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The PEACE Limitation of By STANNARD Essential Problem at the Paris Conference

BAKER

The Sunday Journal herewith presents the second chapter of Ray Stannard Baker's story "The Peace," which is an authoritative narrative of how the peace of Paris was concluded. Wood-suw Wilson gave Mr. Baker access to all of his personal and unpublished papers, which are the only reliable and incontrovertible records of the facts which heretofore have never been made public. This special feature will be published in The Journal serially throughout the year.

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FULL disclosure of exactly what was said and done at Paris, taken from private documents and minutes of secret meetings, will furnish an incomparably valuable basis of experience for present and future dis-

cussions of the problem of disarmament. France stands for the same things that she stood for at Paris; for she is France; and her position is inexorably dictated by her national interests and fears. So it is with the British empire and Japan and Italy. So it is with America. So it is with any leaders, whether they be the same who were at Paris or others who may appear to represent national interests and aspirations. Every essential problem connected with military

mutual guarantees is implicit in this

phrase. For, if there is a League of

pose than to preserve domestic safety?

President Wilson drew the inspiration

tices of America. Here were 48 states

in a union. No state needed to maintain

He said in his second inaugural ad-

... • • We shall be the more Amer-

national armaments should be

world as one of the bases of the peace. But the president, who had been think

ing hard upon the problem-especially

Paris in March after his visit home. I

"The president wrote this first draft

members of the American delegation. In

develops his plan for limitation of arma-

ments. This whole article is here repro-

duced because it sets forth fully the or-

ARMS REDUCTION PROPOSED

The contracting powers recognize

the principle that the establishment

and maintenance of peace will re-

quire the reduction of national arm-

aments to the lowest point consist-

ent with domestic safety, and the

enforcement by common action of

international obligations; and the

delegates are directed to formulate

at once plans by which such a re-

duction may be brought about. The

plan so formulated shall be binding

when, and only when, unanimously

approved by the governments sig-

As the basis for such a reduction

of armaments, all the powers sub-

scribing to the treaty of peace of

which this covenant constitutes a

part, hereby agree to abolish con-

scription and all other forms of com-

pulsory military service, and also

agree that their future forces of de-

fense and of international action

shall consist of militia or volunteers

whose numbers and methods of training shall be fixed, after expert

gard to the reduction of armaments

referred to in the last preceding par-

determine for the consideration and action of the several governments

what direct military equipment and

armament is fair and reasonable in

proportion to the scale of forces

laid down in the program of disarm-

ament; and these limits, when

The body of delegates shall also

by the agreements with re-

natory to this covenant.

agraph

Article IV of this original covenant he

more than a militia to preserve domes

power and military armament; the policy of conscription, size of armies and navies, and the principles of limitation, problems of communication and blockade, the use of the new instrumentalities of war, such as airplanes, wireless telegraphs, poison gases, submarines. were all fully discussed at Paris. We know definitely not only what each leader of the Great Five said, but what, under pres-

sure, he did, which is more important. The record reveals, as nothing else could, the difficulties, the dangers, the possibilities and impossibilities of If the great war represented a clash operation among the nations, so strong

of the greatest material forces of the age, the peace conference which followed domestic or international safety. The it represented an equally vital clash of whole idea of a League of Nations with

And no single idea moved forward into Nations strong enough to guarantee inthe battle line at Paris had harder ternational peace, what need is there of fighting, resisted sterner attacks, surmounted more entanglements, suffered greater leases, and yet somehow held its for point 4 as he drew most of his inposition, than the idea of world reduc- spirations, from the principles and pracon in military armaments. WILSON'S FOURTH POINT

