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

By RAY STANNARD BAKER

The Sunday Journal herewith presents the sixteenth installment of Ray Stannard Baker's story, "The Peace," which is an authoritative narrative of the peace of Paris...

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, as has been shown, quite confident of making a peace of their own kind.

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, sensitive to their own security, were so perfectly developed as the diplomatic and military systems.

On the other hand, the forces of the new order, as shown in previous chapters, were also gathered at Paris, not without vigorous organization and leadership, and, if wanting in tradition, full of enthusiasm and aspiration; and confident (however justly) that if they did not have the support of the leaders of the European governments, at least they had with them the people of the world.

Ray Stannard Baker
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Few people realize what a struggle went on at Paris—throughout the conference—between the military group and the heads of states. This effort within the secret conference to escape from military dominance and the military spirit will be treated in the present chapter.

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In the world. They had at Paris in the supreme war council, with its powerful economic satellites a world government, a super-state, a League of Nations, by the aid of which the league later came into existence at Paris, so far as immediate power was concerned, was a pale reflection of the untrammelled power and they let go reluctantly.

FOCH'S VOICE FOR MORE WAR
Not only the peacemakers were there, but the generals, too; Foch and Weygand, Sir Henry Wilson for Great Britain, General Bliss for America, and Marshal Foch, the hero of France, was present with great military plans. He was still for fighting the Bolsheviks, he was for a steady allied army (chiefly of Americans and commanded by an American) to Poland; he was for crushing, instantly, the Bolsheviks of Russia; he was for sorting out all the vast numbers of Russian prisoners of war in Germany and sending home those who were opposed to the Bolsheviks; he was for keeping military police on the Rhine permanently for France.

Thus it was that the American peacemakers coming to Europe to attend a peace conference found themselves, first of all, in a supreme council of war concerned with a renewal of the armistice and the immediate military problems of Europe. The initial problems that presented itself was no mere struggle to accept principles to a static situation, no mere grappling of the two contending sides, the next order with the old; no great and noble endeavor to establish a world organization, but in very truth, a driven effort to put out the still ominously blazing embers of war. Peace had, indeed, been agreed upon in November, but peace had not arrived.

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stop functioning. They sought not only military control, but desired to dominate in political and economic matters as well. With our transient interest, Mr. Davis, arrived in Paris he was informed by M. Klotz, French finance minister, that he would simply be an observer to Marshal Foch, to which he immediately and strenuously objected. When it was proposed that civil experts be attached to General Foch in his dealings with the Germans, he indignantly refused the suggestion and for a time refused to carry out the orders of his own government, unless he was allowed to retain his power. Clemenceau had actually to plead with him (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 dissensions should appear among the allies on the eve of taking a decision which might lead to very serious consequences, even to a renewal of hostilities. But Foch rejected the idea of having any authority above him. He would not go to Spa "merely to deliver a letter." He was not "merely a letterbox."

It took a private session with the heads of the governments (on March 24) finally to persuade him. Thus the struggle to keep down or abate the military spirit arose often to the point of a quarrel. On the 21st Clemenceau (February 7) burst out with the remark that "Marshal Foch was not a military pope; he was sometimes mistaken. He was a great general and all were prepared to do him honor as such, but there was other work here to do! In a later session, when Marshal Foch practically demanded that the peace terms be ready by April 1, Mr. Balfour observed that the military delegates "wished to force the council to settle peace by that date under pain of being able to enforce their will upon the enemy." This was equivalent to holding a pistol at the head of the council.

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on our plans." He felt with all his strength that the peace must not be approached in a spirit of passion or hatred or fear, but with all the calmness, the reason, the patience, that could be commanded. It was peace that they wanted, not the spirit of revenge. This he worked for, ever and last, in the OFFERED HARBOR TERMS

At each renewal of the already severe armistice terms Marshal Foch endeavored to impose more and harder conditions upon the enemy and even to anticipate armistice extensions which could be finally enforced by military action, settlements which properly belonged in the peace treaty.

Mr. Lloyd George, and more especially Mr. Balfour, supported the Americans in this contention. Mr. Balfour, who was the only member of the council, "because of mistakes made in the original terms of the armistice, is to seem to add new conditions."

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The Mirrors of Vanities 12—Robert Lansing Anonymous

random way in which chance weaves its threads. Mr. Moore went out of the department and left the office of counselor vacant, an office, up to that time, so little known that the public, if it knew of it, would have regarded it as a dead end. Mr. Lansing, who was the legal adviser of the department, while, as a matter of fact, he is the under secretary, which is now the official designation.

