

THE PEACE CONFERENCE

A Month's Progress at Paris in Shaping the Economic and Military Terms to be Imposed Upon Germany

[PERIOD ENDED MARCH 20, 1919]

THE formulation of the League of Nations covenant was described in the March issue of CURRENT HISTORY. With the League problem temporarily out of the way, the Peace Conference at Paris was able to proceed to the readjustment of the financial and economic relations disrupted by more than four years of war.

The creation of three new organizations was announced on Feb. 15—a Supreme Economic Council, an Economic Drafting Commission, and a Financial Drafting Commission. The first body, which included in its membership some of the ablest financial and business minds of America and Europe, was charged with handling such pressing questions as the distribution of shipping, the abatement of the blockade, the distribution of raw materials, and urgent financial matters. The other two commissions were composed of financiers from all the Entente countries. The report of the Economic Commission, dealing with the removal of all economic barriers and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all nations associated for the maintenance of peace, was already before the Conference at the date mentioned. The Financial Drafting Commission was dealing with the insistent demand of some European nations for the pooling of all the credit debts and resources of the nations, and had undertaken the task of obtaining information as to the financial resources, present and prospective, of the enemy countries, to enable the Commission on Reparation to complete its work.

WAR REPARATION

The question of reparation to be solved by the Conference proved serious. On Feb. 19 the representatives of the allied European powers joined in a statement

to President Wilson which embodied their claims that Germany and her partners should be made to pay the entire cost of the war. When the subject had come before the Supreme Council the President had opposed this proposal, taking the ground that it was impossible to pay such a sum, and that the terms of the armistice made reparation collectible only for actual damage done. The Allies contended that this was a wrong interpretation of the armistice conditions, and, in the statement sent, called on President Wilson in effect to settle the question. The American position was that the amount which Germany and her allies were able to pay within ten or fifteen years should be assessed.

By Feb. 26 the subject of war reparation had been sufficiently discussed to develop the fact that there were three theories:

The British view was that as in civil law all damages must be paid by the aggressor, so Germany should be compelled to pay the whole cost of the war, including the expense to the Allies of raising, equipping, transporting, and maintaining their armies as well as reparation for wanton damage.

The French view was that reparation should include all England would demand, but the French, unlike the English, would fix the sequence of payment, requiring Germany first to settle bills for destruction in violation of international law and pay the other bills later if she could.

The American theory was that reparation to be demanded from Germany should cover only such damage as was done by her in wanton destruction and violation of the laws of war and of nations.

Under the American proposal England would be a creditor of Germany on rep-

aration account only to the extent of her merchant shipping losses and damage caused by airplane and Zeppelin raids on English territory. The bills of the United States and British colonies would be confined to such merchant ship losses as were inflicted on them by submarines. So the chief creditors would be Belgium, Serbia, and Rumania, to which countries the bulk of wanton damage was confined.

ATTACK ON CLEMENCEAU

The session of the Conference to be held on Feb. 20 was deferred in consequence of a dramatic attempt upon the life of Premier Clemenceau on Feb. 19, details of which are given elsewhere. M. Clemenceau was stricken at the moment when he was starting for a meeting that was to arrange plans for the transition from war conditions to a state of peace, and to take in hand the construction of the actual peace treaty.

In an effort to speed up the work of making peace, the Supreme Council and various commissions were busily engaged at the session of Feb. 25. Marshal Foch appeared and gave his views concerning the Polish situation. French territorial claims were referred by the council to a special commission. The most interesting feature of these was the contention that France should have permanent control of German territory on the west bank of the Rhine.

One interesting development was the proposal that the German cables cut by the British early in the war should not be returned to Germany. The French and British held that these cables should remain under allied control as a reprisal of war. The American representatives did not assent to this, but the reasons for their position were not made public.