It was one of the ideas or principles tic order, for there was a union of all of which the Americans brought with them them to guarantee the safety of each. to Paris. It had been clearly set forth He was applying the American idea to by the American leader, President Wil- the world. son, as one of the formal bases of the coming peace. It was the fourth point dress, just before America entered the of the fourteen; and at the armistice war (March 5, 1917): it had been "accepted in principle," as the diplomats say, by all the belligerent lcan if we but remain true to the prinnations-friends and enemies alike. All ciples in which we have been bred. that it seemed necessary now to do was that it seemed necessary now to new to move forward and occupy the new position. No one at the time realized along that they were the principles of a liberated mankind. These, therefore, are the treacherous ground that had yet to be fought over!

from fighting by removing the imple- limited to the necessities of national orments of war is as ancient, probably, as der and domestic safety." the stone age. It had been the vision DEVELOPMENT OF PRINCIPLE of many a prophet-Solomon was for heating swords into plowshares-and the program of many a statesman. Before the great war British leaders sought an agreement with Germany for a "naval holiday"; it was one of the ideals of The Hague peace conference—to be dis-

nissed with plous resolutions. When President Wilson began to think about the peace as the vital concern of America, he saw clearly that the limita- before the peace conference actually met tion of armaments must form one of the in January, 1919. He had begun now to pillars upon which a just settlement consider the application of the principle must rest. We did not enter the war to the actual problems that might arise. until April, 1917, but three months before we find the president, in an ad- dent completed his first draft of the dress to the United States senate, Janu- League of Nations covenant. He was ary 22, 1917), which I heard a French then living in the hotel of Prince Murat, editor call "Wilson's greatest utterance," placed at his disposal by the French govlaying down this idea as one of the "es- ernment, a much more pretentious resisential principles of an enduring peace." dence than he had when he returned to Mare are his words:

* The question of limiting was so grand that when the King of naval armaments opens the wide and Italy visited him there he looked about perhaps more difficult question of the and remarked in English: "Good Lord! limitation of armies and of all programs I can't give you anything like this in of military preparation * * *. There Italy:" can be no sense of safety and equality among the nations if great preponderat- of the covenant on his own typewriter; ing armaments are henceforth to con- the typewriter which he had always at timue here and there to be built up and his elbow and sometimes used, to the maintained. The statesmen of the world amazement of his colleagues, during must plan for peace and nations must sessions of the Council of Four. He had adjust and accommodate their policy to the document then secretly printed, upon as they have planned for war and white paper, 9x111/2 inches in size, bearmade ready for pitiless conquest and ing on the cover the single word "Covrivalry. The question of armaments, enant," It contained his original 13 whether on land or sea, is the most im- articles and six "supplementary agreemediately and intensely practical ques- ments." This he sent to a number of tion connected with the future fortunes of nations and of mankind."

PRINCIPLE SET FORTH

A year later in January, 1918, when, much thought and discussion, he iginal ideas of Mr. Wilson which may be came finally to outline his complete compared with the final wording in the program for the coming settlement, he treaty. The very first sentence practiet forth the principle, reduced to its cally repeats the language of point four naked elements, as point four of the of the fourteen points.

"Adequate guarantees given and taken that national armaments will be reduced to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety." Here is the plank in the platform upon which rested all the controversy at Paris.

It is important, therefore, to understand

Most of the advocates of disarmament in the past have cautiously avoided trying to set up a standard of armament for world; they have contented themselves with proposals to cut away a certain number of battleships and the outlawing of certain new weapons or devices. To stout bowmen and swordsmen of a few centuries ago gunpowder was violation of the laws of war! But it point four. President Wilson boldly grapples with the two fundamental problems