At this stage of his career Mr. Lansing was connected with the department as an adviser on international affairs and had represented the United States in many international arbitrations. He was known to great circles and circles of lawyers specializing in international law, but to the public his name meant nothing. He had always been a good Democrat, although he was married to the daughter of the late John W. Foster, who would up a long and brilliant diplomatic life as secretary of state in President Harrison's cabinet after Mr. Blaine's resignation.

Mr. Lansing had made Washington his permanent residence, and when the new Democratic administration came into power he believed his services to the party entitled him to recognition and sought the appointment of assistant secretary of state. The third assistant secretary is the official secretary of the government. When royalty or other distinguished persons come to the United States the master of ceremonies is the third assistant secretary. He has to see that all the forms are properly compiled and that the reception of the distinguished visitors' enjoyment. He sends out invitations, in the name of the state department, to the funerals of ambassadors or the inauguration of the president, and he has written, but without brilliant success, a book on the subject of international law.

A FEW months later the situation changed. The state department became not only the center about which the whole machinery of the government revolved, but in the history, was a part of the country and the thoughts of the people.

Robert Lansing
Secretary of state; born at Watertown, N. Y., October 17, 1864; education, A. B., Amherst, 1888; (LL.D., Amherst, 1915, Colgate, 1915, Princeton, 1917, Columbia, 1918, Union 1918, University State of New York 1918); advised arbitration, 1892; counsel for Behring Sea claims commission, 1897; solicitor and counsel for the United States under the Alaskan boundary tribunal, 1903; United States North Atlantic arbitration tribunal, 1909; agent for the United States and British claims arbitration, 1912-14; secretary of department of state, March 1915, June 21, 1917; secretary of state in cabinet, June 21, 1917, to January 19, 1920; member American commission to negotiate peace, Paris, 1918-19.

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

WASHINGTON, April 15.—(WASH. BUREAU OF THE JOURNAL)—One of the main subjects of speculation here today is whether the 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 of the other, and then is tenderly placed on a shelf to sleep.

UNTIL Mr. Lansing became secretary of state he had never known responsibility. Practically his entire life had been spent in a quiet, unobtrusive way, with a keen intellect, carrying out with zeal and intelligence the tasks assigned to him, but always in obedience to a stronger mind. Nothing more weakly character or intellect than for a man habitually to turn to another for direction of inspiration; always to play the part of an inferior to a mental superior. For years Mr. Lansing had been involved in the history, was a part of the country and the thoughts of the people.

thing else equally trivial from the public mind. The bill has been long in the offering nation is a land grabber, national honor must be vindicated. Secretaries of state write notes, ambassadors are instructed, the press becomes rabid, and the public is excited. It is advised to remain calm, but it is also assured there will be no surrender. After a few weeks the public forgets about the issue and the bill is shelved.

Months, sometimes years, drag on, then a new secretary of state or a foreign minister, to clean the slate, proposes that the children be united by an international arbitration. More weeks, more often months, are spent in agreeing upon the terms of reference, and finally the dispute goes before an "impartial" arbitral tribunal. Both sides appoint agents and secretaries, an imposing array of counsel, technical experts; and as the counsel are always well paid they have a conscientious obligation to earn their fees.

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 billifiers and did not, even as a perfunctory courtesy, consult his secretary. Mr. Lansing was too good a patriot to do that. He was too good a patriot to do that. He was too good a patriot to do that.

High Cost of Poor Living Is Problem For Berlin Public
By George Willis
Special Wires to The Oregonian
Berlin, April 15.—In Berlin the "high cost of poor living" has become a problem, according to the Neue Berliner Zeitung. The statistics for March show that wholesale prices of important food-stuffs, such as butter and meat, have gone up 5,258 per cent as compared with pre-war quotations. And the poor consumer has to pay an additional 2000 per cent when he buys at retail prices at the corner grocery store or meat market.

Swiss Hotel Trade Awaiting Tourists
Geneva, April 15.—(U. P.)—At last there is a rift in the dark clouds which have been obscuring the Swiss hotel trade since the outbreak of the war. The former summer migration of tourists is not only going to resume its former proportions, but even this fall to break all records and that the Swiss mountain resorts are once more to come into their own.

Russian Professors Get 2 Cents a Month
Washington, April 15.—(U. P.)—Russian university professors are to receive 2 cents a month from the American Relief Association. The average salary of the professor in Russia is 10,000 rubles a month, according to the American Relief Association. The average salary of the professor in Russia is 10,000 rubles a month, according to the American Relief Association.