The PEACE

By RAY STANNARD BAKER

Defense of Small States Challenged Solution By World Statesmen

(CHAPTER 5)

unday Journal herewith presents the fifth installment of Ray Stannard Baker's story, e.e." which is an authoritative narrative of how the peace of Paris was concluded. Wilson gave Mr. Saker access to all of his personal unpublished papers, which are the his and incontrovertible records of the facts heretofore have never been made public. The sture will be published in The Journal serially throughout the year.

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ONE evening late in May, at a critical moment of the peace conference (I find it recorded in my notes of that time), I found the president standing alone before a large-scale map of Southeastern Europe. It hung on the wall of his study, where the Big Four held their daily meetings. It was a warm evening and the window

stood partly open. In the bit of driveway outside paced an American sentinel. For some moments after I came in the president continued to study the map with deep absorption. It was plain to see that he had had a hard day of it; for he showed it in the drawn lines of his face.

It was, indeed, a trying time for everybody. While the German treaty had been finished and delivered, it was doubtful whether the Germans would ever sign it. They were attacking it bitterly. No one in the world seemed satisfied with anything that had been done, and now that the council had turned its attention to the ustrian treaty, a swarm of new problems relating to the crumbling empires of the East and Southeast-Austria-Hungary, Turkey and Russia-

ungary, and brush fires of national the treatment by the strong of the weak or civil war were burning over FRENCH "CORDON SANITAIRE" half of Europe. It seemed at the time a veritable race of peace with anarchy. The president's case was still further omplicated by home problems. He had just finished - nobody knows how he managed it-a long message to congress, working it out in spare moments on his typewriter before or after the meetings of the four; an Irish-American committee recently come to Paris was making it hot for him and everybody else and finally, the attacks upon him and upon the league covenant had broken out with new bitterness in congress. SECRET MINUTES ON WILSON

thought of the enormous difficulties that this man faced; trying to work out strife—with the Austrians fretting at that moment at Saint Germain for an just settlements when there was no goodwill anywhere to be found! And it grandizement at the expense of the enwas a spirit of good will, mutual help- emy states. This policy tended, of lness, which the president had sought course, irrespective of its justice or ininspire, and upon which his settle- justice in particular cases, to make each isate if they were to be effective, must small state apprehensive regarding its set. It was no wonder, I thought, that new gains, and fearful of the possible bitter weeks were wearing him reverse of the old enemy powers (they his face looked like death; and sometimes one side of it, and his eye, gave over trying, in that stew of probms, to keep his principles in the foreground and, if he could not realize them their entirely, to prevent or mitigate, as far as possible, proposals which contravened them. His associates, and eshard they fought him, recognized the sincerity of his purpose. Occasionally this feeling slipped out, as on from the secret minutes of the Council

"President Wilson had come to Europe with a program of peace for all His ideal was a very high one, but it involved great difficulties, owing to the century-old hatreds between some

"We have been studying the new oundaries of Austria," he said to me "The Austrians are at swords points with the Jugo-Slava here in the Clagenfurt Basin. We have been trying to arrange for an early plebiscite."

"They prefer to fight," I said. he said, "they all prefer fight. Clemenceau told us the other day that here in Instria both sides were nutting up barbed wire and preparing for war. Up here the Roumanians and are fighting; and Czechs and the Poles.

POURTEEN WARS IN PROGRESS I told him that we had counted up 14 mall wars going on in various parts of

A few days later he put the same He said (minutes of June 4, Council

embarrassing if they were asked (by be, as large an area as possible." he small states) whether they intended to impose a limitation of armaments on The reply would be, the Council of the League of Nations is to present a plan." To this the represtatives of the small states would he principal powers would have to re-

pty, 'No.' To this neither Lloyd George nor Orlando made any reply, but Clemenceau, as the record sets forth, pointed out the such greater responsibilities of the prin-