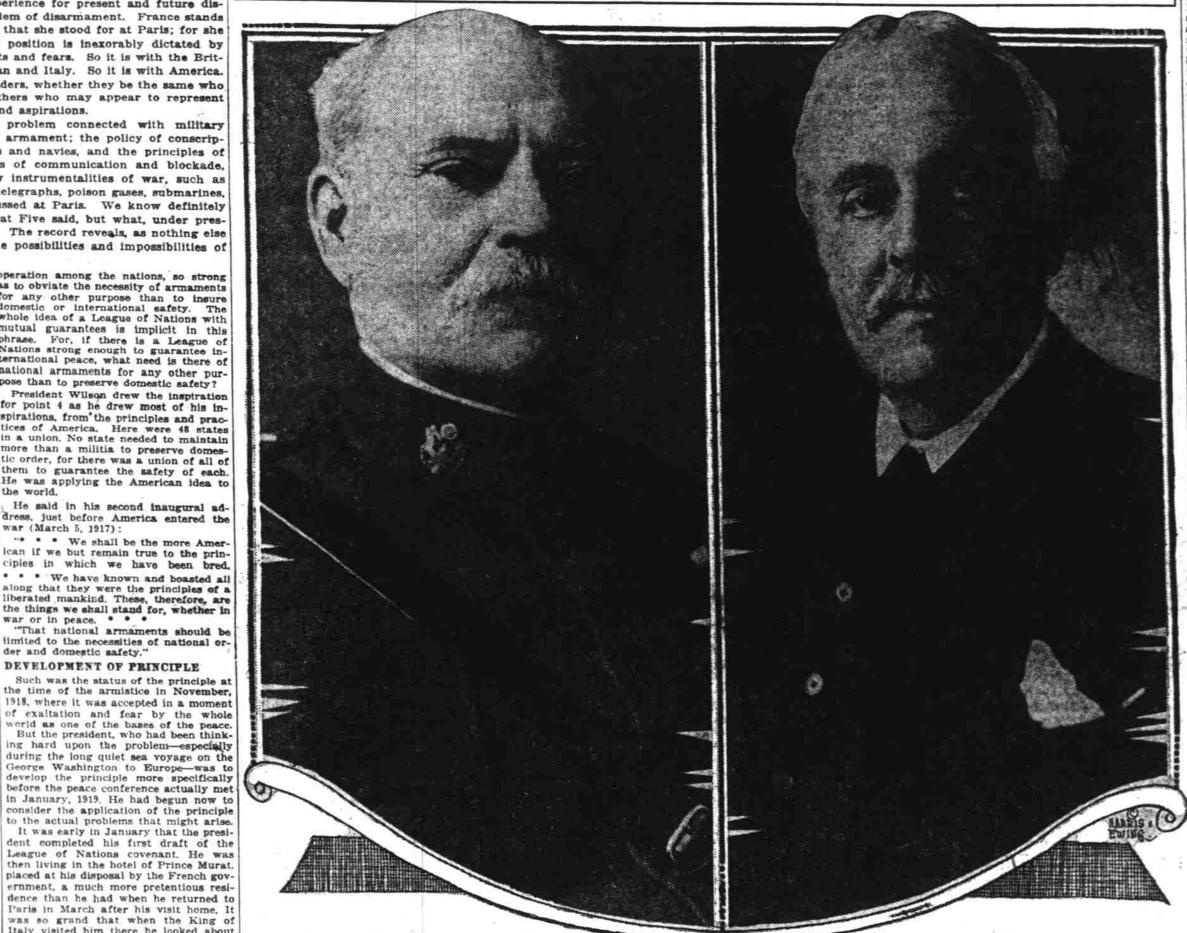
of armament: First, what shall be the true function and standard of national armament? Second, how shall the peace and security of nations be assured without "great preponderating armaments"? There are thus two main ideas ex

premed in point four: I. That armaments "will be reduced to the lowest point consistent with domestic sufety." Domestic safety was to be the standard, and "domestic" was the very first word pounced upon by the critics at Paris, who considered that it meant the reduction of the armies and navies of the future to a position of mere, national or international police. It set them a shiver, for it seemed a blow at their safety; and, indeed, without the other principle set forth in point four, it was a chimera. This principle was: NEW COOPERATION URGED

adopted, shall not be exceeded without the permission of the body of 2. "Adequate guarantees given and taken" that this standard will be maindelegates The contracting powers further tained throughout the world. In short, there must be a new and adequate coagree that munitions and implements of war shall not be manufact