GERMAN WARSHIPS

The question of the disposition of the German warships continued to be one beset with difficulties. Speaking for the British Government, the Earl of Lytton, Parliamentary Secretary of the Admiralty, made an official statement in the House of Lords, in which he declared that the British policy opposed the ships forming any part of the armament of the world. The alternative of sinking

was a question for the Peace Conference to decide.

In an Associated Press dispatch of Feb. 24, it was said that, though the Supreme Council had not discussed the disposition of surrendered German warships, the naval experts of the council had studied the subject, and that the British and American officers had agreed that the proper solution of the question would be to sink the ships in deep water; the French and Italian officers, however, did not share this view.

The French attitude was stated by Stephane Lauzanne in the *Matin* on Feb. 27. The French delegation to the Peace Conference, he said, would energetically oppose the general sinking of the German fleet; France was firmly determined to take the share of these ships that would fall to her. She had lost 15 per cent. of her naval tonnage, and had come out of the war with a weakened navy; she needed a navy to police the seas and protect her colonial empire, the second largest in the world. The article pointed to the new naval program drawn up by the United States, one of the most pacific nations in the world.

ARGUMENTS FOR DESTRUCTION

President Wilson on March 15 took up the subject of the destruction of the warships surrendered by Germany. Although an adverse judgment had been attributed to him, this was the first time he had examined the matter, and he called for data from American naval experts. It was understood that his advisers in Paris favored the policy of destruction.

In addition to destroyers and submarines, there were involved twenty-one German and Austrian battleships, six battle cruisers, and nineteen light cruisers. The arguments brought to bear for their destruction may be summed up as follows:

1. In the face of the covenant committal to decreased armament, distribution would make an immediate increase of 30 per cent. in allied European armaments.
2. As matters stand the American ability to put through a building program creates the possibility of inducing Great Britain to join her in the alternative of scaling down to the lowest point the num-

ber of ships consistent with self-protection and maintaining the League, whereas distribution will make new standards to be built up to.

3. Distribution will vastly and unnecessarily increase the burden of taxation.

4. World interests would be subserved by no one power controlling the seas against all comers.

5. The morale of the world requires a dramatic heralding of better days. Distribution is a step in the opposite direction.

6. Destruction preserves entire our moral position with respect to Germany.

7. American interests compel the acceptance of a joint naval burden with Great Britain. Distribution will make that burden too great for America to carry.

8. Finally if the German fleet is thrown among the Allies to be contended for as a prize, it will prove a veritable apple of discord that may make its surrender profit Germany more than if she had risked her ships in a final battle. The division of naval spoils would be a negation of the principle of co-operation which is the foundation stone of the League.

ARMENIA'S CLAIMS

At the meeting of the Supreme Council on Feb. 26 the claims of Armenia were presented. These claims embodied the following proposals:

First—Liberation from the Turkish yoke.

Second—Formation of a new Armenian State to be made up of the six Armenian provinces of Turkey and the territories of the Armenian Republic in the Caucasus, and also the Port of Alexandretta, which is claimed by Syria.

Third—Protection for twenty years by a great power under a mandate from the League of Nations.

The Conference Commission to examine into the problems of the new nation of Czechoslovakia held its first meeting on Feb. 27, and completed the study of the question of Germans in Bohemia, after which it took up the question of Silesia. The commission organized by electing Jules Cambon as President.

CLEMENCEAU RETURNS

The meeting of the Conference on Feb. 27 was attended by Premier Clemenceau; this was the first time he had met the Conference since the attempt upon his life a week before. At this meeting, on motion of the American delegates, it was decided to organize a central commission for territorial questions.

Afterward the Zionist case was presented by Dr. Weismann and M. Sokolow, representing the Zionist organization; Professor Sylvain Levi of the College of France, and a member of the Palestine Committee; M. André Spire, representing the French Zionist organization, and Mr. Szsyahkin, representing the Jews of Russia.

The Zionist claims varied. The minimum comprised establishment of Zionist communities in Palestine and the guarantee of special rights and sovereignty for these communities. The maximum claims called for the erection of a Jewish State in order that the Jews might have a national home where they could live in peace.