SMALL STATES BIG DIFFICULTY No problems, indeed, proved more difthroughout the conference than hose of the new small states. During the war the president had been a strong champion of the right of the small He had encouraged the Poles and Serbs; and formally recognized the Czecho-Slovaks. This was not merely a of the greatest value in breaking by destroying their unity, but it repre-mented his own deep conviction regard-ing the rights of peoples to determine their own government, and the duty of the strong to assist them. He was more contented always with the duties of the strong than with the rights of the weak, He was greatly attracted by an address by Marshal Joffre at the French acad-emy and copied off a sentence of it which he used afterwards during his speech at the Guildhall in London and elaswhere. This sentence was as fol-lows:

weak and small cannot live free in the weak and small cannot live free in the world if the strong and great are not ever ready to place their strength and power at the disposal of right." This was exactly the president's doc-trine and he delighted in it; he believed

But no sooner had the peace conference opened than new policies began to develop, as far as the poles removed from the president's (and Joffre's) idea; for they sought toxuse the weak to help protect and make more secure the strong. The central purpose of the French policy -here, as always, dictated by French fears-was to build up a ring of small, veak states around Germany themselves called it a "cordon sanitarie," a sanitary cordon—and make these de pendent upon her, rather than upon Germany, for protection. The Poles, with the Polish army commanded by French generals, thus became a military satellite of France; and this was almost just settlements in this ancient hot-bed equally true of Roumania and of other of the small states. The French supported throughout the peace conference unfinished treaty-trying to work out |-the record is full of it-the demands of these smaller states for the utmost ag-

> retained a profound respect for the prowess of the Germans), obliged them o turn to France, then and since, the strongest continental state, for protec-The more unjust the settle small state and the sharper the sense of needed protection. And the more help they got the fiercer grew the nationalistic spirit among them; and the more excited the scramble for wider bounda-American officer, Major General F. J. skies. Kernan, who was chief American rep-

sion to Poltnd. He says (April 11): FRENCH ON MILITARISM

resentative on the inter-allied commis-

"In Central Europe, the French unieffort being made by these agents to prohibition and woman suffrage, foster the military spirit in Poland, round head in a Ford. zecho-Slovakia, and, I believe, in Roumania. The imperialistic idea has "We and that under the guidance of the tity production mind, cautious, uniformhave been considering the limitation of armament of these restless small states, but how can the great powers impose disarmament upon them when they will course, is not avowed. The claim is that the state of these restless small states, being built up, capable, perhaps, of dominating Europe. This purpose, of course, is not avowed. The claim is that and can sell a bill of goods as well as essential to hold back the tide of Rusquestion, even more bluntly, to his as-sociates of the Big Four. as camouflage. Each of the three states named has aggressive designs

> The "aggressive military action" predicted by General Kernan in April actually took place later. It is surely one of the tragic incidents of the peace conerested, should have been so confused, never served, by her greater neighbors. of this use of Poland, not to help the