TWO BIG FIGURES AT THE PARIS PEACE CONFERENCE

ENERAL TASKER H. BLISS, U. S. A., (left), one of the American peace commissioners whom Ray Stannard Baker describes as a vigorous, plain spoken advocate of disarmament at the Paris conference; the Right Honorable Arthur S. Balfour (right), who, next to Premier David Lloyd George, was the leading spokesman for British policies at the Paris conference. Both of these commissioners loomed large in the conference discussion of the reduction of armament.



tured by private enterprise or for private profit, and that there shall be full and frank publicity as to all national armaments and military or

naval programs. NEW IDEAS OF ARMAMENT

program for limitation of armaments roposed at Paris and since the disussions centered around it during the long sessions both of the Councils of Ten and of Four and the commission on the aversion). League of Nations, it is most important to know exactly what were the concrete ideas here advanced. They were six in must be abolished.

only two purposes: First, to preserve of armament finally agreed upon. "domestic safety" within the nations 6—There must be unanimous and, second, to meet the requirement of ment by the "governments signatory to maintaining international order by force this covenant."

if any member of the family of nations

plete abolition of compulsory military guarantees" from foreign aggression. He saw clearly that one ferent problems. service (a deep-rooted Anglo-Saxon But when the allied nations tried to ap- was not permanently attainable without I have commented elsewhere upon the

4-Manufacture of munitions by pri- we shall see what happened!

1-Armaments were to be used for possible departure from the schedules selves. 6-There must be unanimous agree-

BLISS SUPPORTS WILSON

develop later, that the president's "impractical ideal" of limitation of arma-2-Nothing definite could be accom- ment as here set forth was almost liter- the armistice, he had argued for the in which the Americans were chiefly inplished immediately; only principles ally applied by the peace commissioners disarmament of Germany to the limit terested; second, the immediate disarmament of "such forces as were needed for the allies later by another body (an organ of was reduced strictly to the standard of maintenance of order," but he coupled were chiefly concerned. Since this was the concrete American the league) after the settlement of the "domestic safety," with the accompany- this proposal for stern reduction—just conferees must consider their own ulti-3—Disarmament must entail the comshe would be protected by "adequate a guarantee of safety from external disarmament of the enemy—vastly difply the same principles to themselves the other. During the transition period, we shall see what happened! They while Europe was still disturbed, he protraining, of the British and French for-

vate enterprise or for private profit treated their enemy, so far as burden- posed that "the powers should guaran- eign offices. They always had a plan must be abolished.

5—Publicity would take care of any cerned, better than they treated them
some and bostly armaments were conhad guaranteed that of Beigium." Afteras did that of the limitation of armahad guaranteed that of Beigium."

ward, when Germany came into the ments, from Americans, the resolution League of Nations, her external safety which placed it before the council was would, of course, be strengthend by the often the eproduct of these experienced A strong supporter of the president in common guarantee of all nations. his original proposal was the military I remember the surprised remark of a

Republican congressmen are to be pen-alized for failure to "stand by the pres-

ident" on such matters as surtaxes and

ban seems to have been applied only in

Wisconsin to La Fellette and the con-

pressmen representing his wing of the

the dyestuff embargo, but so far

Conference in Reality

Is Group of Discussions

Some Random Observations in the National Capital Newberry Case Reveals Closer Alignment in

More Obstacles In Newberry's Path

marks reflected the prevailing opinion spite any argument that might be ofand Newberry today hangs in the bal-