FINANCIAL PROBLEMS

The Supreme Council began consideration of financial and economic problems, both as affecting the treaty of peace and the permanent conditions after the war, at the session of March 1. This far-reaching subject was taken up after weeks given to hearings on territorial questions.

Financial and economic subjects were presented to the council in two reports, one from the Financial Commission, of which Louis Klotz, French Minister of Finance, is Chairman, and Albert Strauss and Norman Davis are the American members, and the other from the Economic Commission, of which Albert Clementel of France is Chairman, and Bernard M. Baruch, Vance McCormick, and Dr. A. A. Davis are the American members.

The report of the Financial Commission was a brief document, giving the main headings of the vast financial reorganization required. The report did not cover reparations and indemnities for the war, which had been the theme of a separate commission. Most of the headings were presented without recommendations, which were left to the council and the plenary conference, since the problem as a whole had been presented.

One of the main headings concerned war debts and debts made before the war in enemy countries, and whether they were to be paid or repudiated, the manner of payment, if paid, and the

iority of payment. Another heading alt with State property in territory ken over, such as State mines and ate railways.

ECONOMIC ISSUES

The economic report presented to the uncil was similarly comprehensive, vering the vast economic readjustment llowing the war.

It proposed an extensive inquiry with spect to raw materials, their surplus d shortage in various countries, with view to stabilizing exports and imrts according to the world's needs.

The most important subject mentioned lated to equality of trade opportuni-s. This did not affect tariffs or cus- ms among the nations, but sought to d trade discrimination, unjust State onopolies, dumping methods, and fa-red nation treatment.

To expedite the work of the Peace Con- rence in defining the approximate fu- re frontiers of enemy countries, the preme Council decided to appoint a mmittee, comprising one member each om the United States, Great Britain, rance, Italy, and Japan, to outline e frontiers on the basis of the recom- endation of the territorial commissions eady appointed or still to be created d submit the delimitations to the Con- rence.

MILITARY TERMS

Marshal Foch presented on March 1 , the council of the great powers the ilitary terms to be incorporated in the eace treaty.

The military terms provided for the estruction of all German submarines, rbaded the use of submarines hereafter y any nation, ordered the destruction f the German main fleet, directed the euction of the German Army to fifteen rfantry and five cavalry divisions, about 200,000 men,) called for the re- ention of the German cables by the llies, and compelled the destruction of he fortifications of Heligoland and the iel Canal.

Severe restrictions were placed on the manufacture of all classes of war ma- erials and the military and commercial

use of the airplane was limited to the minimum.

The naval terms already before the council provided not only for the com- plete suppression of Germany's subma- rine equipment, but also for the termi- nation of all submarine warfare by all nations throughout the world, thus end- ing the use of the submarine in naval warfare.

The provision for dismantling the for- tifications of Heligoland and the Kiel Canal was made the subject of reserva- tion by Admiral Benson, representing the United States; he held that this should not be a precedent applicable to American canal and harbor defenses, such as Hell Gate, Cape Cod Canal, and others.

AMOUNT OF REPARATION

The Supreme Council of the great powers considered on March 3 the mili- tary, naval, and aerial terms for the dis- armament of the enemy. The main new point was that enemy airplane restric- tions would be rigid.

The Conference Committee on Repara- tion estimated \$120,000,000,000 as the amount which the enemy countries ought to pay the allied and associated powers.

France, the statement added, de- manded immediate payment by the en- emy of \$5,000,000,000, part in gold, part in materials, and part in foreign securi- ties, recommending that the remainder be payable in twenty-five to thirty-five years.

The question of indemnities continued for many days to be one of the most troublesome before the Conference. The chief issue was not what Germany should pay, but what she could pay. It was stated on March 20 that Messrs. Wilson, Clemenceau, and Lloyd George had been holding a series of meetings on the subject, and that the commissions which had studied the situation in Ger- many had gradually reduced the allied claims to a total of \$40,000,000,000.

