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The PEACE

By RAY STANNARD BAKER

The Struggle of Giants for Control of the Peace Conference at Paris (CHAPTER 17)

The Sunday Journal berweith presents the skiemth installment of Ray Stangard Baker's that operation of Ray Stangard Baker's the street of Paris was concluded. They had at Paris in the supreme war council, with its powerful support of the Rhine, the Italians that of the Italians that of the Rhine, the Italians that of the It

IT is GOING to be a rough and tumble affair, this peace conference,' Mr. Balfour had prophesied two months before it began.

It was a sagacious prophecy. The forces of the old order went to Paris They were in the stronger tactical position. They had with them tradition, experience, trained diplomatic leadership and, above all, consummate organization, No parts of the governmental fabrics of Europe, sensi-

shown in previous chapters, were also gathered at Paris, but the generals, too; Foch and Weynot without vigorous organization and leadership, and, wanting in tradition, full of enthusiasm and aspiration; and confident (however justly) that if they did France, was present with great new not have the support of the leaders of the European military plans. He was still for fightgovernments, at least they had with them the people of ing! He recommended sending immediately an allied army (chiefly of American) and in the float place not would be an american) conflict, and in the first place, naturally enough, over to Poland; he was for crushing, in-

problems of organization and procedure. Who should control this stantly, the Bolsheviki of Russia; he vital world conference? Should it be the military men who had been controlling Europe for four years, or should the civil authorities again assert

Few people realize what a struggle steel rods so that they closed together went on at Paris—throughout the con- and made the room within quite sound heads of states. This effort within the secret conferences to escape from military dominance and the military spirit will be treated in the present chapter.

After that came he we have a state of the military spirit will be treated in the present chapter. After that came the not less vital struggle as to what powers should control the conference, what procedure should be followed and what language— language is always a symbol of power—

should be regarded as official, In the eagerness to know what was tiven to these enormously important initial matters of organization. In any political convention, any trade union business organization, it is the So it was, pre-eminently, at Paris. A large proportion of the settlements were either of decided or profoundly inbefore they were even dis-

efs of the four great powers with eir various advisers and secretaries, se president of the United States was

enated at Paris, so far as immediate power was concerned, was a pale reminiscence. They were strong men, these generals, accustomed to untrammeled tary spirit. It could not have been to the content of the could not have been to the could This is no mere allegory of what happened at Paris; it was actually the agency in building up a war psychronical agency way the peace conference began. At the head of the first page of the secret

Not only the peacemakers were there,

gand of France, Sir Henry Wilson for Great Britain, General Bliss for America. And Marshal Foch, the hero of of Russian prisoners of war in Germany keeping military possession of the Rhine

One morning—this was in January not Europe. long after the beginning of the confersented i sented itself was no mere struggle to apply accepted principles to a static open as though vigor. In within, and out strode a short, stocky, within, and out strode a short, stocky, gray-haired man, very erect, who looked like some old and studious college professor, but who wore the uniform of a marshal of France. Behind him came the still obstinately blazing embers of war. Peace had, indeed, been agreed upon in November, but peace had not sprived.

the first day's session (January 12) one will find these words:

He then (M. Pichon, the chair) man) decided that the meeting should continue without the military men, who thereupon withdrew.

There follows a double spacing upon

I have sometimes thought of the incident I have described as a symbol of the peace conference, for throughout those troubled months at Paris the gentheir various advisers and secretaries, crals and the admirals, it seemed, were offed, and operated by men who had The president of the United States was forever being thrust out of the councils long been working together; and work-there and the prime minister of Great by the frock coats and forever being ing for destructive, not for reconstruc-Britain, the premier of Italy and the called back again, or coming back of tive purposes. Moreover, the military president of the council of France. their own accord. It must never be men had in reality in making such entered M. Pichon's cabinet of forgotten that they had until that hour, sweeping armistice terms gone far to-

pendous debts. Build up such a psyhology for four years, innoculate the three months! It was not merely a world peace that had to be made but a world psychology that had to be

No inconsiderable part of the atten ion of the conference was directed, all little remaining fires left over from the great conflagration-in Russia, in Hungary, Asia and elsewhere. Once we counted no fewer than 14 such small wars going on in various parts of Eu-The military men "who thereupon withdrew" on January 12 kept returning all through the conference, with their military methods, their military suggestions, their military ambi tions—as they have been returning ever since; or they confused its purposes and balked its activities by summary always breaking out in Poland, Russia, Germany, Hungary, Jugoslavia and eisewhere, trying to take things into their own hands, and, too often, as I shall show later, they were secretly encouraged by leaders within the very councils of the powers themselves. We find on in the Rhine provinces; a British general setting up a "white" govern-ment in Western Russia; Italian officers acting on their own account on the Adriatic and in Asia Minor, and even an American officer leading the Czechs nto the Teschen coal basin!