Outside of a group of seven or eight Newberry from the start stood a group to the purchase of a seat in the senate, but strong pressure was exerted by the administration and the party organization to bring them into l Senator Capper of Kansas is gener-

ally given credit for a movement to demand that Newberry come into the open North Dakota, Norbeck of South Da-and explain the evidence against him. kets and La Follette of Wisconsin. One Six or more senators reached an informal agreement that this should be done if they were expected to vote for among the Democrats. should not take upon themselves the burden of explaining what

make a fair showing and give them Newberry is one count in the indict-WASHINGTON, Jan. 7.—(WASHING- some grounds for defense in voting for ment; the sur tax fight was another; TON BUREAU OF THE JOUR- him by standing fire under cross- the attack of Secretary Weeks on the just before the holiday recess, his re- such a sorry show that his case would the house, is part of the same story. be worse than before, a result that that Newberry would retain his seat, de- Newberry's friends have feared if he La Follette Ignored

With Senator Capper in this move are McNary of Oregon, Jones of Washing-McNary of Oregon, Jones of Washington, Willis of Ohio and Kellogg of Min- NAL)-Some Republican congressi Republican senators who were against nesota, and it is thought that Johnson and at least one senator, Robert M. La of California, though now absent from Follette, are discovering that they of about equal number who were not Washington, will stand with them. Sev- not to be recognized by the Harding adfinally committed, and it is with them eral other senators, including Harreid ministration in the selection of postmas the decision rests. These senators are of Oklahoma, France and Weller of ters. This is the penalty, or one pennot of the kind who would take kindly Maryland, Sutherland of West Virginia alty, for failing to and Cummins of Iowa, are known to be ures of the administration. concerned over Newberry, and are a part of the wavering column.

Against Newberry these Republicans are counted: Borah of Idaho, Kenyon of Iowa, Norris of Nebraska, Ladd of kota and La Follette of Wisconsin. One Democrat, Watson of Georgia, favors Newberry, and he will stand alone senator with reference to appointments

Progressive Republican senators are selves the burden of explaining what Newberry himself would not explain, they said.

Newberry have they promised uncould the party at the beginning of a year when they promised uncould the party has to go before the people offices in their own districts. He has saying that the organization leaders

tionally to vote for him if he takes the for the election of a new house of rep- asked just why he is requested to agree floor in his own defense. He must resentatives and one-third of the senate. with Mr. Lenroot. Making Mr. Lenroot referee over certain Republican congressmen also signifies that Senator La Follette is be-NAL)—When Senator Kenyon made his examination. The possibility has been agricultural bloc, coupled with an yound the pale of the present administraspeech against the seating of Newberry might make eulogy of the old rule of Cannonism in tion, since only one Wisconsin senator tion, since only one Wisconsin senator is consulted, and La Follette ignored. There have been reports that other

party.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 7.—(WASHING-TON BUREAU OF THE JOUR-Congressman J. D. Beck of Wisconsin NAL)-In the interest of better underis a La Foliette supporter. When he standing of what the Washington conmade inquiry concerning the way things are going in his district, he was inference has in hand, it is well to recall formed by Hubert Work, first assistant that there are several branches of the conference, not participated in by the postmaster general, that the department had consulted Senator Lenroot, and it same countries, and dealing with differ was suggested that he consult with that ent subjects. Mr. Beck in reply has written that h does not understand why he should con

The conference on the limitation of ar ment is one of the two original objects comprised in the official call from the department of state. The United States, Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan are the countries participating.

relied heavily upon his advice, not only earlier days of the conference, parti in military but often in other matters. larly by the French, to call in the gen ago, when I first met him on a voyage eral principles and the program for Panama, he was engaged day after no member of the delegation spent more allied nations. In any future discu

No man there believed more strongly in radical disarmament and the need for a League of Nations than this old soldier with the four stars on his col- WILSON KEEPS UP FIGHT lar. It was with him a kind of spiritual attitude in which a new organization of nations, with a will to disarm seemed as as utterly reasonable, necessary and practical as it seemed unattainable, absurd, unreal to those who could not esthe ancient ideas. But a League of Nations all of which were armed to the teeth he did not believe in. Indeed. wonders if there can be any realization of the new ideas, the "new order," without this radical change of attitude-

30 years' war. We now come to the actual opening of ing recognition of permanent pri peace, were to be put to stern tests.

on January 21, nine days after the con- everything else hung upon it-making ference first met and at the close of a the covenant of the League of Nations discussion in the Council of Ten on what an "integral part of the general treaty to do with the Russians, which had of peace." veered to the president's proposal to take mmediate steps to organize a league of nations. It was then that Mr. Balfour, plain enough from the discussion of Janegates in the Council of Ten, said he provided in clause 1 of the resolutions. thought that inasmuch as a committee

lem of military disarmament. their minds as soon as possible regarding the question of disarmament. It is important to come to some agreedisarmament.'