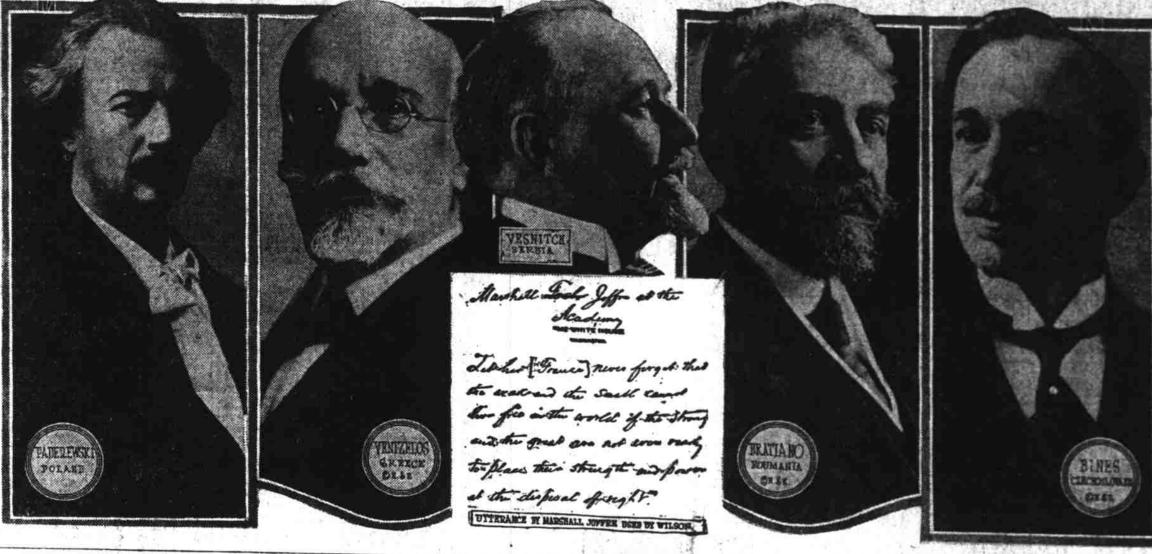
POLAND'S ALLOTTED FATE

and, it must be remembered that this the greatest wrongs of history; it was lesired to create a barrier between Ger-The Poles were to be used to hold back shevism, to weaken Germany, to balance the power of the Czechsthing in the world except to build up a sound Polish state.

As for the British, their attitude toward the small states—the note oftenest

sounded in the peace conference-was one of sharp impatience with the small ers and costly; and so long as they would not settle down, there could no return to peace and no revival of normal trade and commerce in which the British (and to a lesser degree, the Americans) were vitally interested. W find Lloyd George lashing out in denur

REPRESENTATIVES OF FIVE SMALLER STATES WHOSE PROBLEMS TROUBLED WILSON



The Mirrors of Washington

(Published and copyrighted by G. P. Putnam's (All right reserved by United States Feature Syndicate) LVERY time we elect a new president Li we learn what a various creature is the typical American.

When Mr. Roosevelt was in the White House the typical American was gay. robustious, full of the joy of living, an ries, for coal and iron mines, for rail- expansive spirit from the frontier, a roads and industrial centers. We have picaresque twentieth century middle wivid picture of the situation in Cen- class cavalier. He hit the line hard and tral Europe in the secret report of the did not flinch. And his laugh shook the

Came Wilson. And the typical American was troubled about his soul. Rooted firmly in the church-going past, he caridealistic, bent on perfecting that old form is everywhere in evidence, officers incorrigible man, he cuts off the right and men. There is a concerted, distinct hand that offends him and votes for

Eight years and we have the perfectly seized upon the French mind like a kind typical American, Warren Gamaliel of madness, and the obvious effort is to Harding of the modern type, the square create a chain of states, highly mill- head, typical of that American whose under French guidance, and intended to and finds mental satisfaction in the be future allies of France. I have no vague inanities of the small town newsdoubt whatever of this general plan, and paper, who has faith in America, who is apparently meeting with great suc- is for liberty, virtue, happiness, proscess. Poland is endeavoring to raise an perity, law and order and all the standarmy of approximately 600,000; the ard generalities and holds them a per-Czechs are striving to raise an army of fect creed; who distrusts anything new about 250,000, and Roumania is strug- except mechanical inventions, the standgling under a very extensive military ardized product of the syndicate which burden. All of this means that these supplies his nursing bottle, his school people have no belief in the efficacy of books, his information, his humor in a the League of Nations to protect them, strip, his art on a screen, with a quanthis chain of strong military states is and can sell a bill of goods as well as

People who insist upon having their politics logical demanded to know the why of Harding. Why was a man of upon the surrounding territory and each so undistinguished a record as he first is determined to get by force, if need chosen as the candidate for president and then elected president?

As a legislator he had left no mark on legislation. If he had retired from congress at the end of his term his name would have existed only in the ference that the legitimate rights and old congressional directories, like that interests of the Poles, in which the of a thousand others. As a public president had long been profoundly in- speaker he had said nothing that anybody could remember. He had passed even submerged, by the selfish, con- through a great war and left no mark flicting interests and purposes of the on it. He had shared in a fierce debate great powers. But Poland has ever been upon the peace that followed the war tragic figure in history; much used, but though you can recall small persons like McCumber and Kellogg and Moses Again and again in the conferences, the and McCormick in that discussion you French were perfectly frank in speaking do not recall Harding. To be sure he Poles, but to serve the interests of the himself says was a great speech, but allied powers. On June 2, for example, no newspaper thought fit to publish it because of its quality, or felt impelled to publish it in spite of its quality be "When we spoke of establishing Po- cause it had been made by Harding. He neither compelled attention by was not done merely to redress one of what he said nor by his personality. Why, then, without fireworks, without distinction of any sort, witho ing the public eye, or especially deserv ing to catch it, was Warren Harding elected president of the United States?