INTERNATIONAL LABOR CODE

The main proposals of the British draft, adopted with minor alterations by the International Legislation Commission

in Paris as the new international character of labor, were published on March 4 as follows:

The provisions of this draft forbid the employment of children under 15 years of age in industrial occupations, and of children between 15 and 18 for more than six hours daily. At least two hours each day must be devoted by these young workers to technical or regular educational classes, and they will not be permitted to work at night or on Sundays or holidays.

A Saturday half holiday will be introduced into all countries, and workers must have a continuous weekly rest of at least thirty-six hours, while the hours of work shall not exceed eight daily or forty-eight weekly, and shall be even fewer than this in dangerous trades.

Women shall not be employed at night, and employers shall not give women work to do at home after their regular day's work. Women shall not be employed in especially dangerous trades, which it is impossible to make healthy, nor in mining, above or below ground. Women shall not be allowed to work for four weeks before and six weeks after childbirth.

In every country a system of maternity insurance shall be introduced, providing for compensation at least equal to sickness insurance benefit payable in the country concerned.

Women shall receive the same pay as men for the same work.

The use of poisonous materials shall be prohibited in all cases where it is possible to procure substitutes for them.

Workers shall have the right of free combination and association in all countries. A system of unemployment insurance shall be set up in every country. All workers shall be insured by the State against industrial accidents.

A special code of laws for the protection of seamen shall be established.

Regarding immigration, which shall not be prohibited in a general way, the charter, according to the correspondent, recognizes the right of any State to restrict immigration temporarily in a period of economic depression or for the protection of public health, and recognizes the right of a State to require a certain standard of education from immigrants.

The final reading of the British draft convention for the establishment of a permanent organization for international labor legislation was completed, and the draft convention as amended was adopted by the commission for submission to the Peace Conference on March 19.

The American contention that each country should settle its internal labor

problems without invoking the power of the League of Nations prevailed.

MONTENEGRO'S CLAIMS

The council of the great powers on March 5 heard the case of King Nicholas of Montenegro, which was presented by General Grosdenovich, the Montenegrin Minister at Washington. It was a protest by the venerable monarch against losing his throne and having his country absorbed by the new Yugoslav State.

Incidentally the protest involved the issue between Italy and Jugoslavia. King Nicholas is the father of the Queen of Italy, so that Montenegro's position had not been clearly defined on the issue between Italy and the proposed new State, which seeks to embrace Montenegro.

The council also considered food relief for Bohemia and other sections of Southeastern Europe, to which the warring factions still made it difficult to forward supplies.

TERRITORIAL QUESTIONS

The Central Commission on Territorial Questions at its first meeting on March 5 elected Captain André Tardieu of the French peace delegation President. The task of the commission was to co-ordinate all decisions of the special territorial commissions.

In particular it was to fix the lines between the different frontiers traced by the various commissions. It also would discuss questions not reserved for special consideration by the Council of Ten.

The Peace Conference Commission dealing with the Belgian-Dutch boundary issue decided to bring the principals to the dispute directly together to adjust by mutual agreement the questions that have arisen.

The commission held that the Peace Conference had no jurisdiction in this issue and no authority to dispose of the territory of neutral States.

The Interallied Commission on Ports, Waterways, and Railways on March 5 had, according to an official statement issued, considered the draft of the convention for the international control of rivers as submitted by a sub-committee.

After discussion the articles dealing

with the method of applying the principles were agreed upon and referred to the Editing Committee.

TARIFF ADJUSTMENTS

It was announced at Washington on March 5 that President Wilson had directed Dr. F. W. Taussig, Chairman of the United States Tariff Commission, to proceed to Paris at once to take part in the readjustment of commercial treaties and similar problems now under consideration at Paris. Bernard M. Baruch, who was Chairman of the War Industries Board, then in Paris with Chairman McCormick of the War Trade Board, asked that Dr. Taussig be sent to Paris, and President Wilson directed that he go. Dr. Taussig sailed from New York on the transport *Great Northern*.