TWO PROBLEMS FACED

In this very first reference there begins to appear the two-fold nature of the problem of disarmament, which continued throughout the conference. Here it is a remarkable fact, which I shall member of the American commission, were two questions: First, the program

> diplomats. There is, obviously, a great negotiators well know, for a plan tends to shape the views of everyone present and place other conferees in the position of critics. Two days sater, on January 23, when M. Clemenceau again raised the problem of disarmament, Mr. Lloyd George was ready with a draft of resolutions, in which the special and imme diate problem of the disarmament of

> > That a commission be appointed with two representatives apiece from each of the five great powers, and five representatives to be elected by the other powers represented at the

Germany is given first place.

1 Td advise on an immediate and drastic reduction in the armed forces of the enemy.
2. To prepare a plan in connec-

tion with the League of Nations for a permanent reduction in the burden of military, naval and aerial forces LLOYD GEORGE SUPPORTS PLANS

Throughout the conference, whenever Mr. Lloyd George presented a resolution. he was immediately on his feet with a glowing address in support of it. So it was now. He called attention to the fact that the draft contained two distinct proposals, but beyond this reference he gave his entire attention to the first- safety" or some other standard? the disarmament of Germany. Here is what he said, as set forth in the secret minutes:

"A decision on this point was, for "A decision on this point was, for Great Britain, a matter of very grave moment. Unless the enemy's forces were immediately reduced, the British enemyers must might be forced to maintain that institution, which they had copied government might be forced to maintain originally from German practice, as the compulsory service. He did not know bedrock foundation of continental safety what might be the political result of and power. Here the issue was a such a decision . He would, drawn; here the battle began. therefore, urge that the first clause in next chapter the struggle between Amerthe draft be proceeded with at once. The second could be reserved for a fu-ture date."

This is a significant speech; as was

Frenchman regarding General Bliss: | also that of M. Clemenceau, which fo that it seemed strange that so great a lowed it, proposing that Marshal For soldier should also be so strong an ad- be summoned at once to discuss method vocate of military disarmament. But of disarming Germany. Here were exthe fact was that General Bliss was pressed the immediate and burning issued first of all an American and after that that cried for settlement as European a soldjer. He was one of the best- leaders had to face them. Here was the trusted men at Paris, and the president prompt proposal, so readily made in the In conferences he was the very per-sonification of the gruff, silent, honest ods. Here also was the precompation of soldier. He was a strongly built man, the leaders with the effect of action at not tall, and just a little stooping at Paris on home politics—to which Lioyd the shoulders. Nature intended him to George was ever peculiarly susceptible be a hairy man, gave him thick eye- He was always thinking, as he here brows and bristling mustache, and then phrases it, "what might be the political changed its mind and made him bald—result of such a decision." It was an extreme shiny baldness, except for a easy to "proceed at once" with questions bristling fringe of hair at the back and of immediate interest; so easy to resides of his head. His deep-set eyes apserve the general principles for a future pear at first rather sleepy, but when date." No one is to be consured for he warms up they open wide and glow this; it was inevitable; it grew out of with feeling. He is an intensely shy the situation, but it must be clearly man, hating publicity above everything, noted in order to understand what hap asks profanely why the ideas are not pened at Paris. It characterized nearly enough without having to tag them with every discussion of the conference, and name-his name above all! He has was, at its roots, the cause of every been a hard student all his life. Years crisis—this mighty struggle between genpermanent settlement, as supported by day in investigating of experiments re- the Americans, and the immediate naces lating to army rationing, and at Paris sities, interests and fears of the other time in the study of the fundamental of limitation of armaments exactly the problems which underlay the issues same division is sure to appear, and it will require clearness of view and ob-RADICAL DISARMAMENT FAVORED the confusion and dust of immediate and minor interests, any vision whates ever of the general and permanent good of the world.