ONE plausible reason why he wa U nominated was that given by Sen-ator Brandegee at Chicago where he "There ain't any first raters this This ain't any 1880 or any 1904. haven't any John Shermans or Theodore Roosevelts. We've got a lot election of course inevitably followed. But to accept Mr. Brandegee's plea in

by cinema all over the land. She said. tures so that they will know we are just folks like themselves." Warren Harding is "just folks."

witty woman said of him, alluding to the small town novel which was popular at the time of his inauguration, "Main Street has arrived in the White House." The average man has risen up and by 7,000,000 majority elected an average man president. His defects were his virtues. He was chosen rather for what he wasn't than for what he was,-the inconspicuousness of his achievements. The "just folks" level of his mind, his small town man's caution, his sense of the security of the past, his average hopes and fears and practicality, his standardized Americanism which would tarized, organized as far as possible artistic taste is the movies, who reads enable a people who wanted for a season to do so to take themselves politically for granted.

THE country was tired of the high I thinking and rather plain spiritual living of Woodrow Wilson. It desired the man in the White House to cause it no more moral overstrain than does the man you meet in the Pullman smoking compartment or the man who writes the captions for the movies who employs a sort of inaugural style, freed from th inhibitions of statesmanship. It was in a mood similar to that of Mr. Harding imself when, after his election, he tool Senators Freylinghuysen, Hale and Elkator Knox, observing his choice, is reported to have said, "I think he is taking those three along because he wanted complete mental relaxation." All his life Mr. Harding has shown a predilection for companions who give him com plete mental relaxation, though duty compels him to associate with the Hughes and the Hoovers. The conflict between duty and complete mental relaxation establishes a strong bond of sympathy between him and the average American.

The "why" of Harding is the cratic passion for equality. We are standardized, turned out like Fords by the hundred million, and we cannot endure for long anyone who is not standardized. Such an one casts reflections upon us; why should we by our votes casionally we may indulge nationally, as men do individually, in the romantic belief that we are somebody else, that we are like Roosevelt or Wilson-and they become typical of what we would but always we come back to the knowledge that we are nationally like Harding, who is typical of what we are "Just folks" Kuppenheimered, movie ized, associated pressed folks. Men debate whether or not Mr. Wilson was a great man and they will keep on doing so until the last of those passes away whose judgment of him is clouded

men will never debate about the greatness of Mr. Harding, not even Mr. Harding himself. He is modest. He has only two vanities, his vanity about his personal appearance and his vanity about his literary style. The inhibitions of a presidential candidate, bound to speak and say nothing, "Of course I could make better speeches than these," he told a friend,

during the campaign, "but I have to be

of our presidents have been precisely go. It was a great speech, an inaugural slight stoop of his shoulders, the soft like Warren G. Harding, first class sec- to place alongside the inaugurals of Lia- figure, the heaviness under the eyes becoln and Washington, written in his most tray in some measure perhaps the con-capable English. Harding at his best, sequence of nature's excessive generos Mrs. Harding, a woman of sound capable English, Harding at his best, sense and much energy, had an excell it is hard for a man to move Marion lent instructive answer to the "why," for years with big editorials, to receive ient instructive answer to the "why," for years with big editorials, to receive it.

The pictures of the house in Marion, the daily compliments of Dick Cressinger is the celebrated front porch, herself and and Jim Prendergast without becoming at her husband were taken to be exhibited vain of the power of his pen. It is his chief vanity and it is one that it is hard for him who speaks or writes to escape. He has none of that egotism