Literally the first clashes in the cononpt to substitute civil for military athous. Thus when Marshal Foch sug-isted that an allied army, made up form before the powers were agreed upon a course of action for checking Bolshevism as a social and political

WILSON CLASHES WITH FOCH

ings with the Germans at Spa, he indignantly spurned the suggestion and for a time refused to carry out the or-

(secret minutes, March 21). M. Clemenceau said that, putting aside altogether his own personal opinions, he would allow himself to ask Marshal Foch whether he would not subordinate his own personal feelings and inclination in order to remain the mouthpiece of the allies.

* * It was essential that no dissentions should appear among the allies on the eve of taking a decision which might lead to very serious consequences, even to a re-

But Foch rejected the idea of having go to Spa "merely to deliver a letter."

He was not "merely a letterbox." It took a private session with

Thus the struggle to keep down or abate the military spirit arose often to the remark that "Marshal Foch was not observed that the military delegates wished to force the council to settle pistol at the head of the council." Lloyd George had often to defy the Constantly the remedies suggested were those of force. Here were great armies still undemobilized; why not use

WILSON AGAINST WAR SPIRIT get away from the military spirit, to Klotz, French minister of finance, was set up again normal agencies and civil brought into the council and began readset up again normal agencies and civil brought into the council and began reading was his opposition that they made ing a pamphlet regarding the frightful to him some excellent reports by the experts on the situation in Central Eugeneral Street, and said.

See a copy of its provisions before it can be situation in Central Eugeneral Street, and said.

Decident Wilson and began reading was his opposition that they made in grant without even allowing him to destruction of French industries by the see a copy of its provisions before it was presented to the sixth plenary sessions. rope, He read them carefully and said: President Wilson said that "this evi"They are like most of the reports we dence may no doubt affect our frame"."

heads all over Europe. The old forces were even here in the peace conference, trying to dictate or at least influence Italian question was under discussion and Sonnino was arguing on the basis of the secret treaty of London for the control of the Adriatic by Italy, for military reasons, the president said:

Military men, with their strategic, military, economic arguments, were responsible for the treaty of 1815. Similarly, military men were responsible for Aisace-Lorraine. Military men have led Europe to one blunder after another. We are now engaged in setting up an international association. If this does not suffice, then two orders will exist—the old and the new. We cannot drive two horses at once. The people of the United States of America will repudiate it. They are disgusted with the old order. Not only the American people, but the people of the whole world, are tired of the old system, and they will not put up with gov-

and they will not put up with govby military force they still clung des-perately to it. They were still afraid and not without reason, of Germany, It was they who had suffered most, who would be most likely to suffer again, should Germany rise to power and prove revengeful. They were well fearful of a too swift demobilization of the allied armies, a too rapid sub-It was one of the great criticisms of the president by the French that he de-

armistice terms Marshal Foch endeav-ored to impose more and harder con-ditions upon the enemy and even to an-ticipate by armistice extensions which President Wilson set down his foot

firmly against these extensions, argu-ing that the Germans had ceased fight treaty. The allies had endorsed his plan of settlement; and the Germans had ceased fighting upon a clear under-standing of its provisions. He saw in such methods only a revival of the hatreds and bitterness of the war, which

he was seeking to aliay.
"What I wish to avoid," he said to the council, "because of mistakes made in the original terms of the armistics. is to seem to add new conditions."

In this he was strongly supported by General Bliss, who had made his fight previously in the military section of the the 10 a minority report embodying his objection. "The introduction of such demands into the renewed armistice, ac-companied by threat to use force, is dishonorable " it is not necesption of the war."

Mr. Lloyd George, and more especially shal Foch stubbornly fought for the ex-treme French demands. The whols peace conference must have been a hateful ex-perience for the grizzled old general who had won the war. All his life long he ately for the welfare of France, as h

obstinate, brave, short-sighted old sol As an unescapable corollary of this war spirit, as a result of the overwhelming victory of the allies, the impulse everywhere among both the great an small nations of Europe—the amail as the great. was to seize instantly upon the mat fruits of victory—to grab. There been wast losses, losses in men property; these must be recouped recouped at once. And this was b means the spirit alone of the less who wanted islands, coal mines, cittle or ships; every peasant who had lost a cow wanted his cow—or two cows!—instantly returned to him. This aspect of the situation, after the peace conference began, became so bitter, so measing, that on January 24 President Wilson drew up the following communication to the nations of the world, read to his associates in the conference, as with their approval it was issued. The with their approval it was issued. The warning against the world-wide spirit ograb was thus his first important publication.