[The Tariff Commission was authorized by Congress to investigate the tariff relations between the United States and foreign countries, commercial treaties, preferential provisions, economic alliances, and the effect of export bounties and preferential transportation rates. For two years it has been making a study of commercial treaties, reciprocity, preferential arrangements, bargaining tariffs, and colonial tariff systems in detail, and has already sent a very large mass of material to Paris for use by the American Peace Commission.]

MILITARY TERMS IMPOSED

On motion of the United States, made March 6, the provision for neutralization of the Kiel Canal was referred to the Waterways Commission. The United States reserved the right to object to a provision for the destruction of existing submarines and the restriction of their future use.

Mr. Lloyd George pointed out that the armistice with Germany had political as well as military consequences, and insisted on strengthening the terms drafted by the military experts in regard to the German Navy.

At the session of the Supreme Council held on March 7 Premier Lloyd George made an address in regard to the military terms of the preliminary peace with Germany. He brought forward a proposal for reducing the German Army

much below the 200,000 men previously proposed. This was tentatively approved, although all the military terms were still subject to revision.

Information was given as to the interruption of the negotiations at Spa regarding the surrender of the German merchant fleet, and Mr. Lansing submitted a proposal of legal arbitration in regard to the German cables.

Premier Lloyd George, Premier Clemenceau, and Colonel E. M. House conferred March 7 in an effort to iron out the differences of the three nations over military, naval, and economic questions connected with the preliminary peace terms. Army and navy experts of the several countries, it was said, had been unable to agree on the terms.

Finally, on March 10, the Supreme Council agreed on the following terms to be imposed on Germany:

An army limited in size to 100,000 men and 4,000 officers.

The Imperial General Staff abolished.

No conscription. Instead, there will be a twelve-year enlistment method which will prevent her accumulating a large reservoir of men who have been trained previously. There was reason to believe that this anti-conscription precedent will guide the conference and the League of Nations later in their deliberations for world peace.

All Rhine forts to be destroyed.

The output of all munitions factories drastically limited.

All remaining military equipment to be surrendered to the Allies or destroyed.

The United States, Great Britain, France, and Italy were said to be in perfect accord with regard to practically all the clauses of the treaty—military, naval, territorial, and economical—and the speed at which this agreement was reached has surprised even the most optimistic.

REVISING BELGIUM'S STATUS

The report of the commission on Belgian affairs, charged with investigation of the differences between Belgium and Holland, was submitted to the Supreme Council on March 7. It advised that the three treaties of 1839, establishing the status of Belgium and Holland, be revised by the council, as they are now "useless and disadvantageous to Belgium."

The three treaties were identical, except as to the signatories. Belgium and Holland signed one, and Holland and Belgium each signed one with Great Britain, France, Austria, Russia, and Prussia. Three of these powers have disappeared and the treaties have become "scraps of paper," which Germany violated by invading Belgium.

The proposed revision of the treaties would restore Belgium's complete sovereignty and eliminate her neutrality, which afforded no protection and is now distasteful. It was said that Holland would be summoned before "the Big Five" soon to discuss the revision of the treaties.

The United States informed the Allies on March 7 that we would be satisfied with the amounts collected by the Alien Property Custodian and would not ask for further reparation from Germany or Austria.

American experts were in England helping the other allies to determine how much the Central Powers were able to pay. Estimates varied from \$25,000,000,000 to \$50,000,000,000, with a tendency to settle on an amount somewhere between the two figures.

Our experts figured that the four Central Powers had between \$4,000,000,000 and \$5,000,000,000 of assets which they would be able to furnish to the victorious nations within two years.

PRESIDENT WILSON'S ARRIVAL

The complete military, naval, and aerial terms of the peace treaty were wirelessly on March 7 to President Wilson at sea, by the American military and naval advisers, with notations and reservations.