> himself the favorite of fortune. He said after his nomination at Chicago, "We drew to a pair of deuces and a man who likes to draw to a pair of deuces and who always expects to fill: He said it with surprise and relief. He does not like to hold a pair of deuces and be forced to draw to them. He has not a large way of regarding losing and winning as all a part of the game. He hates to lose. He hated to lose even a friendly game of billiards in the Marion club with his old friend Colonel Christian, father of his secretary, though the stake was only a cigar. When he was urged to seek the Re-

publican nomination for the presidency he is reported to have said, "Why should My chances of winning are not good. If I let you use my name I shall probably in the end lose the nomination for the senate. (His term was expiring.) If I don't run for the presidency I can man's virtues of common sense and constay in the senate all my life. I like the scientiousness with rather senate. It is a very pleasant place." The senate is like Marion, Ohio, a the average man's industry or lack of very pleasant place, for a certain tem-perament. And Mr. Harding stayed in it is undisciplined, especially in its high-Marion all his life until force—a vis ex- er ranges, by hard effort. There is a terior; there is nothing inside Mr. Hard-certain softness about him mentally. It ing that urges him on and on-until is not an accident that his favorite com-force of circumstances, of politics, of panions are the least intellectual mem-

pleasant place of Marion is reported to atmosphere of the Marion club, with its have been thus described by his political transplanter, the present attorney general, Mr. Daugherty: "When it came to running for the senate I found him, sunning himself in Florida, like a turtle on a log and I had to push him into the water and make him swim."

And a similar thing happened when i came to running for the presidency. It s a definite type of man who suns himself on a log, who is seduced by pleasant places like Marion, Ohio, whom the big town does not draw into its magnetic he lacking in imagination. Does he hate Does he want self-confidence? is he over modest? Has he no love for life, life as a great adventure? ever he is, Mr. Harding is that kind of an, that kind of man to start out with. The acceptance of authority But this is only the point of departure, that choice to remain in a pleasant plan like Marion, not to risk what you have, one of the better families, the reasonable prospect that the growth of your small town will bring some accretion to your own fortunes, the decision not to hazard cially if you are, to begin with, well and from a few campaign address poker with all Saturday night," as

VR. HARDING is a hands so careful."

Notice, a winning smile, a fluency of which his inaugural is the best instance; an ample man, you might say. But he loss to the president to oppose the Coa man so cautious as he is to let himself own good, his own spiritual good. The Frank, you have something on me.

ity. Given all these things you take, it may be, too much for granted. There is not much to stiffen the mental, moral and physical fibers.

Given such good looks, such favor from nature, and an environment in which the struggle is not sharp and existence is a species of mildly purposewhich makes a self-confident man think ful flanerie, you lounge a bit stoophoulderly forward to success. There nothing hard about the president. I filled." He did not say it boastfully as fashion to a banker in New York who wasa interested in knowing what kind of a president we had.

"You agree," he said, "with a friend of Harding's who came in to see me a few days ago. This friend said to me Warren is the best fellow in the world. He has wonderful tact. He knows how to make men work with him and how to get the best out of them. He is politically adroit. He is conscientious, He has a keen sense of his responsibilities. He has unusual common sense.' And he named other similar virtues,' 'Well,' I asked him, 'What is his defect?' 'Oh.' he replied, 'the only trouble with War-

The story, like most stories, exaggerates. The president has the average the average man's political skill and other men's ambitions, took him out of bers of that house of average intelli-Marion and set him down in Washing- gence, the senate. They remind him ton, in the senate.

The process of uprooting him from the the pleasant but unstimulating mental the pleasan of the mental surroundings of Marion. successful small town business men, its storekeepers, its banker mental horizon is bounded by Marior county, the value of whose farm lands for mortgages he knows to a penny, the forests of Kentucky and West Virginia,

sharpening of competition. He was a local pundit because he was the editor. field, whose heart is not excited by the was no effective rival. No strong in-larger chances of life. Is he lazy? Is telligence challenged his and made him fight for his place. He never studied hard or thought deeply on public ques-What- put by birth tends to accept authority risks. It is like staying in Marion in-Cleveland. It is easier and often more your sure place in society as the son of profitable than studying hard or think And Mr. Harding's is a mind that bows to authority. What his party says is enough for Mr. Harding. His party is greatly in New York or Chicago or on the frontier. Life asks little of you in those pleasant places like Marion and in return for that little gives generously, rials of one good big city newspape tolls. Mr. Root broke with his party on tolls and Mr. Harding is as much mandment by one of their number. His party became somehow for the pay-ment of Columbia's Panama claims and Mr. Herding was for their payment.