The Mirrors of Washington

12—Robert Lansing

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Lansing probably thinks that the god-dess of chance played him a scurvy trick after having admitted him to the Olym-land heights to break him as suddenly is now the official designation.

ormer secretary of state's only hope of side, and he lacked the courage or the of lawyers specializing in international of his luck, dision to fall upon his sword.

When Woodrow Wilson was elected sident for the first time he appointed Mr. Bryan secretary of state. The opinion Mr. Wilson entertained of Mr. Bryan we all know. Mr. Wilson was not given to letting his thoughts run wild, but on one occasion, with pen in hand, he per-mitted himself the luxury of saying what he thought and expressed the plous hope that somebody would knock the distinguished Nebraskan into a cocked hat and thus dispose of the perpetual Sea to the Democratic party.

as a private citizen, could say and think what he pleased; as president he was compelled to make Mr. Bryan secetary of state. As Mr. Bryan knew sething of history and less of European lities and had a superb disdain of ditomacy diplomacy according to the players were always trying to out anouver the virtuous and innocent litical nurse, mentor and guardian in had a long and brilliant career as an in-ternational lawyer and diplomatist. Mr. Bryan busied himself with finding soft jobs for deserving Democrats, preach-ing and inculcating the virtues of graps juice to the diplomatic corps, and con-cocting plans whereby the sword was to be beaten into a typewriter and war be-come a lost art. Meanwhile Mr. Moore

department and left the office of counsellor vacant, an office, up to that time, law, but to the public his name meant nothing. He had always been a good appointments-a close observer has said esident Harrison's cabinet after Mr.

angrily. No, he would never return. He was

But in a moment he was suddenly

persuaded; and ne did go back, and the

secret doors closed again behind him.

I never saw him afterward withou

Blaine's resignation: MR. LANSING had made Washington his home for many years, and when the new Democratic administration came into power he believed his services to the party entitled him to recognition and he sought the appointment of third as-sistant secretary of state. The third asistant secretary is the official social secretary of the government. When roy-alty or other distinguished persons come to this country as the guests of the nation the third assistant secretary is the master of ceremonies. He has to see that all the forms are properly complied with and nothing happens to mar the visitors' enjoyment. He sends out invinoral game in which the foreign tations, in the name of the state department, to the funerals of ambassadors of worthy ambition was defeated.

Mr. Moore had knowledge, learning and experience, but he was denied the gift of divination. Had he known that a few months later a half crazed youth

her skein. Mr. Moore went out of the ment was lifted out of his obscurity; despatches to the belligerents signed so little known that the public, if it "Lansing" were published; he received gave the matter any thought, believed papers, statements were issued by him, its occupant was the legal adviser of he was interviewed; he received ambasshe made him.

At this stage of his career Mr. Landour the department knowing how to pray his luck. It is lous the fear men have of death, The mer secretary of state's only hope of mortality was to commit political suitable. The mortality was to commit political suitable as an adviser on international affairs in many international arbitrations. He many international arbitrations. He was known to a small and select circle of lawyers appointed in the lawyers appointed to the lawyers appointed to the lawyers appointed to the lawyers are provided the lawyers appointed to the lawyers are provided the lawyers appointed to the lawyers are lawyers. Mr. Wilson made some extraordinary

Democrat, although he was married to he could read motives but not men-and the daughter of the late John W. Fos- his appointment of Mr. Lansing at a ter, who wound up a long and brilliant time of crisis would have been inex-diplomatic life as secretary of state in plicable were it not logical as Mr. Wilson his associates his intellectual equals or those who dared to oppose him; it was necessary that the state department should have a titular head, but Mr. Wilson was resolved to be his own secretary of state and take into his own hands the control of foreign policy. No great man, no man great enough to be secretary of state when the world was in upheaval, would have consented to that indignity: no man jealous of his own self-respect could have remained Mr. Wilson's secretary of state for long. Perhaps Mr. Wilson reads men bette than his critics believed; perhaps Mr. Wilson had fully taken the measure of

be a leader of men, to fight for a great on a shelf to sleep.

the wisdom of the philosopher; Mr. Moore an intellect who has subordinated his emotions, and to whom facts are as important as mathematics to an engineer. It was an incompatible union; it could not inst. Mr. Moore became impatient of his chief's vagaries, and shout a year later, returned to the dignitied quiet of Columbia university.