The French Government sent a special train to Brest to meet the Presidential party, which arrived on March 14. On it were several Cabinet officers, Foreign Minister Pichon, Minister of Marine Leygues, Captain André Tardieu of the French peace delegation, and others. Colonel Edward M. House and a number of members of the delegation were also on board the train.

Premier Clemenceau, as President of the Peace Conference, sent a letter March 10 to the head of the Interallied

Commission at Trieste advising him that the Military Commission appointed by the Supreme Council to investigate the Italo-Yugoslav incidents, which had caused acute feeling between the two peoples, would proceed at once to Laibach.

The Supreme Council considered communications from the Armistice Commission regarding the situation in Poland on March 11. At the request of the Czechoslovak Republic concerning German, Austrian, and Hungarian intrigues against the new State the council considered the reports and decided to investigate them as soon as documentary evidence is received.

The council decided that the question of the Turkish boundaries should not be passed upon by the Boundaries Commission, but should be acted upon by the Supreme Council.

WOULD INTERNATIONALIZE RHINE

Recommendation that the navigation of the Rhine be opened to all nations without discrimination was made in a report to the Peace Conference March 12 by the Commission on the International Control of Waterways, Railways, and Ports. It was suggested that the Rhine be controlled by a commission similar to the Danube Commission.

The status of the Kiel Canal was settled by the commission on the basis of freedom of use for all nations for merchant vessels or warships in time of peace. If this plan should be adopted, the canal would continue under German ownership and operation. The question of the fortification of the canal was left by the commission to the decision of military and naval experts.

The report of the commission was not favorable to allowing the Belgian claim that special duties be imposed on German vessels.

It further recommended that a general conference be held within a year to deal with all questions pertaining to the navigation of international waterways which should be regarded as too intricate or complex to be settled finally within the limited life of the Peace Conference.

The Commission on Reparation March

2 began examination of the principles of the joint liability to be established among enemy States indebted to the allied and associated powers. The representatives of Italy, Serbia, Rumania, and Poland explained the views of their governments on the subject.

GERMANY'S DELEGATES

A Weimar dispatch dated March 12 announced that the German delegates to the Peace Conference would be Count von Brockdorff-Rantzau, the Foreign Minister; Dr. Eduard David, Majority Socialist, and first President of the National Assembly; Max Warburg; Dr. Adolph Müller, Minister to Switzerland; Professor Walther M. A. Schücking of Warburg University, and Herr Geisberg, Minister of Posts and Telegraph in the Prussian Ministry.

Count von Brockdorff-Rantzau acted as Foreign Minister after the resignation of Dr. Solf.

Dr. David is a member of the German Ministry without portfolio.

Max Warburg was a business man of Hamburg and has been an official of the Hamburg-American Steamship Line.

Dr. Müller was formerly director of the Electric Accumulator Works at Berlin and in July, 1915, received an honorary degree from the University of Hanover for his work in developing the efficiency of German submarines.

Professor Schücking late in 1914 published a letter, blaming Russia for the European war.

AERIAL TERMS

The aerial terms of German disarmament, as adopted by the Supreme War Council on March 12, provide that airplanes and dirigibles should no longer be used for military purposes. The only exception was that Germany would be permitted to use until Oct. 1 100 seaplanes and 1,000 men to gather mines in the North Sea.

Germany must deliver all her airplanes to the Allies, and must prohibit the construction of other airplanes until the conclusion of peace. The terms did not decide the future fate of the airplanes, which might be destroyed or divided among the Allies.

The British and American delegates brought up the question of a distinction between military and commercial aerial navigation. The council concluded that it was not feasible to ban airplanes for commercial uses, which would be allowed in Germany after the conclusion of peace under certain guarantees. The Drafting Committee was directed to make clear the distinction excepting commercial airplanes in the terms incorporated in the peace terms.