HARDING, WARREN G. President of the United States; born Corsica, Morrow county, Ohio, November 2, 1865; education, student of Ohio Central college (now defunct). Iberia, 1879-82; engaged in newspaper busihess at Marion, Ohio, since 1884; president Harding Publishing company, publishers Star (daily): member Ohio senate, 1900-04; 66; Republican nominee for governer of Ohio, 1910 (defeated); member United States senate from Ohio, 1915-21; Baptist; president of the United States, 1921.

You've evidently read the treaty. haven't."

A mind accepting authority favors certain general policies. It is not sufficiently inquiring to trouble itself with the THE president has never felt the of things but is content to be merely for them. A curious illustration developed in Marion, during the visits of the best minds. He said to the newspaper it hard to say "decided" to any question. men there one day. "I am for voluntary military training." "What would you train, Mr. Presificers or men?"

The president hesitated. At last he is a "But," said one of his interlocutors, "the colleges are training a lot of offi-

This brought no response, Another who had experience in the Great war remarked: "In the last war we were lacking in trained non-coms;

A more inquiring mind would have gone further than to be "for voluntary

you will.

The president's attitude is rather like that of the average man during the campaign. If you said to a voter on a Pulmian. "Mr. Harding is a man of small public experience, not known by any large political accomplishment," he would always answer optimistically, "Well, they will see to it that he makes good." Asked who "they" were, he was always vague and clusive, gods on the mountain perhaps. There is an American religion, the average man's faith;

As Mr. Harding knew little competi-tion in Marion so he has known little competition in public life which in this country is not genuinely competitive. Mr. Lloyd George is at the head of the British government. British government because he greatest master of the House of mone in a generation and he is chosen by the men who know him for what he is, his fellow members of the House of Commons. An American president elected by the newspapers, which knew little about him, by the politicians, who do not want a master but a slave, by the delegates to a national convention, tired. with hotel bills mounting, ready to name anybody in order to go home. The presianybody in order to go home. The presi-dency, the one great prize in American public life, is attained by ne known rules and under conditions which have nothing in them to make a man work hard or think hard, especially one en-dowed with a handsome face and figure, and ingratiating personality, and a liter-ary style.

The small town man, unimaginative and of restricted mental horizon does Masses vaguely appall him. the big cities on which he turned hi back in his unaudacious youth. His con-tacts are with individuals. His demonracy consists in smiling upon the village painter and calling him "Harry," in always nodding to the village cobbier and calling him "Bill." in stopping on the street corner with a group, which has not been invited to join the village club, putting his hand on the shoulder of one of them and calling them "Fellows." Politics in the small town is limited us dealings with persons, to enlisting the support of men with a following at the

Mr. Harding once drew this picture of his idea of politics. "If I had a policy to put over I should go about it this way." he said. "You all know the town meeting, if not by experience, by hear-say. Now if I had a program that I wanted to have adopted by a town meeting I should go to the three or four most influential men in my community. I should talk it out with them, make concessions to them until I had got them to agree with me. And then I perfectly confident that my plan go through. Well it's the same in the nation as in the town meeting, or in the ways go first to the three or four lead-

Mr. Harding thinks of politics in personal way. He does not conceive of it as the force of ideas or the weight of morality moving the hearts of mankli he often uses-or perhaps he prefers humanity, which has two more syllables -a. make his thought look higger than it. really is, something like the stage device for making an ordinary man seem 19

Thus he will never try to move the mass of the people as his predecessors have. He will not "go to the country." He will not bring public opinion to bear He will treat the whole United Sta if it were a Marion, consulting endle "best minds," composing difference seeking unity, with the aid of his exp tional tact.

This attitude has its disadvantages. If you have a passion for ideas and an difference for persons you can say or "no" easily; you may end by was; but you will not be weak. And somewhere there must be a the passing of the final judgment as

of fects. Almost as good as green and Mr. Harding knows his the Out of his modesty, his desire to in a generation. He likes cisions rest upon the broad base which is the greatest common tion of several minds; and he, mor Whatever superstructure of ing with the biggest man in sight; for this reason the fall of Lloyd George as that he is "just folks," by is his aim to appease it that I w