaties than the Senate has yet approved.

The general conference on The International Situation in the Far East, led by Dr. George H. Blakeslee, was addressed by a remarkable group of experts. The keynote was the thought that one of the greatest problems confronting mankind lies in the readjustment of the relationship which exists between the East and the West. The need for such a readjustment is manifested by the fact that the East is in revolt. In Japan the revolt is aimed against unequal treatment in immigration legislation; in China, against unequal treaties such as those relating to the tariff, and to extraterritoriality; in India and the Philippines, against the political control of foreign powers.

The survey of the situation in the Philippines developed five suggested solutions, running the gamut from immediate complete independence to the permanent retention of the whole archipelago by the United States, with no further political rights for the people. The discussion of these several policies revealed the impossibility of harmonizing them, and the probability, on the basis of political experience, that neither of the more extreme proposals is likely to gain acceptance. Nor is the suggestion that the islands be partitioned likely to have much support. The proposal which attracted the greatest interest involved some form of "dominion status," such as that occupied by Canada or Australia in the British Commonwealth.
China was described as "the point of greatest friction in the contact of East and West," the outstanding fact being the existence of a newly aroused, intense, widespread nationalism. The demand on the part of China for the abolition of "unequal treaties," the complete control of its own tariff, abolition of extraterritoriality, the limitation of foreign rights of municipal administration in treaty-port concessions and settlements, and the abrogation of treaties which give foreign powers military and naval rights, were reviewed in turn. The conclusion was reached that a tangible beginning must be made in meeting the natural desires of China. Should the powers refuse to take action, the Chinese will probably cancel the treaties which give foreigners special rights. Unilateral cancellation of the treaties would bring about a grave situation. It would probably lead to local military clashes with foreign powers, and to increased bitterness. On the other hand, it is clear that the demands cannot now be granted in full. The responsibility for delay must be divided between the powers and China.

Manchuria was described as the focal point in the conflicting policies and interests of Russia, China, and Japan. An analysis of the historical and economic interests of these countries revealed that each, taken individually, seems to have reasonable claims. It is natural for Russia to wish to maintain control of the Chinese Eastern Railway, which is an integral part of the trans-Siberian system, and to have the exclusive right of further railroad development in northern Manchuria. It is natural for Japan to wish to retain the South Manchuria railroad and the leased territories, which she has administered magnificently, and to wish to cooperate with China in extending railroad development in all parts of Manchuria. It is natural for China, the sovereign power, to demand that both Russia and Japan give up their governmental and semi-governmental privileges and transfer them to China. But, taken together, these interests produce a dangerous situation.

Japanese policy was analyzed on the basis that the country's large population and small territory make necessary cooperation with China. In order to develop this thesis, the successive phases through which this policy has moved since the Russo-Japanese War were passed in review. The policy of the United States was outlined and defended as having been reasonably consistent, indeed more consistent than the policy of any of the other great powers. The United States has always pursued the policy of the integrity of China, and the policy known as the "open door." In addition, it has been the evident purpose of America to treat China as a fully sovereign state, but in doing so, to avoid the
use of military force except in compelling circumstances. While the policy has been consistent, there has not been the same consistency in carrying it out. At times the United States has used the method of independent action, and at other times has turned to that of cooperation with other powers. In recent years she has carried the cooperative method further than ever before, and at present is endeavoring to grant to China almost immediate control of the tariff and seeking to bring about an early modification of the operation of extraterritoriality.

The general conference devoted to Public Opinion in World Affairs under the leadership of Mr. Arthur S. Draper, concerned itself chiefly with the power of the press. The early sessions of the conference were devoted to an analysis of public opinion and its constituent elements, and the importance of intangible influences upon it. The speakers compared the American press with the press of Europe. American newspapers excel in gathering news. The range of matter that is covered, the extraordinary quantity of material that is presented, and the clarity with which events are recorded are striking. On the other hand, American papers do not make as careful selection of the material they print as do some foreign journals. The attempt is to be all-inclusive, and the great daily concerns itself with every phase of life, including the trivialities. In the treatment of its news, moreover, the American newspaper is not as scholarly or as literary as some foreign journals. The American press is, in an outstanding sense, a free press. The expression of editorial comment is not as violent or as bitter as that of party advocates in Europe, but it is untrammeled save by canons of taste. Moreover, the press of America is not subsidized and does not often represent official influence. The suppression of news is not commonly practiced; competition in the field of journalism is so keen that it is virtually impossible. In its endeavor to market its news the American press has developed a tendency to advertise its matter with headlines. This effort to state the essence of the news in a few words often leads to distortion, and one of the chief criticisms of the American press is the tendency to sacrifice accuracy in headlines to pungency of statement. After the analysis of the position and power of the press and the difference between its position in America and abroad, consideration was given to the importance of radio, the moving picture, and political organizations in molding public opinion.

Henry M. Wriston.

Lawrence College.