The council decided to send an aeronautic commission to Germany to investigate the question of commercial aerial navigation. Deputy Aubigny of the French Chamber was appointed Chairman.

In a report submitted on March 18 the commission appointed to consider plans for an international air code announced that the British proposals had been, in the main, accepted. The proposals accepted may be summed up as follows: Each nation was entitled to sovereignty over the air above it, subject to the granting of permission for the passage of foreign aviators. There was to be no discrimination against any nation by another. Air pilots were to be licensed on an international basis. International rules were to govern the right of way for airplanes and airships.

DRAFT OF MILITARY AND NAVAL TERMS ADOPTED

The Supreme War Council resumed its sessions on March 17 with President Wilson in attendance for the first time since he returned from the United States. Marshal Foch, Field Marshal Haig, General Diaz, and British, French, and American Admirals, as well as Premiers and Foreign Ministers of the five great powers with experts, bringing war maps and a draft of the military, naval, and aerial articles of the peace treaty, were present. This draft the council considered and adopted in the main, though several details remained open. President Wilson agreed to all features of the terms which Secretary Lansing and Colonel House had accepted at previous sessions. These included the plan for reducing Germany's army to 100,000

men, recruited by the volunteer system, and a limitation on arms, munitions, and other war stores.

The Supreme Council appointed a commission on aeronautics, of which American members were to be Rear Admiral Harry S. Knapp and Brig. Gen. Mason M. Patrick. The council named Belgium, Greece, Portugal, Brazil, Cuba, and Rumania to represent the small nations.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

There were daily sessions of the Committee on the League of Nations, beginning March 18. President Wilson said that the decision reached by the Peace Conference at its plenary session of Jan. 25 to the effect that the establishment of a League of Nations should be made an integral part of the treaty of peace, was of final force, and that there was no basis for the reports that a change in this decision was contemplated.

The resolution adopted at that time by the Conference was as follows:

First—It is essential to the maintenance of the world settlement, which the associated nations are now met to establish, that a League of Nations be created to promote international co-operation, to insure the fulfillment of accepted international obligations, and to provide safeguards against war.

Second—This League should be treated as an integral part of the general Treaty of Peace and should be open to every civilized nation which can be relied upon to promote its objects.

Third—The members of the League should periodically meet in international conference and should have a permanent organization and Secretariat to carry on the business of the League in the intervals between conferences.

An invitation was sent out by the Peace Conference to all the neutral nations in Europe, Asia, and South America, asking them to attend a private and unofficial conference in Paris on Thursday, March 20, with the object of giving neutrals an opportunity to express their

views on the League of Nations. The invitation was sent by the Conference authorities to the Ministers of the neutral powers in Paris, who forwarded it to their Governments. There was a prompt response, and long before the 20th the neutral delegates had begun arriving in Paris.

The first meeting was held at the Hotel de Crillon, the American headquarters, in the same room where the League covenant had been framed. Lord Robert Cecil of Great Britain was Chairman and Premier Venizelos of Greece, Dr. M. R. Vesnitch of Serbia, Paul Hymans of Belgium, Colonel E. M. House of the United States, and Leon Bourgeois of France sat as members of the sub-commission. Thirteen neutral powers were represented by Ambassadors, Ministers, and delegates, with retinues of military and civilian attachés. The nations directly represented were Norway, Persia, Salvador, Switzerland, Argentina, Spain, Holland, Denmark, and Sweden.

Switzerland offered the largest number of amendments, being largely changes in phraseology. The Spanish delegate, Manuel G. Hontorio, personal friend of King Alfonso, also took an active part in the discussion. The Argentine Minister reserved action until instructions were received from his Government.

A Swiss amendment concerning the Monroe Doctrine was offered in writing. It was favorably regarded in American quarters as expressing adherence to the doctrine in such form as might prove acceptable and at the same time safeguard national sovereignty. Other amendments suggested urged an increase in the number of small nations admitted to the executive control of the League, the reduction of armaments, and the control of munition manufacturers.