This was early in 1914. Now for the

Robert Lansing

Ex-Secretary of state; born at Watertown, N. Y., October 17, 1864; education, I. B., Amberst, 1886; (LLL), Amberst, 1815, Colgate, 1815, Princeton, 1917, I. Columbia, 1918, Union 191

magnificent training for a future sec- tional relations there is nothing more retary of state, and actually would have farcical than an international arbitralestroyed the creative administrative tion. It is always preceded by great a boundary is run a few degrees north

The National Capital

Will Bonus Bill Be Shelved in Congressional Archives-Rivers and Harbors Appropriation Increased - Former Portlander Continues Fight on Army System.

Congress Shelters "Sleeping Beauties"

WASHINGTON, April 15.—(WASH-INGTON BUREAU OF THE JOUR-(AL)-One of the main subjects of spec

through the senate last fall. It came ulation where politicians meet in washe ington is whether the soldier bonus bill will join the list of "sleeping beauties."

A "sleeping beauty" is a bill which travels along with a fan-fare of trumpets for a time, is passed by one house or the other, and then is tenderly placed by the other, and then is tenderly placed by the conference will discussions about it was given out that action would be postponed until after the arms conference, so there might be one international discussions about it will be conference will be conference. of the Chicago platform. After the bill cision is a compromise, so nicely shaded passed in the senate it was given out that while neither side can claim victory

he insult or the way in which it has been robbed; but the responsible officials of state should put himself in such an who have never allowed themselves to undignified position, and having done become excited, continue the pleasing so, should invite the world to share his Months, sometimes years, drag on, then a new secretary of state or a for-

an international arbitration. More weeks, agents and secretaries, an imposing ar-

Borah "free tolls" bill, which went the case, which frequently runs into through the senate last fall. It came many printed volumes; and the more

IF Mr. Lansing had been a man of more robust fiber, he would have returned his portfolio to Mr. Wilson as early as 1916, for the president was writing notes to the belligerents and did not, even as a perfunctory courtesy, consult his secretary of state; he made it only too patent by did not consider by Nature never intended Mr. Lansing to be a header of men, to fight for a great of the same to the country of the

more often months, are spent in agreeing never coarted publicity, who has none upon the terms of reference, and finally the dispute goes before an "impartial arbitral tribunal." Both sides appoint sode, to shrink from publicity exposing sode, to shrink from publicly exposing himself and his humiliations, but Mr. ray of counsel, technical experts; and as the counsel are always well paid they have a conscientious obligation to earn their fees.

More months are required to prepare scutive's palm. He feels the sting, and to an adrupt halt in the house, and still as size denotes importance. The arbitra- approved, yet he could sign it without tors, although they are governed by American shipping from tolls at the Panama canal was one of the pledges. again to resume his subservient rela-tions to the president.

Opportunity, we are told, knocks only once at a man's door. But while opportunity thundered at Mr. Lansing's por tals, "his ear was closed with the cotto

Early in 1920, Mr. Wilson dismissed him, brutally, abruptly, with the petulance of an invalid too tired to be fair; for a reason so obviously disingenuous that Mr. Laming had the sympathy of the country. He should either have told the truth then and there or forever have held his peace; and had he remained mute out of the mystery would have grown a myth. The fictitious Laming would have become an historical character. But he must needs write a book. It does not make pleasant reading. It does not make its author a hero. hero.
It does, however, answer the question the curious asked at the time of his appointment; "Why did the president make Mr. Lansing secretary of state."

Living Is Problem For Berlin Public

pecial Wireless to The Journal and Chicago Daily News. Copyright, 1922. Berlin, April 15.—In Berlin the "high

cost of poor living" has become a prob-Zeitung. The statistics for March show that wholesale prices of important fo cent when he buys at retail prices at

"Our daily bread and butter," says the paper, "are far higher than they are in Chicago, New York and other American we can have a stein of heer with our costly, but frugal, meals. However, the price of heer has been raised 40 per cent over what it was in February.

Swiss Hotel Trade Awaiting Tourists

Russian Professors Get 2 Cents a Month

Regime Recognized

Washington, April 15.—(U. P.)—President Harding has recognized the new government of Guatemala, Secretary of State Hughes amounced today.

London, April 15.—(U. P.)—Russian university professors look upon their American conferes as bloated plutocrits. The average salary of the professor in Russia is 10.000 roubles a month—something less than 2 cents—Professor Archibald Cory Coolidge of Harvard, and in a message received at head-quarters of the American Relief association.