President Wilson saw the problem Paris with penetrating clearness. saw that the needs and fears of the allies, as exhibited in this problem of limitation of armaments, if often exaggerated, had a real basis. Indeed, he was himself strongly for the disarmament of Germany, for he wished to release at the earliest possible mon the great American army still in France. But he never lost sight for a moment and that seems now a long way off. So of his greater plan; his vision of a per-General Bliss felt it and predicted more manent peace upon a new basis of jus than once that if the problem of dis-armament were not immediately and more insistent the demands for the concourageously faced the great war might sideration of immediate interests upon prove only the first four years of a new the part of the other leaders, the more determined his stand for a corresp the peace conference, where the princi- So it was that on January 25, at the ples proposed by America, and accepted second plenary session of the peace conat the armistice as the basis of the ference, he secured the adoption of the resolution-in some ways the most fateul action of the entire conference, for

If the peace conference, as it was British minister of foreign affairs, who, uary 23, were to insist upon the imwith Lloyd George, were the British del- mediate disarmament of Germany, then he proposed to insist upon the was now to be formed to consider the equal importance in the treaty of Clause Nations, that another com- 2-the program for general disarmament mittee should at once consider the prob- as set forth in the covenant of the league. He drove his argument home "If the League of Nations is to be four days later, on January 29, in compractical," he said (secret minutes, Jan-menting on a statement made by M. practical, he callegates must make up Dmowski, the chief delegate of Poland, before th eCouncil of Ten. M. Dmowski had appeared with an eloquent and ment as to what arms Germany shall lengthy appeal which ran counter to the have. It is evident that a league of whole principle of disarmament. He nations will be a shame if there is no not only had no thought of limiting Polish armaments, but he argued that Poland was in a position of great danger between Germany and Russia, and that it needed more armament, more millitary force, rather than less. Indeed, this was the insistent demand of the

smaller nations throughout the confer-

WILSON EXPLAINS POSITION

President Wilson thus put the logic of is position-which contained, as before, the two mutually dependent proposals disarmament to the point of "domestic safety," or, as he here expresses it, "po-lice purposes," and the League of Nations to guarantee external safety. If there was to be the one, there must be the other. The following is from the secret minutes, council of 10

Wilson-M. Dmowski had said that Poland must be a barrier between Russia and Germany. Did that mean a barrier based on armaments? Obviously not, because Germany would be disarmed, and if Germany was disarmed. Poland could not be allowed to arm, except for police purposes. To carry out such disarmsment the necessary instrumentality for superintendence would have to be set up. That was the gist of the question. Therefore, he would urge is colleagues to press on the drafting of the League of Nations in a definite form.

From this time forward we find the groblem of limitation of armaments proceeding in two broad, though often commingling, streams through the conference; each inevitably modifying and influencing the other. The immediate problem of disarming Germany, arranging military, naval and air terms for the treaty, deciding the disposition of German warships and cables were all fought out, close up, first in the military and naval commissions and then in the council of 10 and the council of four, while the broader and more general problem was discussed with no less vigor in the most important commission of the conference, that on the organization of the League of Nations, of which President Wilson was chairman.

Two great problems at once arose, both of which are vital to any discussion, present or future, of the limitation of armament. One had to do with the fundamental question of a standard of armament. Was it to be other was a question of method-but a vital one-that of compulsory military service. In this latter question a direct issue, was joined between the Americans and power. Here the issue was squarely ican principles and French fears will be

(To be continued next Sunday.)